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THE
ANTI-JACOBIN REVIEW,

AND TRUE

Churchman's Magazine ;

OR,

MONTHLY, POLITICAL, AND LITERARY

CENSOR :

FROM

JANUARY TO JUNE, INCLUSIVE.

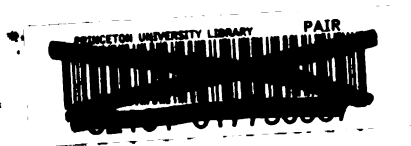
1814.

WITH AN APPENDIX.

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THE
ANTI-JACOBIN REVIEW,
AND TRUE
Churchman's Magazine,

&c. &c. &c.

For JANUARY, 1814.

Vita enim mortuorum in memoria vivorum est posita.—CICERO.

Stephens's Life of John Horne Tooke.

(Concluded from P. 550, Vol. 45.)

MR. TOOKE, though fond of good cheer, and very hospitable, preferred substance to show; not one article of silver was to be seen at his table, or in his house; but this did not arise, as some might be led to suspect, from any ridiculous aversion from ostentation; it was the consequence of an accident, and it gave rise to a whimsical occurrence, thus related by his biographer:

“ The house at Wimbledon was broken into a few years since, and it is not a little remarkable that the thieves, instead of forcing a door or window, as is usual on similar occasions, actually entered through the roof. During this very singular and unexpected visit, they packed up and actually got clear off with the greater part of the plate; and it so happened, notwithstanding the most diligent search, that the various articles thus lost were never after discovered, or the robbers detected.

“ On the very next morning Mr. Tooke, being of opinion that ‘ bees followed the honey,’ repaired to London with all the silver that remained, which he carefully deposited at his bankers; and as a fine tankard had escaped the plunder, it was immediately transferred to one of Lady Oxford’s brothers, who had been promised the reversion of it. From that day no article of silver was kept at or seen in his house, and this circumstance gave rise to a very ludicrous occurrence. A lady of title and fashion, in the neighbourhood, being about to

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give a very great entertainment, and bearing much of Mr. Tooke's dinners, sent a civil note to him, requesting the loan of his plate for a single day ; observing, at the same time, that, depending on his politeness, she had sent her butler and a couple of footmen, on purpose to fetch it. They accordingly entered the hall with great ceremony, bringing trays, &c. along with them, for the more easy conveyance of their charge. After the most solemn promises on their part to be careful of his property, and return it as soon as possible, a green cloth was confided to their charge, which they were to carry home without disturbing the contents ; and, on its being opened carefully, in their lady's presence, as had been desired, the whole consisted of a few dozen of spoons, which did not contain a single ounce of the precious metals."

We now come to the second part of our author's *Catalogue Raisonné*, as he is pleased to call it, (though the *why* and the *wherefore*, we must leave wiser heads to discover) of his *friend's friends*. It would seem as if, having volunteered the office of biographer to Mr. Horne Tooke, he really thought it a part of his duty, to give biographical sketches of all his friends. 'Tis true they are but the *meagrest* of all *meagre* outlines, but what more could be expected from a writer who sets out with a determination "to avoid every thing either indelicate or offensive," and not to "give umbrage to any one gentleman." We are almost tempted to fill up some of these outlines, and to supply some of the author's defects. Many of these worthies have the singular faculty of recalling to the memory of the biographer the illustrious characters of antiquity. Lord Erskine reminds him of Hortensius, who was both a soldier and a lawyer ; and we learn the *important* and *novel* facts, that he pleaded Mr. Tooke's cause, when he was tried for high treason, and that he was so nimble, that he actually leaped over the *ha-ha* in Mr. Tooke's garden, one day, to converse with Mr. Pitt, and some of the ministers who were walking in the adjoining grounds of Lord Melville.

Sr Francis Burdett follows Mr. Erskine, and Mr. Tooke's affection for the young baronet, the *disinterested* nature of which the simplicity of our biographer places beyond the possibility of a doubt, reminds him of Plutarch's Epistle to his disciple Trajan. Sir Francis, we are assured, took the right hand of his host, at the Sunday dinners, and on other occasions "took his seat any where, without ceremony." The baronet was 'modest, unassuming, and taciturn.' "As to his political tenets, I shall not say any thing, either in commendation or dispraise, the public being already in full possession of his opinions, on all the great topics that have lately occurred."

Now, with all due deference to our biographer, this is a most 'lame and impotent' reason or excuse, for his silence on a subject of no small interest; for if there were any validity in such reason, it would apply with equal force to Mr. Tooke, and to every other public character. If Mr. Stephens really thought that the fact of the public being already in possession of any circumstances or opinions were a good and sufficient reason for observing a profound silence upon them, how came his principle and his practice to be so completely at variance? How came he not only to detail the political opinions of Mr. Tooke, with which the public were fully acquainted; but even his publications, which had been before the public for a number of years? The truth is, that he did not feel sufficient resolution openly to impugn the political opinions of his friend's pupil, and he did not chuse, from prudential motives, to declare his approbation of them. He ought, therefore, never to have even alluded to them.

With Mr. Bosville, the biographer is more minute; he notices his birth, parentage, education, and descent; his service in America; his excursions to the continent, and to the coast of Africa; his conditional offer 'to turn Mahomedan;* his commission in the guards; his intimacy with Mr. Tooke; his loyalty; and, which is better than all, his good dinners, the praise of which is very disinterested, as Mr. Stephens assures us, and we have no reason to doubt the fact, that he never partook of them. A fragment of a letter from Tooke to Bosville, is here introduced, for what purpose, no human sagacity is competent to discover, for it is altogether unintelligible. As to the agreement between Tooke and Bosville, (noticed by the former in his *Diversions of Purley*) to maintain all existing establishments, for no other reason, than "because they are established," which, by the bye, reflects no credit on the understanding of either party, if it have imposed on the simplicity of Mr. Stephens, the imposition is likely to stop there, for, we suspect, there is not a second person in the kingdom who will be the dupe of it. We could say something, too, about the imputed loyalty of this "*milch-cow of the Jacobins*," as Mr. Bosville has been, not inaptly, denominated; but as he is now dead, we will not be provoked, even by the liberality of our biographer, to enlarge upon so ungrateful a subject.

Professor Porson stands next in succession, and, as before

* We should then have had an *Ali Bosville* as well as an *Ali Buonaparte*

Mr. Stephens was silent on facts because they were known to the public, he now makes amends for his late taciturnity, by recording an anecdote, because "it is well known to all Mr. Tooke's friends, and almost to every one, who ever visited at Wimbledon," although he considers "the whole scene as indecorous, and unworthy of two of the most accomplished scholars of the age." The scene was this—Porson dined with Tooke, and, agreeably to his usual custom, got drunk, when he abused his host, and threatened to kick him; his host, however, persuaded him to decide the contest by the strength of *head*, instead of deciding it by the strength of *arm* or *foot*. Two bottles of brandy were accordingly brought, and when three parts of it had been drunk by the contending parties, in equal portions, the Professor fell under the table, and Tooke retired to the tea room, after drinking one more glass, in confirmation of his victory, "with the same seeming calmness as if nothing had happened."

Of Gilbert Wakefield we learn nothing, except that he intended to join Mr. Tooke in a great philological work, but that death prevented him from executing such intention.

Of Mr. Paul, the biographer seems to think, that the less that is said, the better; and, concurring with him in this opinion, we shall not say one word about him.

Of Dr. Geddes, all that we collect is, that he was a Scotchman by birth, a Roman Catholic Priest by profession, and a disputant by choice. A friendly dispute between him and Tooke, on the origin and nature of the kingly office, is detailed somewhat at length, but contains nothing remarkable.

We pass over Thomas Paine, General Murray, and Major James, to furnish our readers with an admirable specimen of this new species of biographical sketches.

"XI. GENERAL ARABIN.

"I never met this gentleman at Wimbledon; but I have been told, that he had occasionally visited there, and a very good portrait of him was placed in the back parlour."

As the general once shot a highwayman, and is famous for his convivial qualities, &c. &c. surely the biographer might have contrived, with very little diligence and management, to make, at least, a *page* of him. In due succession follow Messrs. W. and H. Scott, brothers to Lady Oxford, George Hanger, Timothy Brown, Sir Humphrey Davy, Dr. Pearson, Mr. Cline, Mr. Clifford, of O. P. memory, Count Zebubio, Joel Barlow, Mr. Knight, M. P. Mr. Crowe, the public orator of Oxford, and last, not least, Sir James Mackintosh,

Knight, late Recorder of Bombay, now a Member of Parliament, we know not how, nor for where, and a writer in the *Edinburgh Review*!

Of this gentleman we are told, that he was chiefly educated at Edinburgh, and was destined for the profession of *medicine*, which he studied for some time on the continent, certainly a very extraordinary school for the study of *medicine*, though a very good one for the study of surgery. He appears, however, to have attended more to politics than to physic during his residence abroad. For, so infected was he with French principles, that, on his return to England, (when he quitted physic for law,) he entered the lists with Mr. Burke, and produced his memorable defence of the French Revolution, entitled *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*, which, in Mr. Stephens's estimation, was highly creditable to his talents, though, as he ought to have added, very discreditable to his principles.

"First the adversary, then the friend, and finally, if I mistake not, almost the convert of Mr. Burke, he was, at the same time, introduced to, and lived in habits of familiarity with, Mr. Fox, and the most distinguished members of the opposition of that day. He afterwards added greatly to his reputation, first by his lectures in Lincoln's Inn Hall, and finally by his defence of Peltier. Soon after this, he obtained the Recordership of Bombay, and has lately returned to his native country, after distinguishing himself, no less by the ability of his decisions, than by the mildness and *liberality* of his conduct, as a judge of the East."

A curious kind of political weathercock has this *liberal* biographer, with all his anxiety to avoid giving offence to the diversified subjects of his remarks, here exhibited to the admiration of the public. But why say so much, and not say more? Why not inform the world, that after he had imbibed and propagated French Revolutionary principles, in his *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*, he virtually recanted these principles in his lectures in the hall of Lincoln's Inn, though he had not the manliness, nor the candour, to publish a formal and direct retraction of them, as it was his duty to do; for as he had diffused the poison, it became him to circulate the antidote. But no; he wished, with a degree of *prudence* seldom observable in a young man, to conciliate *all parties*. He would not, on the one hand, alienate his old friends and patriotic admirers, by retracting his early principles; while, on the other, he was anxious to secure the good opinion of his *new* friends and adherents, by promulgating new principles, so sound and so just, as to satisfy the most fastidious, and consequently the very reverse of his first principles. But, though earnestly solicited to extend the

good which his lectures were calculated to produce, he steadily refused to publish them, because, by publishing them, he must have offended the Foxites, and all the Jacobins who had received the first production of his pen with enthusiastic exultation. By such conduct he convinced impartial observers, that he possessed no fixed principles whatever; but was prepared to adopt any principles which might best promote his interest.

His lectures, however, recommended him to the ministers of the day, and were the means of procuring for him an appointment to the office of Recorder of Bombay, and a consequent independence which he might otherwise have found great difficulty in obtaining. If we mistake not, it was during the administration of Lord Sidmouth, that he received this appointment, and how has he returned the favour? By returning, in a great degree, to his *old* principles; by opposing the principles of those to whom he is indebted for the independence which he enjoys, and by propagating tenets, not very compatible with the established constitution of this country, in Church and State, in that vehicle of sophistry and disaffection, the *EDINBURGH REVIEW*. He has lately made his first speech in Parliament, where certainly we never expected to see him, and where, no doubt, he must be not a little surprised to find himself; a speech evidently the effect of long study and deep research, yet betraying either a woeful ignorance of the law of nations, or a most disingenuous and unwarrantable misapplication of it. With all that tenderness for the French which he formerly proclaimed to the world, he deprecated all right of interference with the internal concerns of foreign states as contrary to the law of nations. Here he truly stated the *general principle*, but he studiously forbore to notice the *exception* to that *principle*, acknowledged and enforced by the most distinguished writers on the law of nations, and which goes fully to justify the interference of all foreign states in the internal concerns of France. He must have found the exception broadly stated in Vattel, and therefore he acted disingenuously in avoiding all reference to it. Yet, as if in contradiction to his own principle, the greater part of his speech (which, by the bye, was wholly irrelevant to the immediate object of his motion, went to enforce the necessity of our interposition in arranging the new government of Holland. Here, again, he pleaded as a lawyer, instead of reasoning as a statesman. In deploring the downfall of the ancient republic of Holland, he represented it, truly enough, as sufficiently strong to cope with the power of Louis the XIVth and of Louis the XVth!

but, with the same disingenuousness as before, he neglected to notice its *inability* to resist the revolutionary power of the usurper of the throne of the Bourbons. And it might surely have occurred to him, that, as the loss of her independence, and her total subjugation, were owing to a want of sufficient strength in her government, it would be both wise and necessary for Holland to adopt those alterations in her constitution, which would impart adequate energy to her councils, and adequate vigour to her arms—which would enable her, in short, to resist any attacks which the general tyrant of Europe might hereafter be tempted to make on her independence. The Dutch, therefore, have manifested both their wisdom and their prudence, in strengthening the hands of their supreme governor, whatever title they may chuse to confer on him; and they may be safely left to provide for the security of their own freedom, which they value as highly, and understand as fully, at least, as Sir James Mackintosh.

The knight again felt great tenderness for that abject vassal of France, lost, degraded, subjugated, Switzerland; and loudly, but vainly and foolishly, deprecated all idea of disallowing her neutrality. He cannot be so ignorant of the policy of the revolutionary government of France, as not to know, that, wherever the neutrality of the neighbouring states has been prejudicial to the interests of the French, it has been invariably violated in the most daring manner; nay, the formal declaration has been frequently and publicly made, by Buonaparte himself, that he would allow no *neutrals*. Are not, the Allies, then, fully justified, by every maxim of public law, by every principle of public justice, and by every motive of self-preservation, to disallow the neutrality of a power situated as Switzerland is, a neutrality which she has never preserved against the attempts of France, and a neutrality which, in the present instance, could be beneficial to France alone? Away, then, with such pitiful, partial, and contracted notions of policy, which betray any thing but a just view of the duties of first-rate powers, at such a crisis as the present; any thing but the enlarged conceptions of a statesman; any thing but a generous wish for a successful resistance to the overwhelming power of France. Such a speech adds one more to the numerous examples which we have witnessed of the immense difference between a lawyer and a statesman; between forensic oratory and parliamentary eloquence.—Mr. Stephens complaisantly expresses a hope that Sir James Mackintosh's health will enable him to complete his great work;—alluding to his projected History of the present reign. We, too, wish

that he may enjoy health sufficient for that and for any other pursuit, but we confess, from the variety of principles which the knight has professed and promulgated at different periods, we do not look forward with very sanguine hopes of gratification from the perusal of any productions of his pen. Were his principles, indeed, as good and as fixed, as his abilities are respectable, we should rejoice that such a work had fallen into such hands. Whenever it appears, however, we shall read it with the closest attention, and examine it with the most rigid impartiality.—We only hope that the principles of the work will be consistent and uniform, whether they be sound or unsound.

The second volume of the *Diversions of Purley*, which appeared in 1805, supplies the author with materials for several pages, but as his critical observations have nothing that can contribute either to the amusement, or to the instruction, of our readers, we forbear to transcribe any portion of them.

That so strenuous an advocate for liberty as Mr. Tooke should have admired such stern promoters of tyranny, as Napoleone Buonaparte and Mr. Jefferson, is truly astonishing. He thought them both, forsooth ! *great men*. Yet never did man betray *littleness of mind* in so many respects, and to such an extent, as these two worthies. On Tooke's remark that Buonaparte was truly a hero his biographer observes.

"If by the term *hero* Mr. Tooke meant a great warrior, I agree with him entirely" (so do not we, the *deserter* from Moscow and the *fugitive* from Leipsic could never be a *great warrior*) "for surely modern times have possessed (produced) few more accomplished or more successful generals. But if, by this expression, is meant, according to the definition of the ancients, the *benefactor of his country*, I cannot acquiesce. Cromwell, also, was a great warrior, although on a smaller scale, but could he be termed a hero, after he had dissolved, by military force, the form of government to which he had sworn allegiance, and divided England into districts, each under the command of a Major-General. The splendour of foreign conquests can never compensate for the loss of domestic freedom ; and I am always indignant at the praises lavished on successful tyranny, whether it be in favour of Muly Ishmael, or Napoleon the Great.

"It strikes me also with wonder and astonishment, that those who advocate the cause of reform in England, should ever mention, without horror, the name of this man, who appears to have fresh rivetted the chains of tyranny, on his adopted country, *after they had been loosened by the revolution*. I always lamented to behold his bust at Wimbledon."

This is a virtuous indignation expressed by Mr. Stephens, and perfectly consistent with a love of liberty ; but he is

grievously mistaken in supposing that the revolution, at any period, or in any degree, favoured the cause of freedom, or meliorated the condition of the people. It destroyed the form of a despotic government only to make them feel the weight of a more extended despotism. Indeed, it introduced a system of oppression, wholly unknown to former ages, and of which History presents no example.

Some of the *conversations* at Wimbledon here noticed are interesting, and the particulars of the illness and death of Mr. Tooke (the latter of which happened on the 12th of March, 1812, in the 77th year of his age) are related with great modesty and impartiality. In the enumeration of his opinions, and in his remarks thereupon, the author is not equally correct. He represents Mr. Tooke as a great advocate for the Church of England, adding, that "he rested the claim of preference *not on doctrinal points*, but on the *surer foundation* of "civil utility." And in this ground of preference, he is asserted to be countenanced by Warburton, Halifax, and Paley. We wish the assertion had been supported by extracts from the writings of those divines;—but, as far as our memory will serve us, no such extracts could have been produced. They may, indeed, have defended the Established Church on the ground of its civil utility, but we apprehend it will be difficult to produce any passage from their works, to justify the assertion, that its civil utility was the ground of their preference; or that they believed it a *surer foundation* of preference than the Scriptural purity of its doctrines. This is a subject, we suspect, which Mr. Stephens has taken little pains to understand, and therefore he should studiously have forbore to speak of it with any thing like decision. He must be told, however, that, by whatever authority the contrary opinion may be supported, 'tis the strict conformity of her doctrines with the doctrines of Scripture, that can alone justify an attachment to, much less a preference for, the Established Church. If Mr. Tooke, then, rested his preference merely on its civil utility, he rested it upon a weak, while he rejected a strong, foundation.

"The library at Wimbledon was select rather than voluminous. It contained a copy of the first folio edition of Shakespeare, an interleaved dictionary, by Johnson, enriched with manuscript notes, lately valued at 300*l*. together with a few works of note. The author was not addicted, after the fashion of the present age, to collect black-letter books, or purchase fine copies, or rare editions, at an extravagant price. Nor does he ever appear to have been enamoured with cream-coloured bindings, or broad margins, or costly specimens of typography.

"He detested literary foppery; his collection was intended for use and reference; not show, curiosity, or splendour. He contemplated large libraries as noble depositories of human knowledge; but he often expressed his wonder at the sums lavished on purchases of this kind by men of fashion, who have neither time nor inclination for study; and he has been known to compare a library, founded by one of these, to a seraglio collected for a Tenducci, or a Bausini (Rauzzini)."

The author's general character of Mr. Tooke's writings are just enough. His *Diversions of Purley*, it seems, produced him from *four to five thousand pounds*, which is certainly a very large sum for a couple of volumes; a larger, indeed, Mr. Stephens says, than has been obtained by any writer, for productions of the same magnitude, except by Gibbon, for his *History* (which was much more extensive by the bye); Pope, for his *Homer*; Hayley for his *Life of Cowper*; and *Dr. Johnson for his Dictionary*. But Mr. Stephens should have known that Johnson received only 157*5*l. for the two volumes of his *Dictionary*, a work which occupied him *nine years*, and in the execution of which, he was under the necessity of employing five or six amanuenses !!!

Observations made on a Tour from Hamburgh, through Berlin, Gortitz, and Breslau, to Silberberg; and thence to Gottenberg.
By Robert Semple, Author of *Two Journeys in Spain*; a *Sketch of the Caracas, &c.* Small 8vo. Pp. 268, 7*s.* R. Baldwin. 1814.

MR. SEMPLE is one of those old acquaintances whom we have frequently accompanied in his various excursions to different parts of the globe, and, in truth, we have found him, on all occasions, so pleasant a travelling companion, so ready to communicate information, and so interesting in his mode of communicating it, that we have accustomed ourselves to look with confidence to his tours, (and never yet have our expectations been disappointed) for both pleasure and instruction. In the present instance, however, that pleasure has been materially damped by an occurrence on which we shall comment with freedom before we lay down the pen.

"The narrative" says Mr. Semple, in his preface, "contained in the following pages, would never have seen the light, but for a circumstance which forms the prominent incident in it, and the publication of which I conceived due to my own character. The track over

* See the *Life of Johnson*, prefixed to Harrison's folio edition of his *Dictionary*.

which I travelled, includes an important part of Germany, between the Elbe and the Oder, and extends through a small portion of Sweden, contiguous to the Soud and the Cattegat. The period was interesting, even during the suspension of arms. The stillness which precedes the conflict of the elements is sometimes more awful than the storm itself.

"I have to narrate an instance of cruel inhospitality. I trust it will ever remain singular in the history of my countrymen. When Coriolanus, through a thousand dangers, had reached the hearth of his enemy, he reposed in security under the protection of his household gods. The Arab of the desert defends, at the risk of his life, the traveller who has once entered the door of his tent. The romantic page of Spanish story tells us of a moor who unwillingly gave shelter to the Christian who had slain his only son; yet the rights of hospitality for a time suspended in his bosom the dictates of affection and revenge. Mounting him on his fleetest horse, 'Fly,' said he to him, 'whilst it is yet night, and you have some chance of escape. You are the murderer of my son, but Mahomet has permitted you to come beneath my roof, and for a short time you are safe. Should we again meet, I shall rigorously exact from you the price of innocent blood.'

"I leave my simple tale to make its own way. Strong in truth, it may be uninteresting, but it will be believed; it may be disregarded, but it cannot be denied."

Our readers will probably think this a singular introduction to a tour in Germany, and will wonder, as we did, what the circumstance can be, which has induced the author to publish what he had no intention to publish. We shall not, however, anticipate events, and therefore our readers must suspend their curiosity until we can gratify it without interrupting the order of the narrative.

Mr. Semple was led, by the partial re-establishment of the long-suspended communication between England and the Elbe, to visit the continent, and he accordingly embarked at Harwich on the 16th of April, 1813, and had a quick passage to Heligoland, where the wind detained him eight days, and thus afforded him an opportunity of examining an island, which has derived an adventitious importance from the circumstances of the times. Perhaps the following brief description of it may not prove altogether uninteresting to our readers:

"It is an island, or rock, extending from N. N. W. to S. S. E. nearly an exact mile in length, and about a quarter in its greatest breadth. It is highest on the western side, so that its surface forms an inclined plane gradually sloping down towards the east, where the general height is not above an hundred feet, while on the opposite side

it is nearly double, the highest cliff being about two hundred and ten feet. The sides are perpendicular, so that at high water the sea washes the face of the island all round, except at a corner to the south-east, where nature has formed a flat beach elevated above high-water mark, upon which the lower town stands. The greater part of the island is of sand-stone, particularly at the north end towards the base; but on the other sides, blue and red argillaceous earths are mixed in various proportions, and even the greatest part of the sand-stone strata are tinged seemingly with the oxide of iron. At low water, the rocks extend to a considerable distance all round, and then, during about two hours, it is easy to make the circuit of the island. Beginning with the eastern side, we see close to the foot of the cliffs, and nearly buried in the sand, fifteen or twenty smooth blocks of granite, which no where else appears, except scattered, in very small pieces on the beach. Proceeding along this side, the cliffs have little variety or beauty, until we arrive at the north end of the island. Here the greater part of the strata, especially towards the base, are of sand-stone, generally red, but intermixed with others about a foot in thickness, of a pure white, and very soft. A lofty column of a hundred and fifty feet in height stands detached, except at the base, and seems already destined by nature as a prey to the waves. Not far from it, the under part of the north-west corner of the island has fallen in, so as to leave an arch of fifty or sixty feet in height, through which we clamber over huge ruins. The layers of white sand-stone extend from this along the greater part of the western side, alternating with red sand-stone, and a mixture of argillaceous earths, giving to the whole a peculiar variety and beauty: Proceeding onward, we think ourselves stopped by a cliff projecting into the sea, until we discover a long natural arched passage, through which we find our way. Near the entrance of this passage, the beach is entirely covered with small rounded flints, although none are to be found in the composition of the island. Mixed with these, are some scanty specimens of quartz and granite. In the cliff is a hollow opening upwards to the top of the island, which, viewed from above, appears formed by man, three of the sides being smooth and regular. As we approach the southern end, the romantic beauties of the cliffs increase. There is nothing in the Isle of Wight to equal the sublimity of the views along the western side. Large masses of various and fantastic forms stand detached, and at high water are surrounded by the waves. In our progress along the shore, we pass through a noble cavern with an opening towards the sea, which flows partly into it. Having passed through this cavern, we come to three irregular detached masses, or columns, fifty feet in height, and of grotesque shapes; and off the south-west corner an upright column stands apart, appearing to those approaching the island, like a large ship coming round the point. It seems difficult to account for the complete separation of such a mass, entire and standing at so short a distance. Soon after passing this point, we come once more to the landing place, the flat and pebbly beach, on which stands the lower town."

In one of these excursions our worthy tourist had nearly paid dear for the gratification of his *geological* curiosity, for a large mass of rock became detached from the cliff and fell just behind him, so that, had he been a few seconds later, he must inevitably have been crushed to death ! We notice the circumstance as a caution to other travellers who may be tempted to explore the same parts of this Island. But we turn from inanimate to animated objects, which are the most interesting of the two. We have the following account of the inhabitants of this little speck in the northern ocean.

“ The manners of the inhabitants still retain much of the simplicity, and, in some instances, of the grossness, which mark the ruder stages of society, but strongly tinged with an exorbitant love of money, produced by the sudden influx of wealth within these few years. All the labour on the island is performed by women, a sight to which a week's residence was not sufficient to reconcile me. Young girls and old women carry along the heaviest burdens ; they work like the Gallegos in Spain, in parties of four, six, or eight, bearing between them, in two ranks, poles from which their load is slung, and walking an uniform pace, those of each rank holding fast by each other. Two wells in the lower town furnish enough of brackish water for ordinary purposes ; and on the surface of the island the rain is collected in two or three ponds, which form the only resource for fresh water. This last, when taken up, is deeply coloured with a red earth, and must be boiled, and left to settle, before it can be used. The whole of this is carried up the steps, or brought from the centre of the island, by women. On their head they usually wear a kind of calash or hood, which projects forward, effectually covering the whole face except directly in front ; red petticoats bordered with yellow, black gowns open behind, and slippers instead of shoes, complete their costume. Their countenances are sometimes pretty, but seldom, if ever, animated or expressive. Whilst the Spanish lady attracts by dark glancing eyes, a light and elegant figure, and a graceful walk ; the beauty of Heligoland trusts to her fair complexion, her azure eyes, and her more useful qualities for domestic life.”

The religion of this people is Lutheran ; and, previous to the present war, their chief occupation and means of subsistence were fishing ; and even now it forms a lucrative object of trade.

“ The population of Heligoland is reckoned between four and five thousand, and, as might naturally be expected, has increased greatly within these few years. The occupation of the island by the English has suddenly effected in this little spot, one of those changes in opulence and manners, which, in great states, can be the work of time alone ; and has thus crowded into the space of a few years, and within a circumference of three or four miles, a representation of

what on a large scale occupies centuries, and interests large portions of the globe. It has been my lot to visit within a few years two islands widely different in their natural character, but equally seized upon by commerce for temporary purposes, and acquiring thereby, a temporary importance. In 1800, during the act of the United States, for non-intercourse with England, Fayal, one of the Azores, was fixed upon by the merchants of the two countries as a point of meeting. In its stormy roadstead, I have seen fifty vessels, suddenly assembled at the command of commerce, riding in great danger, constantly losing anchors and cables, driving out to sea, and sometimes on the rocks, where many of the crews were lost. But however Fayal might disappoint the merchant, in other respects it could not fail to interest a contemplative mind. The marks of fire are yet fresh in its formation, as well as in that of all the Azores, a group of islands so interesting, and as yet so little known. It rises in the centre to what appears from the sea a sharp and lofty peak; but, arrived at the summit, we are surprised to find ourselves upon the edge of one of the most beautiful and perfect basins ever formed by nature. Its circumference of about a mile is exactly circular, the depth about six hundred feet, and the sides nearly perpendicular. At the bottom are two small lakes, one said to be of fresh, and the other of salt water. Walking round the rim of this immense hollow, we see at a great distance beneath us every indent of the island. All round its shores, the black rocks of lava are for ever beaten by the stormy waves. The hollow murmur reaches even to these elevated regions, and, conspiring with the solitude and the grandeur of the surrounding objects, fills the soul with a sublime melancholy. The island of Pico is separated from that of Fayal by a channel of nine miles in breadth. Its peak, the loftiest of the Azores, rises to a height of more than seven thousand feet: on its summit covered with snow, real flames are sometimes seen. Viewed from the edge of the basin of Fayal, the unfathomable channel which separates the two islands disappears, and this sublime object thus becomes more intimately connected in our ideas with that near which we are standing. Looking from Pico a little more to the left, we behold the long rocky island of St. George. Down its sides black streams of lava, hardly yet cold, mark the formidable eruption which took place a few years since, and show in still stronger colours the nature of the formation of these islands, which seem to have been thrown up in defiance of the sea. Its waves ever assail them in vain, and we may regard them as lasting monuments of the power of volcanic fires, to be destroyed only by one of those great revolutions to which our globe bears indubitable marks of having been subjected."

On the 27th of April Mr. Semple left Heligoland, and reached Cuxhaven, at ten at night;—here he engaged a passage up the Elbe to Hamburgh, where he remained five days.

"I had expected to find a city, bearing, in its appearance, the marks of a hasty formation, from the sudden influx of riches; but,

this, although the case in some parts, is not so generally. A considerable number of the streets are regular and handsome ; many of the houses are built of stone ; and the canals which intersect the most commercial quarters, and receive daily the tide of the Elbe, contribute greatly to the speedy discharge and loading of vessels. **Hamburgh**, indeed, is a proud monument of the power of commerce, and a striking instance of the advantages which superior degrees of freedom alone can confer. Close to it, possessing equally all the benefits of the Elbe, stands the town of **Altona**, a dangerous rival, if not depressed by a despotic government. But while **Hamburgh**, free and unshackled, as it once was, possesses docks, canals, and the traces of a numerous shipping, **Altona** presents only silent streets, and in the river, a line of miserable gun-boats to guard against smuggling."

What a crowd of reflections present themselves to the mind, on the fate of these two cities. **Hamburgh** free and flourishing ; **Altona** enslaved and drooping. But the predominant feeling, on considering the actual state of the former, is that of indignation at the execrable villain who now commands it, and who has exhausted even the malignity of his own fertile mind, fertile in mischief and evil, in harassing, persecuting, and tormenting, its miserable inhabitants. It would seem, indeed, as if the freedom which **Hamburgh** enjoyed had rendered it an object of peculiar disgust to the Corsican Tyrant and his jacobinical satellites, of whom Citizen Davoust, nick-named Prince of **Echmuhl**, is one of the most sanguinary and ferocious. It is to be hoped, however, that this man will soon be made to pay the forfeit of his crimes ; for the place must fall, ere long, into the hands of the allies, who will not, we trust, be restrained, by any notions of false delicacy, or of spurious honour, from delivering so atrocious a culprit into the hands of justice.

As to **Altona**, it is lamentable to see a prince who has some English blood in his veins, so far forget his duty, so far lose sight of his interest, and so far violate all consistency, as to exercise a despotic sway over his subjects, and, at the same time, to be the obsequious minion of a foreign usurper. It is not only in **Altona** that unequivocal proofs of Danish despotism are exhibited ; they pervade, more or less, every portion of territory subject to the dominions of the Danish monarch. In **Iceland**, indeed, tyranny appears in its most disgusting forms, accompanied by cruelty, injustice, and oppression. The people there only know that they have a king, by the taxes which they pay to him ; only know that they have governors by the cruel exactions and rapacity which are exercised over them. **Iceland** could not be an object of ambition to any of

the enemies of Denmark ; but to separate this country from that power, with a view to meliorate the situation of the inhabitants, would be an act of humanity.

Hamburgh, at this time, was all bustle and alarm. The inhabitants had armed themselves, and were throwing up redoubts, in order to defend their city against any fresh attacks of the French, while a body of Cossacks from the Russian army, and many deserters from the confederated troops of the Rhine, served to give confidence to the people. Unfortunately, however, the preparations of the Allies, for effecting the great object of emancipating the Continent of Europe from the yoke of France, or rather of Buonaparte, had not then been brought to that state of maturity to which it has since attained, and therefore the brave Hamburgers were once more destined (we trust for the last time, for the hour of their final liberation is near at hand) to groan beneath the weight of French tyranny.

The proximity of Altona to Hamburgh induces many of the opulent merchants of the latter place to reside at the former ; —and it afforded an opportunity also to elude the French fiscal decrees, a whimsical instance of which is thus noticed by our traveller.

“ The coachman of the French minister of police, being bribed, smuggled coffee and sugar at proper opportunities, from Altona into Hamburgh, in his master's coach. Inside appeared in great state a respectable figure sitting at the window. It was the ingenious broker himself, properly dressed, and decorated with the grand cross of the legion of honour ; the gates flew open, the guard presented arms, and the coffee passed with every mark of respect. Unfortunately for the poor broker, the astonishingly frequent visits of his excellency's coach began at length to excite suspicion ; the door was opened rather abruptly, and he was discovered with his insignia, sitting upon bags of coffee and sugar. Thus terminated a speculation, like many others, where the success of the commencement has prompted men to push their advantages too far, and so difficult a thing is it to know where to stop.”

The broker's mistake was in bribing the coachman, instead of the master ; had he proposed to the French minister of police to divide with him the profits of this lucrative speculation, there is no doubt that he would have eagerly closed with such a proposal, and the speculation would have continued, without interruption, to the present moment. There has scarcely been a single minister or agent of France, since the revolution, who has had sufficient honesty to resist a bribe ; and indeed, the enormous fortunes, which some of both the

military and the civil agents of the French government have amassed, have proceeded solely from the joint or separate operation of corruption and plunder.

On the fourth of May Mr. Semple left Hamburg in the common post waggon to proceed to Berlin. The road lay through the Hanoverian dominions, and the author's account of the country is any thing but favourable; it improved, however, materially, as soon as he passed the Prussian boundary.

"A conversation which took place among my fellow travellers (who were Germans) gave me by no means a favourable idea of their patriotism. One of them repeated in French, and with enthusiasm, the proclamation of Buonaparte to his army before the beginning of the campaign, and praised its energy, especially when compared with those of Germany. That might be true; but as, in this notable harangue, Buonaparte tells his soldiers that in a few months the Prussian Monarchy should cease to exist, for having dared to excite Germany to revolt, it might have been expected that so degrading an expression would have caused at least some little indignation in a German bosom. What was my astonishment to hear it repeated, without a single remark, except in its favour. It is clear, if such sentiments be general throughout the different races of Germany, and they can thus patiently hear themselves treated as revolted slaves, not only that they are, but that they must continue so. I trusted, however, to meet, as I proceeded, with a different and a better spirit; and began to regard my companions as some of the degenerate children of Germany."

Thank Heaven! a different and a better spirit has pervaded and still continues to pervade the different races of Germany; a spirit which only awaited the vivifying breath of their rulers, to burst forth into a general blaze of patriotism, and to prove that they not only are not revolted slaves, but that they are loyal subjects, resolved to fight for the laws and constitutions, which their unprincipled invaders had abolished, and not to leave one Frenchman in their country, except as a prisoner, or a friend.

Our traveller arrived at Berlin on the eighth of May. He was much stricken with the beauty and magnificence of the capital of Prussia, of which he gives an interesting account.

"Berlin is certainly one of the handsomest cities in Europe. The streets are generally broad and regular, and the houses either built of stone, or stuccoed; so as closely to resemble it. - From space to space, palaces, churches, theatres, and other public buildings, present too continued an uniformity, and yet seem all parts of one great plan. The Spree, which runs through the centre, gives an appearance of maritime commerce to this inland city, at which we have arrived through endless roads of sand. Barges of a hundred feet in length,

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with a prow and stern alike, sharp and rising high out of the water, recall the elegant shape of the gondolas of Venice, but serve the more useful purposes of internal commerce, and of communication with the Oder. By them, the wood of the forests, and the coals and manufactures of Silesia and of England, are transported to Berlin at an easy rate. The bridges over the Spree are a further ornament to the city. Several of them are of stone, adorned with statues, and appear as if connected with the adjoining buildings. The principal bridge is of hewn stone, about one hundred and seventy feet in length, with five arches, ornamented with marine figures. On one side is an equestrian statue of the Elector Frederick William. At the angles of the pedestal are four slaves of bronze, on the fingers of which are still visible the marks made by the sabres of the Prussians, when, in 1760, they took possession of the city. The bridge of Dorotheistadt, of a single arch, is also of stone, and adorned with eight groupes of statues, in which the elegance of the designs is far more conspicuous than their modesty. Besides the stone bridges there are many of wood, which cross the Spree and the canals which communicate with it.

“A circumstance which contributes greatly to preserve the neat appearance of the streets of Berlin, is the total absence of beggars. No sooner does one appear, than he is taken up by the police, and sent to the House of Industry. Thus, in surveying what appears ranges of palaces, the eye is not shocked by beholding their splendour and order contrasted with miserable objects, often more calculated to excite our disgust than our commiseration. *What is practicable in Berlin, is it not equally so in London?*”

We take upon ourselves to answer this question, by stating, without fear of contradiction, that nothing is more easy than the total extirpation of mendicity from the metropolis of England. And no new law is necessary for the accomplishment of this desirable object, since the laws already in force have provided an efficient remedy for the evil. The truth is, and it is a degrading truth, that no country has such excellent and beneficial laws as England has, and in no country are the laws more neglected, more negligently enforced, or violated with greater impunity. If the police officers, and the parish officers also, would do their duty, and apprehend all beggars, within their respective districts, as the law not only authorises, but enjoins, them to do, they would be immediately passed, in a regular way, to their respective parishes, and there provided for. In the event of their return to the parish from which they had been removed, they would be subjected to imprisonment. When we consider the enormous sums which are annually collected in this country, for the support of the poor, it is a national disgrace to see the streets of our principal towns, but more especially of the metropolis, crowded with beggars, as they are. But it is an old, and unhappily a *true* saying?

that what is every body's business is nobody's. If the numerous patrols of Bow Street, who are at present supported at a very great expence to the public, without any *adequate* advantage, were to be occasionally employed in clearing the streets, at the West end of the town, of beggars by day, and of prostitutes by night, the public would soon feel some benefit from their services. The magistrates, too, should give strict orders, as well to their own officers, as to the parochial constables and headboroughs, to apprehend all persons within their districts, who shall be found begging. By this means, the law would be enforced, and the evil be speedily removed. We now return to the author's description of Berlin.

" Berlin is surrounded by a slight wall of twelve or fourteen feet in height, or by palisades, and has fifteen gates, of which that of Brandenburg is by far the most striking. It is modelled after the Propyleum of Athens, erected by Pericles during the most flourishing period of the arts in Greece, and terminates one of the finest streets in Berlin; in the centre of the street is a gravel walk, bordered on each side with linden-trees, and generally on fine evenings crowded with company. The gate itself is a species of colonnade, of twelve fluted doric columns, and as many smaller, with ten pilasters, so arranged and joined, as to afford six openings. Over the architrave, a flight of steps leads to a platform, on which formerly stood a chariot with four horses, and a figure emblematic of the triumph of peace; this, however, the French removed to Paris.* The bas-reliefs represent the combat of the Centaurs with the Lapithæ. On each side two guard-houses, much lower than the gate, form part of the design, and serve at least to connect this elegant structure with the adjoining buildings. Through the openings of the gate are seen the trees of the park, which begins immediately on the outside of it, and is the great resort of the inhabitants. It contains about eight hundred acres, of which six hundred are planted with young oaks, pines, beech, elm, and birch. This little forest so close to the walls has a charming effect. Numerous paths intersect it, where, in the hottest weather, the stranger may walk for hours in the shade, and totally forget that he is so near the metropolis of Prussia. Several openings are adorned with statues, none of which, however, are remarkable for their elegance. In ancient times this wood was far more extensive, and enclosed for the purposes of the chase. It is now more

* It is earnestly to be hoped that, when the allies reach Paris (and nothing can prevent them if they chuse to do so), they will strip that great repository for stolen goods, of all the fruits of plunder, and of all the articles of which their ruffian ruler, and his horde of military barbarians, have robbed the different countries which they have overrun with their armies, and restore them to their lawful owners.

usefully and liberally dedicated to the health and amusement of the citizens of Berlin. I noticed, with some surprise, that very few of the young trees, even close to the paths, were in any degree injured; no boughs broken off, no bark wantonly carried away. Such would not be the case near any large city in Great Britain. Are we to attribute this to the greater refinement of manners in the lower classes of Berlin, or to that well-regulated slavery of mind inspired by a despotic government? As an Englishman, and kindly treated and welcomed as such, I would willingly assign the former cause, could it be done without prejudice to the character of my own countrymen."

Whatever the cause may be, the truth must be acknowledged, that the lower classes of people in the great towns of England are more coarse in their manners, brutal in their conduct, and more prone to mischief, than the same description of persons in other countries. Nor do we think, that the difference visible in this respect is, by any means, to be ascribed to the different forms of the respective governments. It may be flattering to the pride of an Englishman to impute the worst parts of the conduct of the people to the freedom of their constitution; but it is a bad compliment to that constitution to ascribe to it effects which would be disgraceful to the most despotic governments. We know that great authority may be adduced for characterizing licentiousness of conduct in the people, as an ebullition of popular freedom. In some instances, this may be the case; but in matters wholly unconnected with politics, some other cause must be searched for, more compatible with reason, and more reconcileable with experience. In the mean time, we must acknowledge and deplore a contrast not very honourable to the national character, while we are grateful for advantages and for blessings unknown to the inhabitants of other countries.

Mr. Semple could not gain admission to the arsenal, which, from the military character of the Great Frederick, as he is called, might naturally be supposed to be a place on which great labour and great expence had been bestowed; though, from the account which our traveller heard of it, it is more remarkable for the eccentric taste of the architect or sculptor employed to construct or finish it, than for any other circumstance.

"The arsenal is one of the finest buildings in Berlin, and, standing near other public edifices, is evidently superior to them all. It forms a square of about three hundred feet, and has an air of gloomy grandeur well suited to the purposes for which it is formed. It is surrounded by iron chains, supported by cannon, and all its external

ornaments of helmets, swords, and trophies, denote what may be expected within. The interior, however, was not to be seen without an express order. I made several attempts to obtain admission, but in vain. This I regretted, not on account of the usual collection of the instruments of war which I might there have seen, but that I could not witness the effect produced on the mind by the ornaments of the inner court. There, I was told, the key-stones of the windows represented the heads of dying men of various expressions, and such as might easily have been collected on a common field of battle. The artist who planned such singular ornaments had either the most hardened heart, or the most benevolent intentions; he was either wholly indifferent to the sufferings of his fellow-creatures, or he wished to touch with pity the hearts of kings who might visit this arsenal, for the purpose of needlessly drawing forth what has been insolently termed their last arguments."

While our author remained at Berlin, there was a partial illumination for a victory said to have been gained over the French near Leipsig, of which he had heard some reports on his road. This encouraged him to pay a visit to the immediate scene of war; and he accordingly obtained, on the tenth of June, a passport for Dresden, duly signed at all the proper offices. Mr. Semple blames, and not without reason, the officers of the Prussian government for quietly suffering him, an Englishman, to proceed to a place which *they knew*, at the time, to be in possession of the French.

"The government knew perfectly well, at the very moment of granting me my pass, that Dresden was in possession of the enemy; but, for fear of spreading an alarm, the mail was suffered to depart. Thus was I first made the dupe of this miserable policy."

Of the effect which the promulgation of bad news might have, at this particular period, on the inhabitants of Berlin, the Prussian government must have been the most competent judges. But whatever policy might induce them to conceal from the people, they were not justifiable in suffering an Englishman to run the danger of falling into the hands of the enemy; since they might easily, on various prettexts, have withholden the passport, without assigning the true cause. Mr. Semple proceeded in the post waggon to Baruth, then the head-quarters of General Barclay de Tolly. Even here a mysterious silence was observed, and no intelligence could be obtained of the possession of Dresden by the enemy. It was, therefore, resolved to proceed, with Captain Faber, a Prussian officer, and two Saxons, returning to Dresden. As Mr. Semple had thought it probable that he should cross the route of the combined armies, he had provided himself with one letter of

introduction to Lord Cathcart, and with another to a Russian officer of rank. Captain Faber and our author travelled post together. As they approached the small town of Hoyerswerda, (where they were to pass the night,) they heard, at the distance of six or eight miles, repeated volleys of artillery and musquetry. Our author began to suspect, that the French had been victorious, and were advancing; and thinking that his letters of recommendation would prove prejudicial to him, should he fall into the hands of the enemy, he destroyed one of them, with some other papers. His apprehensions, however, proved groundless. Proceeding on his road from this place, in the post waggon, he entered into conversation with two of his companions, one of whom, a young volunteer, had been wounded in the battle of Lutzen, and was so distressed by the number of friends whom he saw fall in that action, that he expressed a wish that he might meet with a similar fate in the next engagement.

"Touched with his feelings, I could not help exclaiming, 'Would to heaven Lord Wellington were here, with forty thousand Englishmen!' How was I delighted to hear the reply of Faber, an officer who had been thirty years in the service, and had taken part in many of the great battles fought of late years on the Continent; 'Even without your troops,' said he, 'had we but some of your generals,---had we but Lord Wellington alone. What has he not effected, with such little means! I look upon him as by far the first general of the age.' My heart burned within me at hearing, for the first time in my life, the military courage and talents of England allowed by a very competent judge, their full share of merit, to which they have fought their way through all the studied calumnies of our enemies. I had witnessed, eight years before, the strange contempt expressed of English troops by Spaniards, grossly ignorant as they then were of their own duties, and was, therefore, never afterwards so much surprised at hearing nations who had real pretensions to military skill and bravery, expressing the same sentiments. On the contrary, I turned my mind to seek the origin of opinions so prevalent, yet so miserably unjust, foreign, however, to the present narrative. At length, the military reputation of Great Britain is fixed on a basis too firm to be shaken, and of which the consequences to Europe are still incalculable."

On their arrival at Muskau, Mr. Semple, unfortunately, left his intelligent fellow-traveller, Faber, to proceed more rapidly with a Russian courier, who had accompanied them from Hoyerswerda. At three in the morning of the fourteenth of June, they left Muskau, and on the afternoon of that day, Mr. Semple reached the head-quarters of the allied army at Wurtschen, and repaired to Lord Cathcart's, to whom he stated his case, mentioned the destruction of his letter to his Lordship,

and observed, that he had still one letter to the Russian admiral, Greig, whom he had been given to understand would be found with the Russian army. He, at the same time, produced his passports, which Lord Cathcart examined, and observed, that they contained no proof of his being a British subject; and that he was avowedly born in America. Mr. Semple replied, that his birth in America was an accidental circumstance, owing to his parents having been taken prisoners, in the American war, and conveyed to Boston; and that, as he had travelled through Prussia with the same passports, he could not conceive that they were not sufficient, and therefore had not provided himself with any others.

"His Lordship left me, and after some time, sent for me again. 'It will be proper,' said he, 'that you go to Gortitz, which is a large town, where you will easily procure horses and every accommodation for pursuing your journey to Colberg, the nearest sea-port now left open to an Englishman. There will be an opportunity this evening, and this gentleman,' pointing to a young Russian officer, 'will conduct you.' Fain would I have expressed my wish to remain at Wurtzen, but under the existing circumstances, I felt that it was not for me to oppose so direct an intimation. An hour afterwards I again saw his Lordship on horseback; who asked with much apparent politeness, 'if there was any thing else he could do for me,' I answered that there was not, when he touched his hat to me and rode off. Soon afterwards the Russian officer made his appearance, with a common travelling waggon, in which was some straw instead of seats; my portmanteau was placed in it, and we set off.

No one who reads this account will, we are persuaded, be led to suppose, by any thing which it contains, that Mr. Semple was regarded as a spy, and was now in actual custody, and on his way to prison! Such, however, is the fact. Lord Cathcart, it seems, was impressed with the idea that he was an American, had communicated his suspicions to the King of Prussia, and had consigned him over to the custody of that Monarch. And he was accordingly conveyed to a distant fortress, *Silberberg*, and there immured in a dungeon. On his way, at Gortitz, he was visited by an Englishman, whom he understood to be Mr. George Jackson, who asked him many questions, and particularly enquired whether he remembered having had a passport signed by the British Minister four years before in Seville. This circumstance, remarkable as it was, Mr. Semple unfortunately could not call to his recollection, and he accounts for his forgetfulness, by the anxiety and total want of sleep which he had experienced for the last three days and nights. After a night's rest, however, he recalled the whole

transaction to his mind, and stated it in a letter to which no credit seemed to be attached ; and the hasty and unjust conclusion was formed, that he could not be the person he represented himself to be.

We shall never be found to censure the jealousy or the vigilance of a person placed in the situation in which Lord Cathcart was placed at this time, but that jealousy should be carefully guarded by discretion, and such vigilance should be ever exercised in subordination to judgment. However suspicious appearances might be, it was the bounden duty of Lord Cathcart, before he consigned a British subject to a Prussian dungeon, to make every practicable enquiry into the truth of his story. His lordship might have ascertained the fact of Mr. Semple's having committed papers to the flames, at a particular place ; he must have learned from him the name of the person who had given him a letter to his Lordship ; and he ought, at least, to have contented himself with keeping Mr. Semple in safe custody, until he should write to England to the person who had been stated to be the author of the commendatory letter, when he might have ascertained the fact.

These were precautions which common sense would dictate, and which justice imperatively demanded. A British subject is sufficiently galled by the loss of his liberty, under any circumstances, and in his own country, where a ready appeal lays to the laws ; what, then, must be his sensations, when consigned to a foreign dungeon, by the fiat of a fellow countryman, in a nation where the will of the sovereign is law, and where the prisoner has no opportunity of appealing even to him. Had Lord Cathcart written to England, he must have ascertained the truth of Mr. Semple's statement. Even the letter which he had to the Russian admiral, Greig, was presumptive proof of his innocence ; and, indeed, stupidity itself could alone imagine that a spy would voluntarily introduce himself to the very man who must have the means of detecting him. In the gloomy fortress of Silberberg our tourist remained, from the 26th of June, till the 30th of July, when he received a note from Mr. Jackson, accompanied by the intelligence that his statement had been verified by letters from England, and that he was now at liberty. There must be some mistake in the dates, for it was the 10th of June when Mr. Semple left Berlin, and about the 26th or 27th when he entered the fortress of Silberberg, and he was released on the 30th of July ; yet, immediately after, he talks of "being for *eleven weeks* subjected to the constant observation of others ;" which seems to imply, that he had been so long in custody. Another fact is mentioned,

which renders Lord Cathcart's conduct wholly inexcusable. "His private secretary, Mr. Werry, with whose family I had been acquainted in Smyrna and Malta, had repeatedly offered, during my imprisonment, to ride over to Silberberg, and identify me; but had never been permitted by his Lordship." Here, then, decisive proof of innocence was within the reach of his Lordship, and he refused to seek it!!!

Imprisoned in the same fortress with our author was a Dutch officer, who had accompanied the French army into Russia, and had been present in all the destructive battles of that memorable campaign, of which he communicated many interesting particulars.

"Long before the retreat (from Moscow) began, subordination was lost amongst the troops, and it was the general opinion, that Buonaparte had been deceived by an appearance of negotiation, to lose so much time at Moscow. He was in the affair which took place previous to the defeat, in which he thought it extremely probable that the Russians took thirty-seven pieces of cannon, as stated by Bennigsen, as he knew of twenty-five. It was a complete surprise, and Murat himself was nearly taken. For a long time his white plume, which, as King of Naples, he always wore in the field, was conspicuous amidst hostile helmets, and the spears of Cossacks, and it was only by a desperate charge of his adherents, that he was saved. It is impossible, by any description, to exaggerate the horrors of the retreat. It was three hundred thousand men, put to suffer all that human nature could endure, without entire destruction. His horses all died, and he was obliged to walk, in the severity of the cold, with his feet nearly bare. He saw forty louis given for a place in a common cart, for a distance of thirty miles; and a general, after making a bargain of that kind, being benumbed by the cold, was pushed out by common soldiers, who had previously occupied the seats, and left to perish on the road."

Such was the issue of that memorable campaign, which reflects indelible disgrace on the military character of Buonaparte, and which paved the way for the final destruction of his usurped power,—for, we trust, the day of retribution is at hand, and that he will, at last, be made to pay the forfeit of his countless crimes. On his return, Mr. Semple was detained some days at Reichenbach, where he had an opportunity of observing the appearance and discipline of the Russian guards, of whom he gives a very favourable account.

"Reichenbach being head-quarters, the military duty was performed by the Russian guards, of whom about two hundred assembled here every morning, from various parts in the neighbourhood. I was exceedingly struck with the appearance of these men, un-

doubtedly the finest body in Europe. Their uniformity was not confined to their dress and accoutrements merely, but extended also to their countenances, which all bore what may be called a family resemblance. This gave to them a degree of interest which I have never seen in any other troops. Their air was highly military, yet without that haughtiness which the French affect. Here the pride of military courage was evidently tempered by the past experience of great hardships, and by a patience to submit to them, equal to a readiness for braving dangers. Their hardy habits were evinced by their sleeping out in the open air upon the stones without even a little straw beneath them. The season, to be sure, rendered this, at present, no particular inconvenience, yet I believe that few other Europeans, in the same situation, would have chosen the street in preference to the adjoining guard-house. Every thing, in short, in these troops, shewed the perfection of military discipline, founded upon materials of the very best kind. They are the delight of the emperor, who indeed has taken great pains to form them. He is for ever reviewing, parading, inspecting, them. Does he see a man among his other regiments, with whose appearance he is pleased, he orders him directly into his guards. In inspecting his guards, does one strike him as being any ways inferior to the rest in point of appearance, he is sent to mingle with the troops of the line. This constant attention on the part of the sovereign, joined to the uncontrolled command of a vast population, easily accounts for the superior appearance of the Russian guards. It is by no means singular, that, out of so many millions, forty thousand men should be selected, who at once fix the attention of all who behold them."

On passing through Berlin, on his way home, Mr. Semple saw General Moreau, who was then on his way to join the allied army.

"After waiting upwards of an hour, I saw him descend the stairs, and enter the open landau which was in readiness for him, where he sat for some little time close to me. In the first carriage were some of the great military officers of Berlin, richly dressed, who had come to pay him honour. He alone, of all the party, was plainly clothed, and in his whole appearance had very much the air of an English farmer. His countenance, rather swarthy, had in it nothing striking, and he kept his eyes a little downcast, so that it was difficult to catch their expression. In departing, he took off his hat to the surrounding multitude, and displayed a broad forehead, over which were drawn a few thinly scattered hairs. I was struck with this spectacle, which shewed me, under such singular circumstances, one of the great men of the revolution, already marked by the hand of time; and I should have been still more deeply affected, could I have foreseen, that he was so nearly approaching the termination of his earthly career."

It must have been highly gratifying to the author to see a

man who had made such a figure in the revolution, and whose death was, malevolently and impiously, ascribed, by his old companion, and subsequent persecutor, Buonaparte, to the hand of Providence. That hand, it may be hoped, without either malevolence or impiety, will soon be upreared to inflict signal punishment on the most atrocious criminal of modern times. Our traveller pursued his way from Berlin to Stralsund, where he embarked for Ystad; thence he proceeded, by land, to Gottenburgh, where he was obliged to wait several days for a packet. He at length embarked, on the 25th of August, and, on the 31st, landed safely at Harwich. We have thus once more accompanied Mr. Semple through a long and not uninteresting tour, though productive of feelings not very congenial to the breast of an Englishman. Never, surely, was any man before mistaken for a spy under circumstances so completely destructive of any such imputation. We hope, however, that our military ambassadors will learn from hence the necessity of greater discretion in the formation of their opinions of individuals, and of greater caution in depriving an English subject of his freedom, and delivering him up to the mercy of a Prussian police. Not, indeed, that the Prussian officers or ministers were to blame, in this instance, for they naturally and necessarily relied on the information and sentiments of Lord Cathcart.

Twenty Facts in addition to Twenty Reasons, for not supporting the Bible Society; with a Defence of those Reasons; remarks on the Speeches at Basingstoke, at the Establishment of the North-East Hants Auxiliary Bible Society; and also on the late Address on forming a Bible Society for the County of Southampton. By the Compiler of the Twenty Reasons. 8vo. Pp. 34. 1s. 6d. Jacob, Winchester; Johnson, Gosport; 1814.

WE have let the Bible Society sleep for some time; at least we have forborne to disturb its slumbers—but, alas, we forget ourselves—it *never sleeps*—it is ever vigilant, ever active, and ever will continue so, till the church is destroyed, unless the churchmen connected with it perceive the danger, and unite with their brethren to correct it. “If the evil,” said the late venerable Bishop of London, “be gradually creeping on, it will be palliated from time to time, and not appear to every one in its true colours, till it be difficult, or too late, to remedy it.” It is not gradually creeping, but rapidly advancing, and if it be

not speedily stopped, the mischief will be incalculable. Assailed as the church is on all sides, here by the Papists, there by the Dissenters, without union and energy in her friends, she must fall, and the times either of Cromwell or of James the Second be renewed. We have not yet had leisure to do more than barely glance at Mr. Norris's valuable publication on this important subject; but we will take an early opportunity of paying due attention to it. Meanwhile we have read, with peculiar satisfaction, the little tract before us, the author of which has had recourse to the valuable publications of Mr. Norris, Dr. Marsh, and Mr. Nolan, three of the most able controversial writers of the present day. It appears, that the Bible Society have been as active in Hampshire as elsewhere, and have lately put forth an address, on which the author of this tract comments with becoming severity.

"In the *Anonymous Address*," remarks the author, "lately published, and addressed to the nobility, clergy, and inhabitants of the County of Southampton, respecting the formation of an Auxiliary Bible Society, the following passage occurs: 'there are those, who in their over anxious zeal for the church, and alarm for its security, are setting themselves in *hostile array*, not against the works of infidelity, but in *opposition* to Heaven's purest gift, the holy word of God, which they consider to be a dangerous book without the aid of human interpretation. It is no part of the intention of the framers of this address to enter into the great controversy on these points; or to publish *twenty reasons* in favour of the Bible Society, in reply to the *twenty reasons* advanced against it, many of which are unfounded in fact, and with respect to the remainder, such at least as are not self-negated, they have been repeatedly refuted.' The opponents of the *Bible Society*, are here accused of setting themselves in *hostile array* against the *Bible itself*! a more unfortunate charge could not well be made in this county; for, it is happily, at once refuted by those numerous and respectable supporters of the district committees lately established in aid of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, who have already circulated many hundred volumes of the Holy Scriptures* 'without the aid of human interpretation,' and consequently could not have seen any 'danger' in it. Such alas! are the calumnies to which, in the present day, the friends of the church are exposed! Because they see *danger* in the *constitution and proceedings* of the *Bible Society*, they are accused of an 'over-anxious zeal' for the church, and of setting themselves in *hostile array* against heaven's purest gift, though their conduct and activity in circulating the Scriptures prove directly the reverse! Is

* From the Depot at Alton and Basingstoke alone, more than two thousand volumes—Bibles 'without note or comment,' Prayer Books, Testaments, &c. have been issued.

this the meekness with which the advocates of the Bible Society receive and distribute the engrafted word? Is this their mode of uniting all hearts?"

A more audacious falsehood was never uttered by man, than the assertion that they who oppose the Bible Society are enemies to the word of God! We oppose it, and ever will oppose it; and who dares to class us among the enemies of the Bible? Surely, after such language as this, it is high time for churchmen to open their eyes to the insidious projects of these wholesale calumniators. The framers of this address have annexed to it a long list of distinguished names who are to be found among its friends and supporters. Here we find the name of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, who, we know, was deluded into it by false representations of the nature of the Society, and who, we have reason to believe, sorely repents that he became the dupe of such delusion. The Bishop of London's name too is used, although in two of the county papers, the Hampshire Telegraph, and the Hampshire Courier, the asserted concurrence of that respectable prelate was positively contradicted *by authority!* What then are men not capable of, who do not blush to have recourse to these dishonest artifices, these base tricks, which would disgrace any cause. We trust, after this exposure, those well-meaning churchmen who have, with the best intentions, been led to lend their countenance to this motley Society, will hasten to withdraw it, to repair the error they have committed, the mischief they have done. The writers of the address again assert, that the object of a general diffusion of the Scriptures is not attainable, to the same extent, or in any degree approaching to it, by the society for promoting christian knowledge, from the inadequacy of its funds to the multiplicity of objects embraced by it; and from the limitation of its members to those of the church. "The exclusion of all persons who do not subscribe to the same articles of belief cannot fail to limit the means, and circumscribe the powers of action of that respectable and benevolent society, and must operate as an *irresistible obstacle to universal beneficence.*" The weakness of this argument did not impose on the man who used it, unless he were a greater fool than knave, which we by no means suspect him to be. True it is, that the good works of the society for promoting Christian knowledge cannot be extended to all mankind; but how does the unavoidable limitation of its means circumscribe the circle of beneficence? That society does all the good it can; it complies with the Scriptural

precept, to the utmost of its ability. "Do good unto all men, especially unto those who are of the household of faith." Its members, but not its beneficence, are limited to that household. But cannot Jews, Turks, Infidels, and heretics, for whom our church teaches her followers to pray; cannot the promoters of *schism* (which is a *sin*,) associate, by themselves, and contribute their means for the circulation of the Scriptures? And if all the churchmen were to unite with the society for promoting christian knowledge, and give all they now give to the Bible Society, would not their contributions in one place, and those of the Dissenters, &c. in another, amount to as large a sum as is raised by the two Societies, and purchase as many bibles as are now circulated by them both? And as this is a self-evident proposition, it follows, of necessity, that there is no obstacle to universal benevolence, either in the constitution of the society in Bartlett's-buildings, or in its limited means; and that the writer of the address has advanced a position which he cannot maintain.

In every district of Hampshire district committees in aid of this Society have been formed throughout the county, for the distribution of Bibles, Prayer-books, and Religious tracts, under the immediate sanction of the bishop of the diocese. No want, therefore, of Bibles can be experienced; and there can be no necessity for an auxiliary Bible Society. A Mr. Cotterell, a clergyman, it seems, ventured at a meeting at Basingstoke to represent Bishop Randolph as having changed his sentiments respecting the Bible Society. In direct contradiction to this assertion, we state, from positive knowledge, that the bishop's conviction of the mischievous tendency of that society remained unshaken to the last. Surely a clergyman of the established church should not have ventured to make such a statement without irrefragable proof of its accuracy.

"Because notes and comments, in explanation of the Bible are necessary, or they are not. If they are necessary, why distribute the Bible without them? why call a circulation of the Scriptures, when thus deprived of that which is necessary to give them their full effect, "the noblest object that ever entered into the mind of man;" or if comments and notes are wholly unnecessary (which, however, the most strenuous advocate of the bible Society will hardly venture to maintain) then every exposition, oral or written, must be equally superfluous. The provision made by our Blessed Lord for the perpetual continuance of an order of men, whose duty it should be to preach and to teach, must be wholly unnecessary, and the writings of every Divine, since the days of the Apostles, must be instantly conveyed to the flames as useless lumber."

We should like to hear the answer of the Bible Society to these posing questions. We wish that all its members were under the necessity of giving, each, a distinct written answer to them. What a blessed confusion of contradictory reasons should we see ! A pretty specimen of the "unity of spirit" very pertinently referred to by the writer of the Hampshire address ! The Ethiopian, mentioned in the New Testament, formed a much more correct opinion of the Scriptures than the members of the Bible Society. When *he* was asked whether he understood what he read, he modestly and wisely answered, "how can I except some man *guide* me." But the sages of the Bible Society think all instruction needless ; that even the most ignorant and unlettered can both read and *understand* the Scriptures without any *guide* ; else they would never put the bible into such hands, without note or comment.

The eighth reason against the Bible Society, we defy their advocates to confute.

"Because the Bible Society is a coalition of every denomination of Dissenters, and it is *natural* for them (without the slightest disparagement be it spoken) when admitted into society with us, to endeavour to gain the ascendancy, and to supplant the church, whenever they find an opportunity.—See the late Bishop of London's letter to the Clergy of Colchester."

If the churchmen of the Bible Society have forgotten either the Puritans of the seventeenth century, or Doctor Priestley's memorable train of gunpowder for blowing up the church in the eighteenth century, we have not. And, we are firmly convinced, that a much more formidable train is now laid, and that a vast majority of the Bible Society would be the first to apply matches to it. The ninth reason is—"Because, in such an unnatural union, the guilt of schism, which the churchman is taught to consider as sin, seems totally forgotten." Indeed, the guilt seems, by these liberal gentlemen, to be converted into a merit. Other strong reasons are urged, and a variety of facts adduced, in support of the author's main position ; but as these are chiefly selected from Mr. Norris's book, we purposely forbear to notice them until that excellent production shall come regularly before us. In the mean time the intelligent author of this little tract has our best thanks, for ably vindicating the cause of the church against the promoters of schism, in a county which boasts of so many sound and excellent members of the establishment as Hampshire does.

The Ordeal ; a Novel. 12mo. 3 vols. Pp. 672. 18s. Gale and Curtis. 1813.

THE Ordeal is no unattractive title, as it, naturally enough, leads the professed novel-reader to expect some dread trial, to which the hero or heroine is to be subjected, and out of which he or she is to rise triumphant over his or her enemies, persecutors, or slanderers. But such a reader will be disappointed, if he take up these volumes with such an expectation ; for here will he find no burning plough-share ; and no trials but such as most human beings are destined to encounter in their progress through life—for life is the ordeal here considered.

The story, which we mean not to develope, that we may not damp the reader's curiosity, is constructed with skill ; the incidents are, for the most part, natural and well imagined, and these are uniformly rendered subservient to the main object—the inculcation of religious and moral principles. In the character of Lady Merton, however, the heroine's mother, there is much more to blame than the lady herself, in her recital of the principal events of her own life, for the benefit of her daughter, is made to blame. While that daughter, who is represented as a paragon of wisdom, acuteness, and virtue, is, most inconsistently, made to consider her mother as a model of perfection, and is perpetually bestowing on her the *presumptuous* appellation of—her *sainted* parent.

Lady Merton, then Maria Lindsey, was in love with Mr. Harcourt, a clergyman, who was equally attached to her ; and she listened to his proposals, which were favoured by her father. Yet, immediately after, in a fit of caprice, without any conceivable reason, she eloped with another man, Mr. Merton, to Gretna Green. And, although she is made to think correctly on most other subjects, this unprincipled act of legal prostitution, in marrying one man, when she loved another, this base perjury committed at the altar of her God, neither draws from her any confession of guilt, any admonitions of conscience, any warnings of self-reproach ; nor yet, from the more correct and chastened mind of her daughter, any decided condemnation or censure. We think this a radical defect in the work ; which is meant to be, and which, in most respects, really is, a religious and moral work, though, what it professes to be, a novel, and an amusing and interesting novel.

After this lady had been married some time, she accidentally met the object of her first attachment at a ball, when her

Feelings for a time overpowered her ; but she soon recovered her wonted composure. She gives this account of the occurrence.

“ Oh, my Laura, how shall I explain to you what I suffered at that moment ? The delight of that tone which sunk to my heart---the agonizing reflection, that my pleasure was criminal---and the horror of finding myself such a weak, guilty thing---were sensations that crowded upon me with a rapidity that nearly stunned me ; but, frail and inconsistent beings as we are, we have yet all of us sufficient energy of soul to reject that which is evil, and cling to that which is right. On a virtuous, and, above all, a religious, mind, the most unexampled and sudden occurrences, the most trying incidents, have power but for a moment ; the succeeding one clears the mist before our eyes, and our path is no longer dubious. Merely momentary was the agitation that shook my exhausted frame. My eye had spunk beneath the expressive glance of Harcourt ; but immediately recollection returned : I raised them, and, looking calmly on him, I instantly perceived that the first word he uttered would sink him in my esteem ; and, eager to prevent it, I took his arm, and, in as firm a tone as I could assume, said, ‘ We shall lose my husband and Mrs. Harcourt, if we delay joining them.’ Mechanically he followed the way I conducted : he seemed to have lost the power of speech ; and, without waiting to hand me into my carriage, he darted into his own, and drove off.”

The self-controul here exercised was, no doubt, highly praise-worthy, though rather improbable, in a Lady who, on a more important occasion, had displayed an absolute want of that useful quality ; and we cannot but wonder that “ the agonizing reflection ” did not precede the prostitution of her person to one man, when she had bestowed her heart on another. This reflection weakens the force of the lesson, for the sake of which we have extracted the passage ; but still the lesson is important. For young ladies are too apt to imagine that the most trivial misfortunes are irremediable ; the slightest losses irreparable ; and the most transient impressions immovable. It is, therefore, highly proper to teach them the truth, that they all have “ sufficient energy of soul to reject that which is evil, and cling to that which is right.”

When she had had three children by her husband, this eccentric Lady discovered, by mere chance, that his father had been afflicted with insanity, and she conceived this to be a sufficient reason for abjuring all future intercourse with him, forgetting, we suppose, her marriage-contract, her solemn engagement to take him “ for better and for worse, in sickness and in health.”

The different characters of the piece are, generally speaking,

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skillfully delineated, though not always consistently supported. That of Laura, the heroine, is repulsive, from its studied correctness, and assumed superiority; while there is a want of skill displayed in describing her qualifications, principles, and feelings, instead of making them appear in her actions. She, too, is as inconsistent, in some respects, as her mother; for she deliberately engages to marry a man, for whom she has evidently no affection whatever, and, on finding that his family had been subject to insanity, she considers that as a radical objection, breaks off the match in consequence, defends her conduct on principle, and resolves to pass a life of celibacy. Yet, when she so deliberately engaged to marry, she knew that her own grandfather had been insane, and that, of course, the same objection was strictly applicable to herself. Surely, so glaring an inconsistency could not escape the observation of the author. There is another defect in the delineation of Laura's character; she is too enthusiastic, with all her coolness and discretion; and the description of her feelings is frequently fanatical, and occasionally, though certainly unintentionally, borders on impiety. We will illustrate our meaning by a passage or two.

"The happiness of those she loved, their affection, would call to her mild countenance the expression of hallowed pleasure, grateful yet tranquil gratification, but the bright dreams of bliss no longer illumined her seraphic face; and the flash of enthusiasm, dazzling as transient, rarely now blazed in her dark blue eye; but real enthusiasm, or real devotion, can never die. Deep in the recesses of her heart was it treasured; and, offering up incense to Heaven, and Heaven's king, it burnt before his throne, a bright and steady flame, pure as the angelic soul from whence it emanated.

Independently of the presumption, not to say impiety, in this passage, it is highly rhapsodical, and, in the closing sentence, almost nonsensical. Another specimen of the same kind will suffice for our purpose.

"Gratitude and delight dilated the heart of Laura---animated her countenance---and lighted up each feature with a lustre, *holy, awful*, and almost *supernatural*. In the *glorious brightness* of her eyes, the flash of meaning, pure and spiritualized, with which she raised them to Heaven, her father saw only the interesting and affecting enthusiasm of her feeling mind."

There is a great deal too much of this *cant*, we know not what else to call it, which detracts materially from the general merit of the work, and we are sorry for it, for it has a good moral tendency, and, in most instances, inculcates good principles, and right motives of action.

There are other inconsistencies, in these volumes, in which also a rigid attention to grammatical propriety is not uniformly observed. In order to keep up a mystery, the initials only of the name of a child is inserted in the baptismal register, to be filled up, forsooth, at some future period; an act which would subject the clergyman to a pretty severe penalty; but we have said enough of the general merits and defects of the work, to enable our readers to form a tolerably just conception of both.

Spain delivered, a Poem, in two Cantos; and other Poems: by Preston Fitzgerald, Esq. Author of 'the Spaniard.' 8vo. Pp. 100. 6s. J. F. Stockdale, London; Butler, Dublin. 1813.

"The treacherous and tyrannical usurpation of Spain, by the ruler of France," justly observes Mr. F. in his 'advertisement,' "stands unparalleled in the annals of injustice; and to record the glorious resistance made to so licentious an act of power, and celebrate the triumph of freedom over despotism, has formed the object, though it may have eluded the hope, of the following poem. History will perform her part; but it has always been more peculiarly the province of poetry to perpetuate a generous spirit by the memory (commemoration) of illustrious exploits."

The historian and the poet have each his duty to perform in this most pleasing task; and Mr. Fitzgerald has certainly discharged his portion of the duty with ability and success. He has taken indeed, but a kind of bird's-eye view of the glorious achievements which have been perpetrated on the Peninsula, during the last few years; but each separate event has occupied the pen of other bards. A brief allusion having been made to the early transactions of the Peninsular war, the poet thus refers to Lord Wellington's retreat to the impregnable lines of Torres Vedras.

"Now roused again to rapid stride,
Gigantic pow'r has pour'd* his pride,
Rushing with ruin, wide and far,
In desolating sweep of war!
"On, on, flush'd child of fortune! on;
"Snatch a new wreath ere time be gone;

* This is a wholly unjustifiable application of the verb *pour*, a verb with which greater liberties are taken by modern bards than with any other verb in the English language; though we confess ourselves at a loss to discover the superiority of its attractions.

" Britain retires! see, see her flee;

" She hastens to the sheltering sea."

" Mistaken man! these hopes how vain!

Vain all thy prowess, vain thy power!

Lo! Britain shall thy shock sustain,
And from Coimbra's heights retrieve the hour.

" Fierce as the boiling surges rave
Round the rude rock that stems the wave;

But ne'er can move its rooted base,

Nor once usurp its awful place;

So fierce, yet feeble, sound th' alarms

From Gallia's now successful arms,

Till mock'd Massena checks his pride,

And backward rolls the reflux tide.

" But mark yon night-fires' wakeful light;

" His camp's secure, nor shook by fear."

Ah! these false flames defend his flight,
And cheat destruction hov'ring o'er his rear."

The acts of cruelty and oppression committed by the French in their retreat, on the defenceless inhabitants, are noticed with appropriate feeling, and with becoming indignation. The bard follows his victorious countryman from Torres Vedras to Fuentes de Honore, Ciudad Rodrigo, and Badajos, to Salamanca.

" Ragusa's Duke beholds from far
That omen of the threat'ning war,
And hastes, with Gallic pride, to tear
The laurels that his foemen wear;
Yet, cautious, tries each mazy art
Of skill'd manœuvre's practised part,
To gain that 'vantage of the hour,
Which takes from fortune fortune's pow'r.

Rapid from shore to shore he flies,
O'er ev'ry interposing tide.

Each vale each hill that climbs the skies,
Each tow'r and town his fire-wing'd steps bestride."

" Yet, watch'd through ev'ry wily round,
He treads in vain the guarded ground;

Till worn at length in waste of plan,

Sudden he forms the battle's van.

So, when aroused, in ireful mood,

The awful lion shakes the wood:

Prowling, intent, with measured force,

The wary tyger marks his course;

And silent, eager, fix'd, and fell,

Follows his foe with murd'rous eye;

Then, darting over down or dell,
Cow'rs low, at last, in furious spring to fly.*

Lord Wellington's attack on the French, at this point of time, is well described: and the whole of the battle minutely, but ably delineated; and the first canto closes with a tributary stanza to the memory of those who fell in the field of honour.

“ And who, that feels the warrior's flame
Or wakens to the wish of fame;
Who, that e'er lov'd his country well,
Would, for that field on which ye fell,
Refuse to part this ling'ring life
Of imperfection, pain, and strife?
Oh! envied in your death, adieu!—
Still memory and the muse for you,
Shall weave their fresh, immortal wreath;
While tears shall fall that balm the brave,
And sighs shall swell that heroes breathe
For those in Victory's arms, and glory's grave.”

The second canto is devoted to the battles of Vittoria and the Pyrenees. It opens with a congratulation to Spain on her recovered freedom, and the prospect of complete independence now opened to her view. It then proceeds to notice the established liberty of the press, and the suppression of the inquisition.

“ And pausing not 'mid arms' array,
Will Spain her patriot Spirit stay;
But, bursting all the chains that bind
The dark, decay'd, imprison'd mind.*
Pours on its cell the moral ray,
And back to nature leads the way;
E'en as the angel who remov'd
The suffering saint by heaven beloved.
Yes; now that seraph spirit beams,
Which opens the gate of Knowledge wide;
The range of charter'd thought redeems
And gives to man his stature and his pride.
“ And, crumbling at the touch of truth,
Invigorate with reviving youth,

* “ Although the Cortes had established the liberty of the press some time before the battle of Salamanca, yet that event is not unnaturally classed with the abolition of the inquisition, which occurred after; as they both can be traced to the same glorious principle inspired into Spanish Policy by British counsels.

Yen gloomy walls' accurst controul
 Dissolves, and disenchant's the soul,
 Dire work of wretched Philip's hate,*
 Whose viewless caverns teem'd with fate ;
 Sad in the silence of the tomb,
 Save echoing to some dreadful doom ;
 Whose heart and health and hope declin'd,
 Pent for a thoughtless word a look ;
 Till fainting life to flames resign'd,
 Or nature from her seat fell torture shook !

" Perish, inquisitorial rage,
 False idol of a fiercer age !
 Fall, thou fiend-god, whose rites defile :
 Freedom rejoice, and reason, smile ;
 Fair hope, fond charity, arise,
 For heaven's pure flame relumes the skies,
 Glows on the altar, glads mankind,
 And pours on Spain the bliss of mind.
 Th' enlarging view and lofty thought
 Now burst the shackles of her soul ;
 Glory and peace, by valour bought,
 Now breathe their blessings ;—Britain gives the whole."

We trust that the abolition of this diabolical engine of blind superstition, and of Papal tyranny, will pave the way for the introduction of religious, as well as of civil, liberty in Spain. This only will release the minds of the people from a state of the most cruel bondage, in which the intellectual powers of men have been holden, since the establishment of christianity. And this only will enable them either to preserve, or to appreciate the blessings of civil liberty. It is, therefore, a consummation devoutly to be wished. The bard now brings us to the battle of Vittoria.

" There injured Spain's indignant force,
 Embattled, pours its patriot course ;
 And Lusitania's ardent power,
 With a just rage, inflames the hour ;

* " It is true, that the inquisition was first introduced into Spain by Ferdinand and Isabella ; but it remained comparatively harmless until Philip II. gave it its peculiar malignity and force. It is also true, that the French abolished the inquisition, while they retained the shackles of the press. But their unauthorised mandate had no effect on the nation at large. And it was reserved for Lord Wellington, by the generous persuasion of reason and friendship, to produce, while at Cadiz, this desirable change in the Spanish Government.

While, cautious in glowing turn,
 Here Scotland, Erin, England burn,
 And see their blended banner rise,
 And victory follow as it flies !
 Lo ! Spain and Britain storm that wing ;—
 Britain with Portugal the right ;
 And thunders, from the centre, ring
 On Gaul's main force confusion, death, and flight."

"In the battle of Vittoria," says the author in a note, "General Hill, with British and Spanish forces, overcame the enemy's left wing, and General Graham, with British and Portuguese troops, turned their right, while Lord Wellington, with all his artillery, attacked and broke their centre ?" But how came the author to omit the material fact, that General Picton's division not only began the action, and made the *first* impression on that part of the French line to which it was opposed, (we believe, the *centre*), but actually sustained the unequal combat alone, for several hours, to the astonishment and admiration of the whole army ? Yet the name of this gallant officer is not even mentioned, in the particular eulogies bestowed on all the different generals who distinguished themselves on that memorable occasion ? We pass over the siege of St. Sebastian and Pampelona, with the battle of the Pyrenees, having exhibited sufficient specimens of the bard's mode of describing such scenes. The miscellaneous poems, which follow these marshal strains, consist of a few light pieces on different subjects. We extract the following, on "the *Lanthorn fly*."

"In climes that drink the solar glow,
 Fraught with the fiery beams they know,
 The tropic insect waves its wing ;
 And, rich in phosphorescent light,
 Still, o'er the eben breast of night,
 Its gleam of glitt'ring flame can fling.

"So fancy keeps her happier hue,
 Tinged with the golden hours that flew
 O'er pleasure's late illumined day ;
 And, when the clouds of envy shade,
 When youth's once sun-bright prospects fade,
 Still gilds the gloom with casual ray !

The description of the insect is highly poetical, and the comparison in the last stanza is just and striking. With the following "epitaph on a Lawyer," we shall close our account

of this little volume, which will afford pleasure to those readers who are not very fastidious in their poetical taste.

" Here ponderoso rests ; no more
Laborious lord of legal lore !
Yet just that doom, we may not weep :
He sleeps, who made us often sleep !
Or in obscurest maze must stray,
Who many led to lose their way !"

Vindiciæ Ecclesiasticæ. A refutation of the Charge that the Church of England does not teach the Gospel, A Sermon.
By the Rev. T. Waite, M. A. 8vo. 32. Baldwin.

THIS sermon has been accidentally mislaid, or it would, long ago, have experienced from us that attention to which it is so well entitled from the importance of the subject discussed, and from the ability with which the discussion is conducted. Our readers need not be reminded, that, within a few years, there have arisen, within the pale of the church, a peculiar body of men, who have arrogated to themselves, exclusively, the denomination of *gospel-preachers* ; thus, by direct implication at least, charging all the other ministers of the established church with a neglect to preach the gospel of their master. Schismatics and dissenters, also, openly prefer this charge against all regular ministers ; and as a charge of so serious a nature, however absurd, and however unfounded, may, by constant repetition, obtain credit with the multitude, it is highly proper to embrace occasional opportunities for the exposure of its fallacy and injustice.

With this view, and for this laudable purpose, Mr. Waite has selected a very appropriate text from the ninth chapter of Saint Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians—" *Necessity is laid upon me, yea, woe is unto me if I preach not the Gospel.*" It is wonderful how the monstrous supposition could gain ground for a moment, that men, on whom this solemn obligation is imposed, and who must have it constantly before their eyes, would wilfully, obstinately, and without temptation or inducement, violate it ! If we did not know the force of prejudice, the inveteracy of schism, and the credulity of mankind, the successful circulation of such a calumny, in an enlightened country, in the nineteenth century, would be incredible.

" It is our privilege," truly observes the preacher, " to belong to a church admirable for the purity of its faith, and the simplicity of its

ceremonies, and our grief to see its doctrines objected to, and its communion forsaken, by many who have been brought up in its bosom. Under the pretence that the Church of England does not teach the gospel, numbers are seduced from its worship, and are led to seek the ruin of that parent to whom they are indebted for their religious existence. It is impossible for its ministers to behold this, and not be anxious to remove so great a reproach; it is impossible for them not to be desirous to bring back those who have been so grievously misled, to confirm others in their attachment to the communion in which they have been educated, and enable them 'to give an answer to every one, who asketh them a reason of the hope that is in them.' We do not contend that our church inculcates the principles of religion in exact conformity with the opinions of Arminius, nor that they accord with the exclusive and rigid tenets of Calvin; but, I trust, we can prove that it teaches the great doctrines of the fall and redemption of mankind, in a manner so scriptural, so explicit, and so practical, as justly to exclude every plea of secession from its communion."

The preacher then proceeds to explain the scriptural nature of our admirable Liturgy, and to prove that whatever the gospel inculcates, the church enforces, and the clergy preach.

"That it (the gospel) is taught in the liturgy and offices of the Church of England, and generally from her pulpits; it shall be my endeavour to prove; and, I trust, it will be seen, that it is not only taught in the liturgy, but that it appears there in all its original dignity and simplicity; that its doctrines are neither corrupted nor debased, its duties neither partially nor equivocally stated; but that both are so interwoven with all our services, as to impress upon our minds the sacred truths of christianity, and, at the same time, to prepare our hearts for the discharge of the duties to which true religion calls us.

— "No collection of prayers has yet appeared more scriptural in their subjects, more comprehensive in expression, more reverential and dignified in language, more pious and devout in sentiment, than the prayers and collects of the Church of England."

This is no exaggerated description of our church service; but a plain statement of facts. After explaining the doctrine of the church in the subject of regeneration by baptism, Mr. Waite proceeds to notice an objection arising out of this doctrine.

"Imperfect conformity to this doctrine, in the Collect for Christmas day, we beg, 'that we being regenerate, and made God's children by adoption and grace, may daily be renewed by his Holy Spirit.' This is one of those points to which those who would seduce you from the church principally object. We attribute, they say, too much to baptism, and, if this doctrine be sound, they observe, all baptized

persons are regenerate and true Christians ; a fact which is too often contradicted by their conduct. These objections arise from a mistaken conception of the meaning of the term, and also from supposing the church to teach that our merely undergoing an external ceremony renders us true Christians. Regeneration, like all the other gifts and privileges of Christianity, is a blessing only to those who use it aright. It signifies not the being brought suddenly from sin to christian perfection ; but the being transferred from a state of death and condemnation, to a state of grace and life. The word, as used in the Scripture, and in the offices of the church, means the being born again, through the instrumentality of baptism, by the efficacious aid of the spirit of God, to the power of living a life of faith and holiness. By the fall of our first parents mankind lost that power, and were justly said to be spiritually dead. In this sense, as well as a natural sense, 'in Adam all die ;' in the same sense also, 'in Christ shall all be made alive.' Baptism is, therefore, to every one who submits to that sacred ordinance, a pledge on the part of the Almighty, that he shall never be condemned for the sin of his original ancestor ; and conveys a promise of grace sufficient to subdue his evil propensities, and to save his soul. This is applicable to children ; and therefore infants are baptized, and consequently may be regenerate."

Conversion, with which regeneration is often confounded, relates only to those who have come to years of discretion, and who, living in the practice of any known sin, and in forgetfulness of God, need to be renewed to repentance and to undergo a perfect change of heart and life. A converted person who has never been baptized, cannot, in the scriptural acceptation of the term, be said to be regenerate ; and a regenerate person may be in such a state as to need conversion, since regeneration introduces us not to the perfection of the christian life, but to the privileges of christianity. Hence it will clearly appear, that the church nowhere teaches that the mere undergoing of an external ceremony renders us true christians.

Having shown that the *doctrines* of the gospel are really preached by the church, he goes on to show that its *duties* also are inculcated with equal strength. And he lastly examines the presumptuous and groundless assertion of the enemies of the church, that "if the church teach the gospel, her ministers do not?"—his answer to which we shall transcribe.

"The corruption of human nature forbids us to expect that the whole of any society can be influenced by pure and disinterested motives only ; and whatever bars the church may place for the exclusion of

improper persons from the ministry, there must always be found some, who will

Creep, and intrude, and climb into God's fold.

MILTON.

"We are warned of this in the twenty-sixth article of religion, and at the same time assured, that the 'Sacraments are effectual, because of Christ's institution and promise, though they be ministered by evil men.' But whilst the Church of England can boast of such divines as Hall and Andrews, Taylor and Beveridge, Barrow and Tillotson, Horne and Porteus, and while their writings form the chief study of so many of the clergy, the pulpit must produce much sound doctrine and practical piety. It is evident that the number of religious characters in the ministry has, of late years, been greatly increasing; and I think it may, with truth, be asserted, that no society can be found more eminently distinguished for learning and piety than the clergy of the Church of England. Numerous are the examples which even our personal knowledge could produce both in the highest and lowest ranks of this sacred order, of a most exalted devotion, a virtue beyond that of common life, and a purity of manners which even the breath of calumny cannot sully. In vain, however, do we expect perfection in any man, or in any society. The best of us 'are men of like passions with you,' and are subject to the same errors, infirmities, and sins. We frequently need your indulgence, and constantly your prayers. We entreat you not to suffer our imperfections to prejudice you against our sacred office, or the holy cause in which we are engaged. We entreat you to receive all our exhortations, not for our own, but 'for our work's sake.' We are ambassadors of Christ; we are watchmen appointed to warn you of the dangers of sin; we are shepherds of that flock, which Jesus Christ has purchased with his own blood: and of our embassy, our warning, and our care, we must one day give an awful account. Do us, then, the justice to believe, that we are not altogether unmindful of the solemn charge committed to us, and that our greatest anxiety is, "to finish the ministry we have received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God."

Let one, who is no clergyman, add his testimony to the merits of the clergy of the established church, whom he has frequently vindicated from the calumnious aspersions of their enemies. As a body, they may, unquestionably, challenge a comparison with any collection of persons, in any station or country, for purity of mind and conduct, for depth of knowledge and solidity of talent, for soundness of principle and judgment, for well-regulated zeal and well-directed energy; for sterling worth and genuine virtue.

REVIEWERS REVIEWED.

Political Sagacity of the Edinburgh Reviewers.

MR. SOUTHEY, in the notes to his *Carmen Triumphale*, has exhibited some notable specimens of the sagacity of those northern sages who have undertaken to enlighten their countrymen, on all political subjects ; which specimens appear to us to require a fuller exposure, and the sages themselves a severer castigation, than they have yet received.

In the *twenty-fourth* number of the *Edinburgh Review*, the critic, in allusion to the present war, confidently puts this appalling question :—“ Can any man of sense, does any plain, unaffected man, above the level of a drivelling courtier, or a feeble fanatic, dare to say, he can look at this impending contest, without trembling, every inch of him, for the result.” Presuming to consider ourselves something above the level of a drivelling courtier, something above, also, the level of a feeble fanatic, we dared to say, and did say again and again, that we anticipated the happiest results from the then impending contests. Ours, then, is not that *after-wisdom*, which judges from the event ; and we may, therefore, be allowed to triumph a little over these prophets of Scotland, who, as they acknowledge to have trembled every inch of them, have a fair claim to be placed among the feeble fanatics of the day.

In a subsequent number, the 27th, of the same pestiferous publication, speaking of *Portugal*, the Reviewer says,—“ If the French do not make an effort to drive us out of Portugal, it is because we are better there than any where else. We fear they will not leave us on the Tagus many days longer than suits their own purposes.” Ever ready are these gentlemen to find an apology for, and to laud the prowess of, their favourite nation. With them, the retreat of the French is, invariably, a skilful manœuvre to deceive their enemies ; their inactivity, the period of wise preparation for more decisive measures ; and if they have not converted their defeats into victories, they have gone very near it. Unhappily, however, for these false prophets, the French soon gave them the lie direct, they proved that they did not think us better in Portugal than elsewhere ; and they accordingly did

"make an effort to drive us out of Portugal," and into the sea ; but, instead of effecting their purpose, they were driven out of Portugal themselves, with very great loss, and accompanied by the execrations of a whole nation on whom they had inflicted every species of oppression and cruelty, which even the ingenuity of *their* malice could devise. Here again, then, they, ungratefully, put the sagacity of their Scottish advocates *at fault*.

It was reserved for these men to undertake the desperate task of indirectly justifying the conduct of the French in Spain, and to make the unprincipled attempt to censure the just indignation which the Spanish nation manifested against their oppressors.

"The hatred of the name of a Frenchman in Spain, has been such as the *reality* will by no means justify ; and the detestation of the French government has, among the inferior orders, been carried to a pitch *wholly unauthorised* by its proceedings towards them."—*Edinburgh Review*, No. 27.

If these critics had furnished the public with *their* scale of morality, we should probably have been supplied with the means of forming some notion of their estimate of the degree of injury necessary to justify hatred of those who inflict it. But without entering upon any calculation at once so nice and so fallacious, we may venture to assert, that the annals of civilised nations scarcely present an act of more flagrant injustice, of more outrageous tyranny, or a more flagrant violation of the war of nations, than the seizure of the royal family of Spain by Buonaparte ; their imprisonment ; and the treacherous occupation of the principal fortresses in their dominions. And, most assuredly, they do not contain any account of the invasion of a country, marked by circumstances of greater atrocity, by the commission of greater enormities, of more wanton cruelty, of more wide-spreading desolation, or of more cold-blooded murders ; than marked the invasion of Spain by the French. If, then, injuries and insults as great as man could sustain from man, could justify hatred of the nation by which they were inflicted, the Spaniards are fully justified in their hatred of the French name. And, with all the tenderness which these reviewers feel for the French government, it will exceed their powers of persuasion, to convince any one *above the level of a feeble fanatic, above the level of a decided*

Jacobin, or above the level of the drivelling president of a transatlantic republic, that the proceedings of that government, with regard to Spain, did not fully authorize and justify, the utmost degree of detestation of which the human mind is capable; and if the Spaniards should extend a considerable portion of their detestation to the profligate apologists of such a government, they would not expose themselves to censure for injustice. We might ask the sagacious critic, a question, what he meant by "*the reality*," in the passage last quoted; but our object here is to expose, not grammatical ignorance, but profligate principles.

"The fate of Spain, we think, is *decided*, and that fine and ~~mis-~~guided country has probably yielded by this time to the fate which has fallen upon the greater part of continental Europe. Her European dominions *have yielded already*." *Ibid* *Ibid*.

We, too, think, that the fate of Spain is *decided*, and that she actually shares in the common fate of all that portion of the European continent which stands opposed to France. Yet, happily for mankind, her fate is the opposite of that which the Edinburgh Reviewers so confidently anticipated, and so foolishly foretold. It was brought about, too, not by the *asserted* means of *yielding*, but by the *real* means of *resistance*. Her European dominions are *already* rescued from the grasp of a wretched usurper, by whose unhallowed touch her transatlantic dominions have never been disgraced. And they have been rescued, too, by the part which we have taken in that contest, on which the sensitive prophets of the north could not look *without trembling every inch of them*; and, for their greater mortification, and to the utter confusion of their whig advocates in parliament and elsewhere, the liberation of Spain from the French yoke has been achieved by the wise, firm, and vigorous, policy of those British ministers, whom the Edinburgh Reviewers have invariably represented as little better than drivellers and idiots.

The next enemy of France and friend of this country, who incurs the patriotic indignation, and draws down upon herself the scurrilous invectives, of these northern pretenders to a *second sight*, is Russia. "Considering *how little* that power has shown itself capable of effecting for the salvation of Europe, we acknowledge that we should view with great composure, any change which might lay the foundation of

future improvement, and scatter the French forces over the dominion of the Czars." *Edinburgh Review*, No. 28.

In the first place, it is curious to observe by what different scales these advocates for the French estimate the efforts of their favourite nation, and the exertions of her opponents. We had vainly imagined, that the noble attempt of the Russian Emperor to assist the Emperor of Germany, in the defence of his dominions against the inroads of France; and the still more noble stand which he made, alone, unsupported, and, indeed, neglected by the special friends and patrons of the *Edinburgh review*, on the frontiers of his own dominions, baffling every effort of the usurper and his army, and defeating him in repeated engagements, evinced something more than a capability of effecting a *little* for the salvation of Europe. We had really thought that these events manifested a strong disposition, and an efficient power, to contribute most materially to the emancipation of Europe from the French yoke. And, indeed, we are convinced that had Alexander been ably seconded by the power and resources of Great Britain, instead of being deceived, misled, and deserted, by the ministers of that day, who stood high in the favour of the *Edinburgh Reviewers*, he would, even then, have interposed a formidable, and, in many respects, an efficient, barrier to the destructive progress of French usurpation. The state of public affairs on the continent of Europe was not, indeed, at that time, ripe for the glorious explosion which has recently taken place; but much, however, might have been done, and much, we are persuaded, would have been done, by the Russian Emperor, to cherish the latent embers of resistance, to foster the generous spirit of independence, in the people subjected to France, by the mismanagement and pusillanimity of their rulers, and, above all, by the want of unanimity, of a right understanding between the different states, and of a common centre of action; and to facilitate the great object of universal liberation, whenever the time should arrive for making the glorious attempt.

It is the more necessary to place the conduct of Russia, at this period, in a proper point of view, and indeed, this had already been done by the able pen of Mr. Eustaphieff, whose masterly production was reviewed by us in one of our former numbers, as the *Edinburgh Reviewers* were in possession of these facts at the very time

when they penned the passage which we have selected for animadversion. They, consequently, drew from the same premises totally opposite conclusions to those which we have drawn from them. That their predilection for France, and French Politics, gave a bias to their reasoning, or rather to their assertion, there can be little doubt. And the same bias, had unquestionably a singular effect on the remaining part of the passage, to which we now direct our attention.

This part contains a declaration, tantamount to a wish that the French may subjugate the whole of Russia, which subjugation these men have the impudence to avow, will, in their opinion, lay the foundation of future improvement; that is, we suppose, will tend to meliorate the condition of the Russian people. In noticing the last passage we have to quote, we shall comment on this newly-discovered effect of French conquests. We shall here merely state our astonishment that any men, living under the benign influence of British Laws, can have the assurance to wish success to the inveterate enemy of their country, and confusion to an ally of that country. That such a wish is distinctly implied in the passage extracted, no one, we apprehend, will presume to deny. How must the writers of such a sentence blush for their degeneracy, their folly, and their ignorance, if they have the smallest sense of shame, now that experience has convinced them how *much* the power of Russia is capable of effecting for the salvation of Europe. That power *has been* magnanimously and effectually exerted for the accomplishment of that glorious object. Never did a nation display greater wisdom, fortitude, energy, courage, and perseverance, than Russia has displayed. She suffered her foe to advance into the heart of her dominions, that she might have time to collect and concentrate her means of resistance; she sacrificed her ancient capital to the preservation of her Empire; she then drove a victorious army before her; she rushed on and swept, like a torrent, the hostile hordes before her; in a few weeks she crushed the military power of France; that power which had crushed the independence of the European continent; and annihilated the largest and best-appointed force which had ever been collected in the field. Nor did she stop short to loiter in her career of victory, of victory unstained by cruelty, and sanctified by every motive which

can ennoble human actions, she continued her pursuit beyond her own frontiers; she rescued Prussia from slavery; she hoisted the sacred standard of independence, and invited the nations of Europe to rally around it. Her call was obeyed; the nations did rally; the flame of freedom spread with inconceivable rapidity; the cry of vengeance resounded from the banks of the Beresino to those of the Dnieper; from the Dnieper to the Elbe; from the Elbe to the Rhine; from the Rhine to the Meuse and the Moselle; and, we hope, will soon spread from these latter rivers to the Seine. Such are the achievements of that power which is the object of derision to the Edinburgh Reviewers; to men, who have prostituted what talents they possess, and what knowledge they have acquired, to the *patriotic* purpose of magnifying the efforts of a criminal Usurper, and even of panegyricizing his objects and his views: of vilifying his enemies; and of damping the spirits, and depreciating the energies, of every state which has laboured to shake off his degrading yoke. Away with such drivellers, such political idiots, such pseudo-patriots, and let Englishmen blush to encourage the stupid productions of their polluted press.

We now come to the last passage which we have to notice for the present, and which presents a splendid instance of their *prophetic* and *predictive* powers.

“GERMANY.”

“It would be as *chimerical* to expect a mutiny amongst the vassal states of France, who are the most impatient of her yoke, as amongst the inhabitants of Bourdeaux, or the Conscripits of 1808 and 1809. *The changes effected by the French invasion, have been favourable to the individual happiness of man.*” *Edinburgh Review*, No. 28.

This paragraph contains the very quintessence of *Jacobinism*, and exhibits the very climax of falsehood and folly! The *chimera* which these sagacious prophets of Edinburgh held forth to the astonished view of gaping Democrats, has proved a reality; and, to apply their own miserable jargon to their own precious *prediction*, it is “such as the *reality* will by *no means* justify.” The *vassal states* of France have *mutinied*; they have risen as one man against their sanguinary oppressors; have abjured his authority; they have shaken off their chains; and are preparing to inflict signal vengeance on his detestable head! Nor is it unlikely that, in a few days, the very impos-

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sibility in which the reviewers so evidently exulted, will prove a *reality* also, by a *holy insurrection*,—to use an expression of his favourite republicans—of the inhabitants of Bourdeaux against the usurped dominion of the Corsican assassin;—and even by a mutiny among the Conscripts, if not of 1809 and 1810, of 1813, 1814, and 1815, for so far has the bloody anticipation of this ferocious monster extended. The inhabitants of Germany have spared us the trouble of giving the lie direct to the Jacobinical assertion, that the invasion of France confers happiness on the nations which she subjugates. Either the writer knew that he asserted a most atrocious falsehood, or his ignorance was so profound as wholly to disqualify him for the office of a political writer. France is a volcano from whose crater, Paris, the revolutionary lava has issued, in dreadful profusion, for more than twenty years, spreading misery and desolation over all the neighbouring states, drying up the sources of industry; withering the beauties of nature and of art; and destroying the very springs of human happiness. Is there any thing, it may be asked, in the individual character of Napoleone Buonaparte, to justify the belief, that he has counteracted, in any degree, the fatal effects of the revolution? He may possibly have restored order by the establishment of an iron despotism; he may have secured internal tranquillity by subduing all freedom of speech, thought, and writing; he may have enforced implicit submission to his will by the erection of a military police, of a military commission, and of a military punishment, for refractory slaves; he may have achieved all this; but will the Edinburgh Reviewers admit, that, by this display of his policy, by this exercise of his power, he has promoted the *happiness* of the people? Again, let us ask, has this man shewn greater mercy to the nations conquered by his arms, than to his more immediate slaves in France? The whole history of Europe, from the year 1795, when this monster first assumed a leading character on the political stage, to the present eventful period, give the strongest contradiction to the preposterous supposition. But the people of Germany, Holland, and Switzerland, have settled this question beyond the reach of controversy. Even Edinburgh Reviewers, with all their metaphysical dogmatism, and with all their unbridled audacity, will not, we suspect, presume to deny that the people of any country are the best judges of their own hap-

piness. The people of those countries have, unanimously, risen to restore those ancient institutions, and that ancient state of things, the destruction of which, these reviewers maintained, had proved favourable to their happiness. Unless, then, it be contended, that the frequenters of certain oyster cellars in Edinburgh know better what constitutes the happiness of the Germans, the Dutch, and the Swiss, than these people themselves, it follows, of necessity, that the reviewer advanced what was untenable in theory, and contradicted by fact. The temper, the disposition, the principles, which these passages unfold, and which pervade every volume of the Edinburgh Review, developing its purpose, and betraying its object, cannot be too strongly depreciated by Englishmen, nor yet reprobated in terms of too great severity. For a work breathing such a pestiferous spirit, is it not a subject for wonder, that such a man as Sir James Mackintosh, who has held the important office of a British Judge, in India; and who stands forth the declared historian of the present reign, should condescend to write? He must, by this connection, be supposed either to espouse the principles of the Edinburgh Review, in which case he must have abandoned the principles which he publicly proclaimed in Lincoln's Inn Hall, before his departure for Bombay; or else to contribute to a work the principles of which he condemns—a proceeding which would convey no very favourable idea of the independence of his mind, or the consistency of his conduct. *Utrum horum mavis accipe*. But which ever way he decide;—we can anticipate no great accession of credit from the result of his choice.

MISCELLANIES.

ANECDOTES.

Quid pro quo.

WHEN Joseph Lancaster went to Ireland, on one of the speculative excursions which have been productive of so much advantage to—*himself*, he, by some means or other, procured an invitation to dinner, at the Castle in Dublin, the Vice-Regal residence. The ladies present were very well disposed to *quizz* the Quaker; and one of them, the young and beautiful daughter of the Earl of Harrington, gravely addressing him, after the cloth was removed, said, “Friend Lancaster, I drink to thy broad-bottomed beaver;” the Quaker, nothing abashed at this unexpected salutation, instantly replied, with great

great composure, "I thank thee, friend Anna Maria, and, in return, I drink to thy absent handkerchief."

Harmonic Discord.

On the first meeting of a convivial and musical club, the members of which distinguished themselves by the significant appellation of the *Sons of Harmony*, one of these children of Apollo partook so copiously of the good things at table, that, ere dinner was over, he was in a state of complete intoxication. In *Vino Veritas*, says the ancient adage; and, if there be truth in the adage itself, this Son of Harmony must have been the most quarrelsome of all the votaries of the Delphic God. For the effect of wine upon him, was a dispute with all who would dispute with him; and, immediately after dinner, he jumped upon the table, walked, or rather reeled, from one end of it to the other, kicked every bottle and glass into the laps of the guests, and produced such a scene of discord and confusion, as had never before been witnessed by this harmonic assembly.

The Hostility of Friendship.

A Female Benefit Society was established a few years ago, under the denomination of "THE AMICABLE SISTERS," and professing to be founded on principles of pure amity and benevolence. But here, as in too many other cases, professions and practice were much at variance. In truth, these amicable ladies were in a constant state of hostility; and, for some months, Bow Street was besieged by them, and the magistrates' ears dinned with their loud and incessant complaints. Whether this society began in friendship, and continued in hostility, ended in destruction, we are not able to say.

DR. DROMGOOLE'S SPEECH.

The Speech of Doctor Dromgoole, delivered at the Roman Catholic Board, on Wednesday, the 8th December, 1813, as reported in their official paper, the Dublin Evening Post: with a Commentary.

The following Speech, delivered by Dr. Dromgoole, the 8th of December, in the Catholic Committee, or Board, was received there with very great applause, and the Resolution on which it was grounded passed without a division. From his bold and open avowal of the ultimate views of the Irish Roman Catholics, and of the principles which they maintain, some persons have doubted whether he really uttered them; but the following incidents afford incontrovertible moral evidence, that the copy of the speech, which we give, and which appeared in the Dublin Evening Post of the 11th December, was genuine.—

It is universally well known, that the Roman Catholic Board uniform-

ly employ short hand writers to take down their debates, and that they are revised and corrected by a Select Committee thereof, before they are sent to the Editor of the Dublin Evening Post, which is completely at their devotion and under their controul. Though the Doctor's Speech was delivered the 8th of December, no part of it appeared in that Print till the 11th, and yet the Speeches of Dr. Sheriden, who seconded Dr. Dromgoole's Motion, and of others who spoke on it, were published in the Evening Post of the 9th December; in which it is praised, and the following reason assigned for postponing the printing of it. "At four o'clock Doctor Dromgoole rose to make his important Motion. He prefaced it by a Speech of great talent and learning, which we must defer till our next. It was replete with all the learning and good sense for which the learned Doctor is remarkable—we we should injure him and the public by giving it in the abstract." In short, they appreciated it so highly, that they took three entire days to give a correct copy of it. When it was printed in the Dublin Evening Post, of the 11th of December, the following Advertisement was prefixed to it. "We lay before our Readers a correct and ample copy of Dr. Dromgoole's excellent and argumentative Speech, on the subject of securities." It concludes with the following observation on its report of that debate—"It is by far the most ample, and is by many degrees the most correct and accurate account that has been published, of the recent proceedings of the Catholic Board."

It is also stated in the Dublin Evening Post of the 24th of December, that they do not charge him with want of judgment or lack of liberality.

The Lord Ffrench, in the Chair.

DOCTOR DROMGOOLE.—The present Resolution differs from the original Notice. The notice provided for the communication of the Resolution to Lord Donoughmore and Mr. Grattan, by the persons appointed to wait upon them from this Board. No obstacles, it was supposed, would lie in the way of the intended communication. The conclusion, however, was too hastily drawn, that the favour, which Mr. Pitt did not refuse, which Mr. Fox cheerfully conceded, which a Lord Lieutenant's Secretary never denied, and which every Corporation or Trading Company claimed as a sort of right when their interests were engaged, would not be withheld by Lord Donoughmore and Mr. Grattan,

from men having the confidence, and speaking the voice of millions of Catholics—but *Dis aliter visum*. In consequence of this unexpected circumstance, the form of the Resolution has been changed—but, with the exception of the order for its communication to Lord Donoughmore and Mr. Grattan, it remains in substance the same.

RESOLVED—That we think it necessary at this particular time; to re-adopt our Resolution of the year 1810, that as Irishmen and Catholics we never can, nor will consent to any interference on the part of the Crown, or the servants of the Crown, in the appointment of our Bishops:—and that, with every disposition to meet, as far as it can be done, the wishes of every part of our Parliamentary Friends and Protestant fellow subjects, we yet feel ourselves called upon to declare, that no settlement can be final and satisfactory, which has for its basis, or at all involves any innovation or alteration to be made by authority of Parliament in the doctrine or discipline of the Catholic Church in Ireland—that this Declaration is not lightly made, but is grounded upon the concurrence of this Board with the Prelates, and in the sentiments of the Catholic Body at large, as publicly and repeatedly expressed at the several Meetings held, for the last three years, in every part of the kingdom.

This Resolution divides itself into two parts.—The first goes to the re-adoption of the Resolution of 1810, to which there can be no objection. The second is declaratory of the sense of this Board, and of the Country at large, on any interference of Parliament in the Ecclesiastical Discipline of the Catholic Church in Ireland. It is expressive of the sentiments of every Gentleman who has spoken amongst us on the subject, and conveys the general result of the declarations repeatedly made at the Town and County Meetings, since the question was first broached. To the latter part of this Resolution, opposition is, it seems, to be made upon grounds not connected with the substance of the Resolution or its averment, but collateral and irrelevant. It is, it seems, Theological, and I am accused of introducing, by the proposal of this Resolution, religious controversy into the Board. But do Gentlemen understand the meaning of those terms, when they apply them to the propositions before you? Why, my Lord, if this question be theological, and beyond our competence, then has the Catholic Committee been usurping the rights of the Priesthood for the last 30 or 40 years,

Doctor Carry, and the venerable Charles O'Connor, were mistaken; and the Barons at Runnymede, when they stipulated with the Tyrant for the freedom of Episcopal election, were acting out of their province, and usurping upon the rights of others. But this argument is too absurd to be openly advanced, and the man who resorts to it must have other objects than these he avows. For observe, my Lord, that this objection was not made against the conciliatory Resolution, as it was called, of the last year, although that Resolution, truly, assumed an Ecclesiastical power, when it proceeded to submit the discipline of your Church to Parliament—it was not started during the whole time that the Committee of the House of Commons was employed in its theological task of new-modelling Catholic discipline. This was not, it seems, beyond their competence—but we are incompetent and intermeddling intruders, if we declare, that we can never consent to any interference on the part of a British parliament—a Lay and Protestant body, in Catholic Ecclesiastical affairs. But, my Lord, it would be trifling to go farther—the time of this assembly is too precious to be wasted in refuting an objection so evidently unfounded, and considering that it comes from the *conciliators* of the last year, so contradictory to the whole proceedings of the individuals who urge it. Other objections have been started. The resolution is, it seems, premature, and it has been hastily taken up. Premature! what, at a time when parliament is sitting! When your petition is prepared, and on the point of being transmitted to England; when your delegates are to be instructed, and when you are speaking of communicating (if allowed) with your leading parliamentary advocates. Premature!—Why, my lord, it would not have been premature three years ago, when the letter of lord Grenville first made its appearance. I proposed its adoption then, I brought it forward on two or three subsequent occasions, when you were sending delegates to London, that it might serve to govern their conduct in the communication to be held with our friends. Had it been early adopted, it would have saved much of the distrust, and serious differences of opinion, that have since occurred; and the country would not, in all probability, have had to experience the vexation of disappointed hopes!—It has not, then, been hastily taken up. A fortnight before the ever-memorable synod of our bishops, in

the last summer, I thought it my duty again to submit it to the consideration of this board; it was then got rid of by an adjournment, but the discussion led to so full an expression of the public mind, that, at that period, it would have been superfluous to press it further, it would be out of time, the bishops had decided, the bill was *fortunately* rejected, and the session of parliament was drawing towards a close. It was accordingly held over till opportunity should serve, or a necessity arise, for again bringing it forward. That necessity has arisen. The question of parliamentary interference, which, we confidently hoped, had slept the sleep of death, has been again resuscitated. A discussion has taken place upon this subject in the board---great public alarm has been excited, and we are now imperiously called upon to decide. Recollect, that upon that occasion no discussion was had---that the motion was merely withdrawn---that the sense of the board was not taken upon it, and that it is therefore liable to misconstruction. As to the mover, I give him credit for the best intentions---no one has laboured more disinterestedly, and with more self-devotion in the cause of his Catholic countrymen---no one has stronger claims on their confidence, or possesses it more deservedly than he---and, although I have differed with him in opinion, I am proud to bear this public testimony to his uncommon merit. He, my lord, is not prepared to resist the adoption of this resolution. He feels and acknowledges its necessity. He knows that no testimonial remains in the records of our proceedings, bearing unequivocal and unimpeachable testimony of our determination---Look, my lord, to what was called the conciliatory resolution of the last summer. That resolution gives up the discipline, and only deprecates any rude interference with the doctrines of our church. Can it be believed that any number of Irish Catholics could be brought to assent to such a resolution? This was the most mischievous and impolitic measure of the board---and if there be any act of my life to which I look back with pleasure, of which I am proud, it is, that I singly opposed it. But let me do justice to the board. The obnoxious part, that which makes this dangerous and disgraceful omission, was added on the day of the discussion---no previous notice had been given, and it was passed, I am convinced, without being perceived, under the intoxication of new-raised expectations. That resolution

does not contain the sense of the board, but it remains on your books as the only evidence of your opinion; for, as it was passed subsequent to the resolution of 1810, does it not amount to a virtual repeal of that resolution? In fact, if an opinion is to be formed at all, by persons unacquainted with the sentiments of the members of the board, how is it to be collected? Not from the speeches of this or that individual, but from resolutions in which the whole body concur. And here is a resolution that gives up all the points for which we have been so long contending. As to the resolution of thanks to the bishops, considered abstractedly from the debate to which it gave rise, it goes merely to an acknowledgement of their great zeal, and pastoral attention to the spiritual interests of their flocks; it has nothing at all to do with the question, and the conciliatory resolution remains the only interpreter, however false and erroneous, of our sentiments. Will any gentleman, after this, tell me, that the resolution I propose is unnecessary?—that it is unnecessary to make a distinct and explicit avowal of our real sentiments, when we have every reason to expect, that unless we early protest against it, parliament will again undertake the task of re-modelling our discipline, and of forming a new constitution for the government of our church. Recollect upon what light grounds and almost insupportable reasons the first proposition of the veto was made to parliament, and you will at once perceive the necessity of leaving nothing that can be misunderstood or misconstrued in your proceedings. To what mischief, and what vexation and disappointment, did not this want of candour, or rather this neglect of coming to an explicit declaration, give rise during the last year? Were we not reduced to the afflicting spectacle of seeing our advocates joining with ministerialists in drawing up a bill ridiculously called a relief bill, that, under colour of the restoration of some portion of rights, was loaded with pains and penalties, bearing exclusively upon our body? A bill so full of shameful exaction, so subversive of religion, and so injurious to general liberty, that our ancestors would have rejected it in the darkest night of the penal code; and which, I have a right to assert, if offered as articles of capitulation to those brave men who, on the walls of Limerick, made the last stand for Irish independence would have been replied to in no other

way than from the mouth of the cannon. It is fairly, then, imputable to your own act, if you have been insulted and disappointed. Your friends were led to believe, from the tenour of your conciliatory resolution, that, for the obtainment of civil rights, you had broken with religion—that long-wished-for divorce from your prelates was effected---and that you had, at last, determined to hand them over, to be dealt with at the discretion of parliament.---Did Mr. Grattan think so? If he did, how can we justify the severity of animadversion, with which, in the frenzy of disappointed hopes and insulted feelings, his great name was treated, for the part he was supposed to have taken in those transactions? Mr. Grattan is a Protestant, and there are many worthy and conscientious men of that persuasion, who naturally think, that it would be rendering a most important service to Ireland, by making all its inhabitants Protestant, and by putting, because they don't perceive the mischief to which it would lead your church, as its government and appointments, upon the same footing with the Church of England. There might be no departure, in this, from that political rectitude, from which, I most steadfastly believe, Mr. Grattan never intentionally swerved. To his integrity, then, to the powers of his great and commanding talents, you may, with safety and advantage, entrust the advocacy of your *civil* rights; but you cannot confide your *religious* rights to his prejudices. No Layman, no Protestant; but above all, no English parliament, as at present, or in whatever way constituted, ought to be allowed profanely to intermeddle in the administration of your church. That right belongs to another authority, where it was placed at the first birth of Christianity---where only it can safely rest or be legitimately exercised.

If then, you are not prepared to encounter the same embarrassments, vexations, and disappointments,—if you are not prepared to see a Bill similar to the last introduced into Parliament,—and such an event, if not prevented, is, I have reason to think, most likely,—you must come to some final and conclusive resolution—a resolution that shall, as far as we can do it, shut the door against all Legislative interference. Nothing of an intermediate kind will be available. The principle, once admitted, we have no means of preventing its being carried to any extent to which the spirit of hostility, the wantonness of power, or the designs of a calculating policy may be

inclined to go. For be assured, that with regard to a certain class of Statesmen, who have it most in their power to effect their purpose, nothing less is sought than a complete domination in the government of your church, and that, for this purpose, the cry of securities was first raised, and is still kept up. The demand of securities was first made, and is still insisted on. What then are we to think of the political sagacity of those Gentlemen, who have declared that they are prepared to support the first part of this resolution, which interdicts the appointment of our bishops by the crown, but refuse to go the length of protesting against any interference in the discipline of our church, as if any one can rationally believe, that the appointment being denied, any thing else would satisfy, or be treated as an adequate security? Does he think that any additional oath or oaths would satisfy? If in the simplicity of his heart, he thinks so, I am sorry for him; but I will ask him does he think it wise, —does he think it fair or right to admit the necessity of an oath for Catholics, beyond the ordinary oath of Allegiance? Are we to have oaths for every profession and occupation?—an oath for the lawyer, that he will not betray his client,—an oath for the doctor that he will not poison his patient,—an oath for the merchant that he will not defraud his creditor, if he be a Protestant, not even for the good of the church! Which of you, Gentlemen, that recollects his feelings when taking our present Catholic oath of allegiance, that does not think that sufficiently galling and insulting, or that can, with patience, anticipate any further multiplication of such oaths?—That oath is built upon the falsest and most profligate imputations, having their births in periods of fierce religious controversy, civil wars, and blood. What an oath is this, that calls upon me to say that I would not dethrone my king,—that I would not bear false witness against my neighbour,—that I would not murder him from motives of religion!—That calls upon me to renounce those monstrous doctrines, as if I had maintained them up to the moment that I came forward to abjure them, and which, although I reject, every other Catholic, who has not like me, taken the oath, still continues to hold as sound doctrine? All this is certainly insinuated, or conveyed by innuendo in this vile oath, the demoniac wish of the framer of which certainly was, that the accusation should be against the religion, and against its professors, of which the individual swearing

is obliged to come to a doubtful expurgation, before the law will allow him to be lifted up to the higher condition of a slave. You are not called upon to depose that high treason, rebellion, perjury, and murder, on the score of conscience, are not amongst the articles of your religion, but that they make no part of your particular belief. An oath containing such abjurations might, and would be willingly taken, by every one come to the use of reason, but it has not been called for—and why, I may ask? Because it would go from day to day, to remove the rancorous and calumnious slanders that have been forged by unprincipled men, and are still maintained by others equally unprincipled, for purposes which they dare not avow. Were such a test proposed, the Catholic church would be vindicated in the sanctity of her worship, and the purity of her doctrines, by ten thousand witnesses—by her prelacy, her peers, and all her children. When oaths are mentioned, is it not matter of surprise that any Catholic, instead of anticipating new oaths, which, if they do nothing more, go to widen distinctions which are the shame of Ireland, should not rather speak of the repeal of this which is so insulting and so revolting. And, indeed, when considered in a political point of view, and that it is known to stand as a stumbling block between the great proportion of Ireland, and the expression of their loyalty to the throne, is it not equally surprising, that statesmen, the most prejudiced, not to say patriots, and Catholic advocates, instead of its re-adoption, as in the late bill, have not long since taken measures to have it erased from the statute book. These are the oaths that were to serve as rampiers of defence for the Protestant Church. And is there any one oath amongst them which he would recommend. Is there any one oath amongst them which a conscientious man would not hesitate to take. The oath for Catholic members of Parliament is nearly similar to the ordinary oath of allegiance—it is drawn up in the same cautious and suspicious manner—the clauses and observations are of the same insulting and calumnious kind. But both go to a solemn pledge to support, not the succession, but the Protestant-succession to the crown. The Gentlemen of the bar well know, that men of high and proud minds, consulting the honesty of their feelings, have hazarded the possession of their property during their lives, and given up the disposition of it after their death, rather than submit to the degradation and humiliation which it is calculated to inflict.

But, perhaps, Gentlemen have some other oath in view—perhaps they look to Mr. Canning's strange and new-fangled oaths—the oath of a bishop, a dean, or a simple priest. The relief bill is certainly a store-house of oaths ; it seems to contain nothing else ; and the Gentlemen may easily supply themselves. Let us look amongst those rampiers of defence for the Protestant church, and see is there one oath amongst them which a conscientious clergyman would take. The oath of a member of Parliament is a mere transcript of the present one. The oath for a priest, after swearing him to be a guard and a spy upon the loyalty of his bishop, makes him swear that he will not do any thing that may tend directly or indirectly to disturb or overthrow the Protestant church in these kingdoms. Mind, it does not say by fraud or violence, as in the members oath, but by doing any thing whatever, in conjunction with Rome, or the agents of Rome, that has a tendency of overthrow the Protestant church, &c. Now what is the absurd tendency of these clauses ?

Does not the conversion of a people to another mode of faith go, not indirectly, but directly and at once, to the destruction of the Establishment ? and is it to be supposed, that a Clergyman of any persuasion, who conceives that the truth is with him, could be induced, without an abandonment of all moral principle, to take and subscribe such an oath as this ? From the manner in which it is drawn up, the Catholic clergyman is to be bound not to do any thing for the propagation of the gospel in these kingdoms by the advice, in conjunction, or under the influence of the pope of Rome. But it is known that every catholic acknowledges him as supreme Head of the church---that the Bishops correspond with him as a Father---that they receive his pastoral instructions---that they communicate to him the success of their labours in the mission---that he is the common bond and centre of union to Catholics wherever dispersed upon the face of the earth. What then of a general nature is or can be done for the propagation of Christianity, in any quarter of the globe, that is not done with the knowledge, or by the approbation, or under the direction of the See of Rome ? Is not this the known doctrine of Catholicity ? And how gross the ignorance that would propose such an oath, unless it was meant to insult ? And how absurd and presumptuous to suppose it would be accepted ? Are these the securities that are

sought for the protection of the Protestant church? If so, she cannot obtain them. She might, according to the penalties of that bill see, indeed, the Catholic Pastors driven from their flocks---she might see them subjected to obloquy, privation, and insult---she might see them transported as felons, and suffering as murderers; but she would never see them so lost and so abandoned as to take the oath which was proposed--an oath not to seek *directly* or *indirectly*, the subversion of the protestant church! Why this would be to abuse the divine *command*, which says, "Go ye and teach all nations!" It would be to proscribe the writings and spiritual labours of a Bossuet, an Arnot, a Lingard or a Milner, to forego the defence of the Catholic faith, for that vindicated--how can the Separation from it be justified? Do not even the virtues and morality of a Priesthood go indirectly to propagate the Faith which they profess? Do they not operate more effectually than words; for what is more powerful than example? Was war then to be waged with the Virtues? Were they, too, to be abjured? No! if the church of England trembles for its safety, it must seek it elsewhere, we have no securities to give! That she stands in great need of securities who can doubt, when she sees division in the camp, and observes the determined war that is carried on against her---*miros pugnatur intra et extra*--- that her articles of association are despised by those that pretend to be governed by them. That the Romans, men of strange faith, are amongst those in command; whilst, from without, she is incessantly assailed by the thousand bands and associations of tribes, who neither give nor take quarter. Why are not means taken to coerce? Why are they not bound over to keep the peace? Why are they put upon their securities? Furious tribes, religious warriors, who neither take nor give quarter. Why are they not put upon their securities? Why are not they bound over to keep the peace? To pass over others---Observe the Methodists, a sort of Cossack Infantry, religiously irregular, who possessing themselves of the fields, and fighting from ruined houses and churchyards, are carrying on a desultory, but destructive warfare against her. In the mean time, the strong and republican phalanxes of Presbyterianism occupy an imposing position; and the columns of Catholicity are collecting, who challenge the possession of the *Ark*, and, unfurling the *Oriflam*, display its glorious motto, *Et Tota Nixa*.

But the Established church will stand,--- it will survive the storms with which it is assailed, if it be built upon a rock,—but if its foundation be on sand, no human power can support it. In vain shall Statesmen put their heads together,—in vain shall parliaments, in mockery of Omnipotence, declare that it is permanent and inviolate,—in vain shall the lazy Churchman cry from the sanctuary to the watchman on the tower, that danger is at hand,—*it shall fall, for it is human*, and liable to force, to accident and to decay—*IT SHALL FALL, AND NOTHING BUT THE MEMORY OF THE MISCHIEFS IT HAS CREATED SHALL SURVIVE. Already the marks of approaching ruin are upon it; it has had its time upon the Earth—a date nearly as long as any other NOVELTY*; and when the time arrives, shall Catholics be called by the sacred bond of an oath, to uphold a *system which they believe will be one day REJECTED BY THE WHOLE EARTH?* Can they be induced to swear that they would oppose even the present Protestants of England, if, ceasing to be truants, they thought fit to return to their ancient worship, and to have a *Catholic king*, and a *Catholic parliament*.

But who is so simple as to think that Lord Castlereagh is alarmed for the safety of the Church, or that he is *bona fide*, looking for securities?—No, it is influence, good solid influence, through the degradation of the Priesthood, that he seeks to convert the pastor into the little Magisterial tyrant of his flock—to have him a ready instrument to play the part of an informer—to be the whipper-in at an election, or belted in the accoutrements of a yeoman, the gun, the bayonet, and cartouch box; to be ready, at every little appearance of popular tumult, to dip his hands in the blood of his parishioners. To such purposes we know the ministers of a Christian Worship have been perverted, no doubt, very much to the advantage of the state—and it is natural to suppose that the same demoralising system would be acted upon, and similar services be expected from ours! the hope of being able to accomplish this it is, that makes the influence of the Pope latterly appear so dreadful. This, it is, that has produced the necessity for securities, at which the late Administration, and the present, equally laugh, although they have each in their turn, excited the cry, and spread the alarm. They call for Securities, but their object is influence—the

subserviency and degradation of Ireland—the rendering its great Population, through the medium of the Priesthood, submissive to all the purposes of the minister of the day; and no oath, nay, not ten thousands oaths, will, without this, give that kind of security they seek. Was there a man in Ireland, when the question of securities was first broached by Lord Grenville, that did not see, that was not convinced it was for other purposes than those pretended. If there be one who does not think so, let him look to the records of parliament; let him read the speech of Lord Grenville in the debate of 1805, and he will there find how his Lordship, when the matter was hinted at, vaunted and laughed at the supposition of their necessity. Gentlemen who may hereafter speak upon this subject, will find their advantage in studying this speech. It is a perfect repository of arguments, showing the folly of calling for securities from Catholic subjects. And surely Lord Grenville was not to be trusted when he afterwards urged their necessity, and spoke of their concession as the *sine qua non* of his support.

The cry for securities, or, in other words, the proposed thralldom of our church, is a legacy left by Mr. Pitt to his unfortunate country. He considered the union incomplete without it, and he would have carried it at the same time, but that the consent of the Pope required time, and his favoured measure could not be postponed. Recollect that it was in that ill-omened year, when Ireland lost her independence and political existence, that the Veto and Salaries to our Clergy was first proposed; and collect with that recollection the efforts that have been made, and are now making, to enslave or destroy our Hierarchy. As the intention of effecting the Union transpired in the year 1793, from the published correspondence of the Earl Fitzwilliam, so this intended accompaniment has been disclosed by the intemperance of Lord Redesdale, when he declared that Ireland could not have, nor the connection between the two countries be secure, whilst the Hierarchy was suffered to exist. This, then, is a favourite measure, long sought and well considered; and until you shut the door upon it, without the hope of its ever been opened, and until you can shew by your unanimity that it will never be conceded, so long will you be the objects of deluded hopes and baffled expectations. Nothing will be granted that would go to diminish the price of this much desired pos-

cession. It is only when all hope of obtaining it is at an end, that the justice of your claims, your merit, and your sufferings, will be taken into consideration. Those, then, that agree in the first part of this resolution, that denies the appointment of bishops to the crown, may agree to the second part, for, as he denies that which alone is sought, he gains nothing by any other concession—it would avail him nothing not even in the way of conciliation, to surrender every other part of Catholic Discipline to the crown.—The word *conciliation* has, however, advocates amongst us; they still talk of the surprising effect which it produced during the last session of Parliament—that the resolution considered conciliatory, was received with acclamation when read in the House of Commons. But why was it so received? Because, by proposing to surrender the government of your Church into the power of the crown, it gave the first opening, since the Invasion or the reformation, for the complete subjugation of the country, and the destruction of its religion. But when you saw the mischief you were upon the point of committing, when you receded from the destructive concession you made, then was your bill, such as it was, rejected by this same House of Commons with tumult and acclamation; but re-adopt that resolution, renounce your religion, reject your bishops, adopt the creed of any of the thousand sects that nestle under the name of Protestantism—any of those whose spurious and dubious generation scarcely retains the shape or colour of Christianity; then will the news be received in St. Stephen's with applause—then will a shout be raised as loud, and as long continued, as that described by Milton.

“ ——— which tore hell's concave, and beyond
“ Frighted the reign of Chaos and old Night.”

Conciliate in this way, and neither the Whigs or the Tories, Lord Grenville or Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Abbott, and, shall I couple the name of Grattan,—will refuse to receive your communications—pay, your instructions,—there will be no supercilious squeamishness then: But as long as you remain the faithful interpreters of the sentiments and feelings of the people, as long as you continue the unbending defenders of their rights, and the supporters of their honour, so long will you be disowned, and precluded from any right of interposing in your own affairs.

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From what took place during the last year, conciliation is to me a word of bad omen. It is the flower under which I fear an adder is concealed. To conciliation without dishonour, without destructive and degrading concession, I am no enemy. If, however, any thing can be done in this way, let it be done by the proper and legitimate authorities. But far from us, and from the Catholic name, any conciliation that is to be cemented by the abandonment of principle—that would go to the surrender of any of those great points in which are involved the safety of religion, and the honour and independence of the country. Should we ever be so base as to belie the sentiments, by consenting to give the slightest sanction to any thing of this kind, we would deserve, and justly, to encounter the contempt and reprobation of every class of the inhabitants of Ireland.

Let us, then, by the unanimous adoption of this resolution, shew the people of Ireland, that all we have said or done, since the question of securities was first started, was done and said with singleness of heart—that whilst we were re-echoing the voice of the country, there was no under-plot, no machination on foot, for the effecting of which popularity was necessary. Let us quiet the alarm which has been excited, and which has spread to every quarter of the kingdom. There are this day in the room, members of the board who have come from the remotest parts of the country. From the city of Cork, only, you have eight or ten—a city which, by its late struggle, has rendered the most important service to Ireland, and gloriously vindicated its own character from the imputation brought upon it by assuming and incapable men. Let us shew, that the anger we expressed against our fellow subjects, who urged the legislature to the demand of securities—that our anger against the members of our own body, who only seemed to favour those Securities, was something more than words—that our opposition to the late bill was grounded upon principle, and upon a deep sense of the mischiefs with which it was pregnant.—This resolution does no more than communicate what we have often expressed, and what the country feels. It conveys the sense of the priesthood and the people. Our bishops have given it their sanction. The English bishops, though slow in deciding, have stamped it with their approbation. I hold in my hand their pastoral letters—in a style truly Apostolic and Christian, it conveys their determination never to

be parties or assenting to any interference of Parliament in Catholic ecclesiastical discipline. Let us not then stand as a solitary exception to the Clergy of England, and to the Clergy and people of Ireland. I know that will not be the case—I should be sorry that a single dissenting voice should be found, and, I trust, the good sense of the board—its regard for Catholic interests—its public spirit, which has so often and so gloriously displayed itself, will be this day signally manifested, and that this resolution, instead of getting a slow, reluctant, and ordinary assent, will pass unanimously, and by acclamation.

The Resolution passed without a division.

Having now laid this memorable speech before our readers, we proceed to a brief commentary upon it, which we recommend to the most serious attention of the protestant inhabitants of Ireland, and friends to the British constitution, to whom we particularly address it.

MY BRETHREN,

You have been often apprised that the foreign and domestic enemies of your political and religious establishments cease not to plot the destruction of your glorious and happy Constitution. Men of sense and penetration have long perceived the hostile and vindictive spirit which burns in the bosoms of our foes, against the glorious liberty of conscience, the political freedom, and the unparalleled wealth and prosperity which flows upon the inhabitants of the British Islands under the mild and equitable sway of a Protestant Government, distinguished as it is by its wisdom, its moderation, and its strength, from every other government in Europe. They have traced through the intricate windings of deceitful professions of attachment and fidelity, that rancorous enmity which, while it smiles in your face, grasps the murderous dagger, and meditates the secret stab—which is to sap the foundation of your liberties, and to annihilate the religion to which our excellent laws owe their incomparable perfection; and they have not failed to warn you of the approaching danger, and to put you on your guard against the specious pretences of your secret or open enemies.

Numbers, however, conscious of their own sincerity and loyalty, have with reluctance listened to the friendly voice which warned them of the necessity there was for keeping a jealous and watchful eye upon

the sacred principles of their happy constitution. They could scarcely persuade themselves that there existed in human nature, nay, in the centre of the British Islands, and in the hearts of men who partake of the benefits of that constitution;—who are fostered in its bosom, sheltered by its power, and protected by its benign influence—that in the hearts of these very men there exists a mortal enmity, a rooted and implacable hatred, springing up from their polluted consciences, against the sacred code which protects and nourishes them;—a fixed and determined principle of hostility, which, callous to every sensation of gratitude, coolly and deliberately plots the extermination of that venerable and benevolent power which secures to them every spiritual and temporal blessing that they are capable of enjoying. Yes; Protestants, strangers to the existence of gratitude so base, are slow to believe that it can find a place in a human breast; nay, even in the breast of a member of the Church of Rome! In the abundance of that charity, which is the true characteristic of their religion, the unsuspecting Protestant turns a deaf ear to the *pearls of evidence* which the history of other times pours upon him, and shuts his eyes upon the page which records the bloody deeds that have proved the existence, nay, the *active energy*, of that direful spirit, which, for the honour of human nature, has never dwelt but in Papists, in savages, and in heathens.

Listening to the insidious voice of the leading men of the Romish Church in Ireland, the Protestants have been too ready to give implicit credit to their professions of loyalty, of attachment to the constitution, and of sincere regard for the Protestant members of the community! Thousands, indeed, have solemnly pledged their oaths in confirmation of these professions, but Dr. Dromgoole, in a speech imputed to him in *The Evening Post*, the accredited engine of Popish sentiments, has declared them to be perjured villains, or else traitors to the sacred interests of their immaculate church!—Fools that we were, to believe these men capable of abandoning their first and most paramount duty, their dearest and most precious object upon earth, the *extirpation of the Protestant Religion*, and the re-establishment of their own, not only in the Church, but upon the throne, and in both Houses of Parliament. But the delirium of deception is past,—our eyes are at length opened,—and from the eloquent, the energetic, the

significant, the pregnant address of Dr. Drümgoole, to the Catholic Board, on the 8th of December, as reported in the before-mentioned Popish press, such a flood of light has been poured upon the subject of Popish designs, and Popish sincerity, that if we are any longer the dupes of their duplicity, we shall deserve a repetition of the scenes of 1641, 1689, 1798, and 1803. Thank Heaven, the truth has come out at last; and we have the most abundant proofs of what is preparing for us and our religion, if these demagogues and their exasperated myrmidons, can once accomplish their designs!

Every Protestant advocate for the propriety of putting power into the hands of Papists, is now left without excuse; he may read in the speech already alluded to, what will be the *infallible result* of such a measure. And by their own confession, so unequivocally authenticated, it is now evident, that every link of their chain which is loosened, is a step towards the destruction of our civil and religious liberties. Popery is a wild and savage beast of prey, our ancestors caught and shackled it. Finding itself overpowered, it had recourse to stratagem. Fawning on its keepers, it lulled their suspicion asleep, and deceived by its assumed aspect, they mistook the *effects of coercion* for a genuine change of nature; they gradually loosened the chain by which the monster was bound, they took away one link after another, until scarcely the shadow of restraint was left. The monster felt his returning liberty; he thought his prey was yet within his grasp;—the smell of blood roused his carnivorous appetite, and he begins to rage, with insatiable fury, after the delicious draught. But hold! three links of the chain yet remain whole. Our mortal enemy is not yet on the throne, not yet in parliament, not yet presiding in our Courts of Judicature. Gracious God! What an escape have we had! Into what a vortex of destruction were we at the point of being plunged! But heaven has kindly interposed;—the Speech has opened our eyes.

The provincial members of the Romish Church stand aghast at the matchless impudence of the orator. Scarcely can they believe the evidence of their own senses, while they hear and read in speechless astonishment the important secrets that the intemperate heat of the orator has divulged! Fain would they deny the truth of the statement, but then, alas! that denial would impeach the credit of their now tottering oracle, *The Dublin Evening Post*. Fain would they

disavow the sentiments it contains ;—but oh ! the history of their church, the well-known precepts of their religion proclaim, in language not to be mistaken, that the orator has spoken the truth—that he only developed the original and genuine principles of Popery, when he proclaimed to listening thousands, that *oaths of loyalty and affection to Protestant establishments, are incompatible with the duty which every Papist upon earth owes to his Church and his religion !* And what is the natural, the inevitable conclusion to be drawn from these premises ? Why, that all such oaths are *null and void*—that the interests of the Church of Rome are not for a moment to be compromised by the voluntary support of Protestantism, and that therefore every true and faithful son of the Church, who has been inveigled into such oaths, must have immediate recourse to the *Great Salvo of the Church*, and realise in his practice the favourite maxim, “ *THAT NO FAITH IS TO BE KEPT WITH HERETICS.*” But alas ! even this antidote comes too late : the mischief is done. In the language of familiar phraseology, *the cat is let out of the bag* ; and the question of Catholic Emancipation is laid at rest for ever ! The cause is lost : all prospect of interesting the wise and moderate men of the Protestant persuasion, in the designs of Papists, is at an end ; for they are now told from the most indubitable authority, that however disguised it may have been, the genuine and ulterior object of “ *Emancipation*” was the total *extermination of their Religion and their Government !* This is the true Popish method of propagating civil and religious liberty. Let their Protestant advocates and their abettors, not lose sight of this.—Nothing now remains for these gentlemen, but either to abandon the Popish cause as untenable, and their claims as totally inadmissible, or to throw off the mask, and join “ *the Columns of Catholicity, which are collecting*” for the purpose of rescuing “ *the ark*” out of the hands of the heretics.

But the decisive moment is arrived,—the auspicious day is come, which proclaims the downfall of the British enemies on the continent of Europe ; and that kind Providence, which chains victory to our banners abroad, will not leave us a prey to domestic feuds and internal factions. In the triumphs of Protestantism—in the glorious ascendancy of its mild and beneficent principles, we recognise at once the favour and protection of heaven, and the peace, the happiness, and

the security of every subject of the British empire ; and we shall find, that those Protestant *Dissenters* and *Methodists*, who, with matchless arrogance, the orator has dared to claim as the auxiliaries of his cause, will unite as an impenetrable phalanx in defence of the holy religion, which, notwithstanding minute and trifling distinctions, animate the whole with a decided and irreconcilable enmity against the horrible doctrines, and direful superstitions of Popish ignorance and Popish deception.

Let every Protestant in the empire read the speech attributed to Dr. Dromgoole. My Countrymen in that speech, applauded and adopted by the Catholic Board, you see a fair representation of the principles which the Doctor assures you should actuate every Papist under heaven : and you see your holy, your mild, your heaven-born religion proscribed by a furious bigot, as incompatible with the universal sway still claimed, still grasped at, by the intolerant, the insolent, the persecuting Church of Rome ! Yes, this insulting demagogue has the audacity to denounce the Religion of Christ in the British empire, and to foretel, in the spirit of infuriated prediction, its speedy dissolution, and complete downfall, *together with the temporal power* which supports and defends it ! He has the unparalleled insolence to threaten the destruction of the British Church and State, and to tell the British Government to its face, that, *the columns of Catholicity are collecting*, for the purpose of wresting the civil and religious authority from the hands of Protestant usurpers,—and exultingly anticipates the approaching period, when these happy countries shall be once more immersed in all the horrors of Popish infatuation and bigotry, and bleeding at every pore under the scorpion lash of its intolerant and bloody yoke.—If these are not his sentiments, why not contradict the statement in the favoured Catholic Press—coming from that vehicle of treason and disaffection, can a doubt be entertained of the expressions therein attributed to the learned Orator.—Vain and presumptuous man ! Is it thus thou darest to pour out the gall of thy infuriated bigotry upon the holy religion of the blessed Jesus ? And upon a church purified from the cursed idolatry of Popish superstition, and bearing the genuine marks of its meek and lowly author ;—a church, though watered with the blood of the martyrs who fell victims to the cruel edicts of Popish Rome, when she tyrannized over

prostrate Europe, yet now protected by the omnipotent arm of Jehovah ! Feeble and insignificant as is thy malignant voice, it is rescued from contempt, because it speaks the genuine sentiments of thy church, and of every true member of its blood-stained communion !

A Papist does not discriminate between the religion he persecutes and the person of its professor. In his indeavours to exterminate the religion of the Son of God, exemplified and illustrated under the name of PROTESTANTISM, he attempts not to argue on the points at issue; much less does he dare to appeal to Revelation. For he well knows, that as Reason will detect and confute his glaring absurdities, —so the Scriptures would condemn his palpable heresies. He has therefore no method left him of vindicating his wretched religion, but by exemplifying the *benignity* of its principles in the *murder* of its adversaries. The records of every country in Europe, which has ever groaned under Papal jurisdiction, furnishes ample and indubitable evidence, “ that wherever the Romish Church possessed the power, “ she has uniformly silenced all opposition, by the summary and irresistible argument of *fire and faggot* !” thus extinguishing at once both Reason and Religion.*

* The comparative merits of the religion of Christ which we profess, and that of the Pope of Rome, are now completely at issue. Look at the result ;—we Christians, with the most dignified benevolence not only tolerate, but foster, nourish, and protect the professors of the religion of Rome, although still reeking with the blood of our ancestors, and thirsting after our own. But this savage herald of Popery tells you that nothing less than the *total extermination of your religion* will satisfy them ! They cannot, they *never could*, tolerate any religion but their own, where they had the power to suppress it. They tell you this would still be the case ; nay, that this is the genuine and only object they have in view, in their outcry for *emancipation*,—it is the *subjugation* of the Protestant religion, and the re-establishment of a “ Popish Monarchy and a Popish parliament” in the land. Let them get this, then comes the Inquisition, the Dungeon, the Torture, the Rack, the Stakes, and the Gibbet ;— And, O ! my Friends and Countrymen !—Will you, after this open avowal, for a moment deliberate upon the question of putting power into the hands of these

But behold the mild and heaven-born religion which we Protestants profess. See it exemplified in our conduct towards the bitterest enemies we have upon earth, the papists themselves ! We have the power in our hands, yet do we protect both the person and religion of the *Votaries of Rome* ! The latter, indeed, we naturally and of necessity abhor and detest. Our regard for truth and justice,—our love of mercy and genuine piety, compel us to do this. But yet we tolerate this religion, we give its deluded votaries the full and free exercise of it ; and we protect, nourish, and support the persons of its professors, giving them the full benefit of our wholesome laws, without the invidious distinction which their own example would have taught us. Persecution may be a first-rate virtue in the *Church of Rome*, but that detestable principle can find no place in the *Religion of Jesus Christ*. Hence the Papists well know they can have nothing to fear from a Protestant Government, so long as they are amenable to the Laws of the country.

But my Protestant Brethren, my Loyal and patriotic Friends,—it becomes you to suppress the feelings of indignation which the threats and execrations of the Orator are calculated to arouse in your honest bosoms ; conscious of the never-failing support of him who once laid the foundation of your church in his own precious blood, after his great example, *be calm and dignified* ; and while with impregnable firmness you preserve the sacred truths of your holy religion, from the damnable heresies of Popery, and zealously maintain the integrity of your laws and constitution, commit the final security of both to that Omnipotent Being, who is their prime and legitimate author, and who hath pledged the truth of his own word, that *the gates of hell*, and we may confidently add, *the machinations of Popery*, shall never prevail against them ! Yes, the Orator himself may be compelled to gnash his teeth, and confess that they are indeed “ *founded upon a Rock* !”

A PROTESTANT.

blood thirsty people ? No, O ! No.—Your hearts shudder at the thought ;—you will not betray your religion yourselves, your country and your children, into the hands of such enemies, compared with whom a *French Army* would be but innocent babes !

Since the foregoing was committed to the hands of our printer, we have received another speech made by this *Doctor DROMGOOLE*, a the Catholic board on the 24th of December, 1813; which we now submit to our readers, as it appeared in their official paper, *the Dublin Evening Post*, of the 30th of December: "My opinion," said the doctor, with a frankness which cannot be too much commended, "as I have given them, I would declare before the privy council, or the bench of bishops. I desire no man to adopt them, and in their rejection, for myself, I shall feel nothing, but I shall feel a great deal for the character of this board. Recollect, gentlemen, that these are the opinions of a *Catholic*---that they are yours if you be Catholics, and that they are notoriously the opinions of every well-informed Catholic, upon the face of the earth. I have ventured, in order to prevent an oath from being enacted; which could not in its present form, be taken, to state one of *the religious objections which we have to the Protestant Church*---and because a few hired papers have made a noise in the city, and a few ragged, orangemen at Derry and Belfast have come together in consequence---if such be the case, are you to make a solemn disavowal of your principles? And if you do, will you be believed? Is there a Protestant of any description, in any of these kingdoms, that does not know that you have objections to the religion of the state? And if you say the contrary, how can they believe you? Are you prepared, like slaves before their offended masters, to get upon your knees and say, that indeed you meant no offence---that the Protestant church *is not in danger*---that you have no objection to the tenets it holds---that you, for your part, do not think it *novel*, or that it will have *an end*? if you do this, you will be disgraced and laughed at---your fellow citizens will be ashamed of you, and Protestants will hold you in contempt."

"Doctor Dromgoole was interrupted," says the editor of the paper, "during the delivery of the foregoing speech, *with repeated bursts of applause, and he sat down amidst the acclamations of the meeting.*"

No one, surely, will now attempt to deny that the leading Papists of Ireland entertain a marked, and rooted hostility to the established church; and a fixed determination to adopt every means in their power, and consequently all the influence which they may acquire in parliament, for its subversion. We thank them for this open and candid

avowal of their sentiments and designs ; and, in return, we will, as openly and candidly, admit, that they would not be true Papists, if they were not inimical to the establishment ; and that they would not act conscientiously if they did not *wish* for its subversion. What members of the establishment, then, will be guilty of an act of suicide, by giving political power and influence, which they know, beforehand, will be employed for such a purpose ?—We can assure our readers, that a motion has been recently made, at the Catholic board in Dublin, for raising money on every popish householder in Ireland ; that the popish multitude are plundering the Protestants of their arms and ammunition ! How long will the government sleep ?

LITERARY PROPERTY.

To the Editor of the Antijacobin Review.

SIR,

YOUR columns display the importance you attach to literary exertions, in a manner too impressive to render apology necessary for offering to your notice, a case of piracy of peculiar interest.

On Saturday the 4th of December instant, SIR SAMUEL ROMILLY moved in the COURT OF CHANCERY, that an INJUNCTION might immediately be granted to restrain the further circulation of an ANONYMOUS book, published for WILLIAM SHERWOOD, SAMUEL DUNBAR NEELY, AND ROBERT JONES, of Paternoster-Row, London, Booksellers ; whom it would be found had pirated the principal and leading parts of their compilation, which they styled "Time's Telescope," from a work of considerable celebrity, entitled "Clavis Calendaris," of which Mr. JOHN BRADY was the Author. The learned Counsel observed, that the "CLAVIS CALENDARIA" was, as its title imported, a complete Analysis of the Calendar, and it was "illustrated throughout with Ecclesiastical, Historical, and Classical Anecdotes." The other book, called "TIME'S TELESCOPE," published by Sherwood and his partners, was stated to be "a complete guide to the Almanac," with illustrations of British "History and Antiquities, and notices of obsolete rites and customs," with other parts of minor consideration, to which latter Mr. Brady laid no claim. "TIME'S TELESCOPE," the further publication of which, the present injunction was prayed, he admitted contained only a part of the Plaintiff's work, but of that part so liberal a use had been made, that in almost every page whole passages would be found exactly in the same words, and others with only slight alterations from the Plaintiff's work. The question, whether this injunction ought or not to be granted, would

depend very much on a view of the Defendants' publication, which should be handed up to his Lordship, and in which his Lordship would find those passages which were wholly copied from the Plaintiff's work, underscored; and those passages, which were colourably altered, pointed out by the references on the margin of the publication. The introduction to the Plaintiff's work was an historical account of the mode of marking time from the invention of dials. This also was introduced into the Defendants' publication with very little variation. He did not, indeed, say, that the latter was in every respect a copy of the former, but passages, in almost every page, were word for word the same, and most other parts of it were only transpositions. The Defendants' book consisted of three parts; two parts of which the learned Counsel admitted, were original; at least *they were not stolen from the Plaintiff's work*, but these two parts were by much the least considerable and important part of the Defendants' publication. These the Defendants were at full liberty to publish, for any thing that the Plaintiff had to say to the contrary; but the learned Counsel submitted, that as to that part of the book intitled "Time's Telescope," which was copied, or adopted with colourable alterations from the Plaintiff's work, intitled "Clavis Calendaria," the Plaintiff was entitled to an injunction, restraining the Defendants from selling it, or from publishing it, or offering it to sale.

Mr. BELL said the part of the work as to which the Plaintiff prayed for an injunction, was that which contained an "account of Saints' days and holidays, and their different customs, and notices of obsolete rights and customs, &c."

The LORD CHANCELLOR after comparing the two works together, said, the Plaintiff might take an injunction against the publishing so much of the Defendants' book as was copied from the work of the Plaintiff. The Plaintiff could not, in the circumstances of the present case, take his injunction generally against the publication of the whole of the matter contained even in that particular part, the greater part of which was charged to be copied from the prior publication of the Plaintiff. The Court was not in the habit, where it did not all appear to be a copy, of saying that the injunction must be granted against all the publication complained of, but only against so much of it as is a copy of the work upon which the piracy is charged to have been committed. Neither would an injunction pointing out the particular parts, from the publication of which the Defendants were to be restrained, be practicable in the present instance; as from the immense number of passages underscored in the copy handed to his Lordship, and which were stated to be copied from the Plaintiff's work, an injunction pointing out all those particular passages, would go to the length of ten volumes, such as the smaller volume now lying before his Lordship, being the Defendants' book.

Mr. HORN, also for the Plaintiff, contended that, it would be impossible for the compiler of the publication sought to be enjoined, *himself*, to separate those parts of that particular head of the publica-

tion which were stolen from the Plaintiff's work, and then to retain anything which could be published.

The LORD CHANCELLOR said; some parts he might.

Mr. HORN submitted that in such a case the Injunction ought to go to the whole of that part, the matter of which throughout had been taken from the Plaintiff's work, the greater part of which had been copied, and the whole of which it would be almost impossible to separate from the Defendants' publication. The difficulty had been created by the Defendants themselves, and on them, therefore, should the inconvenience arising from their own act fall.

The LORD CHANCELLOR said, that he could not help. The rule of the Court had been not to grant an Injunction against the whole of a publication where the whole of it was not a copy of some prior work. Let the Injunction in this case, however, be against the publication of the work in question, so far as it was a copy of the Plaintiff's work, and also so far as it consisted only of colourable alterations from it.

Mr. BELL said some of the alterations consisted of changing *young lady* into *young woman*, and in other respects copying the work of the Plaintiff.

The LORD CHANCELLOR said, lady and woman were so much like each other, that he would not advise the Defendants to risk a breach of the Injunction on the idea that that would be esteemed such an essential variation as the Court could hold as an excuse for the breach of it. Let the Injunction go against so much of the work in question as was copied, or colourably varied from the Plaintiff's work. His Lordship also ordered that the Injunction should be served as soon as it could be got from the office, that the Defendants might have an opportunity of shewing cause as speedily as they chose.*

Upon the result of this appeal to justice, little more need be said, than that it has given the most cordial satisfaction to all who have considered the subject:—excepting in some few instances this species of application has been instituted by persons connected in the trade of bookselling, who are conscientious and correct, against others in that line, who are not governed by these principles. This was a case of far greater interest. An Author who had published on his own account, and who had only recently given his labours to the world, was compelled to have recourse to law to protect him from being pillaged, by persons whose trade consisted in the sale of books, and whose paramount duty it was to uphold not only his exertions, but those of other authors, because on their ingenuity the success of the fair dealer in that branch can alone depend. Whether the reputed poverty of authors, which frequently prevents their seeking redress, or other cause, prompted this infraction of the STATUTE passed for the express purpose of "encouraging learned men to compose, and write useful books," need not be enquired into: certain it is that the

* See the Morning Chronicle and other Newspapers.

attempt was made, even in part succeeded, but was in the end overcome by an order of the Court; and the spirit manifested by this author to vindicate his reputation, and protect his property, regardless of expence, will doubtless stimulate others, similarly aggrieved, to assert their right, and keep down those pilferings which have recently so disgraced a part of the bookselling trade, and drawn forth the severest animadversions of those respectable in that line. Lest, however, even after this successful appeal, other authors may feel too timid to venture on the duty of self defence, it may be necessary to observe, that the major part of the booksellers not only despise these piracies, or as Dr. Johnson emphatically describes them, thefts in literature, but are actually injured by them in profit. So that this important body are certain, both from sentiment and interest, to render every proper aid. That authors may be the better enabled to form a judgment how far their peculiar cases fall under the cognizance and protection of the law, I shall here afford some general remarks upon what is deemed Literary PROPERTY, which Mr. CHRISTIAN nervously observes, is the "*most sacred and inviolable of any private right.*"

It is universally admitted by legal authorities, that "whenever a man by an exertion of his rational powers, produces an original work, any attempt to vary even the disposition he has made of it, is an invasion of his right." By this it is manifest that the law does not admit of any pillage being made, although the person pirating may be ingenious enough, which the parties in the case before alluded to *were not*, to "vary the disposition," because it is clearly defined that "the identity of a literary composition" consists entirely in the sentiment and language—the first of which will always display itself, however disguised, and the latter can seldom be used, however shifted from its original station, without being open to the detection of the real Author, when redress is sure to ensue, as it is a settled maxim that "the same *conceptions* in the same words, *must necessarily* be the "same composition."

A consideration of these general outlines of the laws will enable any author to form a judgment upon his own peculiar case; and whenever he may feel doubtful, his Solicitor will readily name to him those Counsel who have made this important subject their peculiar study, and are consequently enabled to give them every information that may aid their attempts for redress.

I shall only add one more observation for the guidance of Authors in the protection of their rights, but that will be important. Let them constantly bear in mind that, however clear the Laws are against *all* persons who pillage the works of others, it affords an additional protection against those who trade in book-making, because heinous as this offence is in itself, it is marked as doubly so when committed for the sake of "profit," as was the fact in the case which prompted this communication. In this instance the pirated book was published "Anonymous;" it could not therefore be brought to notice for Fame, and the business of those for whom it was printed, joined

to that, and other circumstances, satisfactory evidence that it was compiled for "profit alone, and as such falls doubly under the severity of the law.

I am, Sir,
Your's &c.
H. I. K.

Pall Mall, 17th Dec. 1813.

THE CATHOLIC QUESTION.

AN IMPORTANT WARNING !

The Catholic Board, purporting to be the organ of the wishes of the Catholics, had passed a resolution, moved by a Dr. Dromgoole against giving securities.

This resolution was prefaced by a speech from this Dr. Dromgoole, than which we never read any thing more bigotted, more irreligious, or more intolerant. But it is at least candid and explicit. The Doctor shews us the object aimed at in terms too plain to be misunderstood. He shews us that whatever may be said or pretended, the object of the Papists is nothing less than the subversion of the protestant Church and establishment. The Doctor alluding to the Oath in the late Bill, exclaims, "how gross the ignorance that would propose such an Oath, unless it was meant to insult; and how absurd and presumptuous to suppose it would be accepted? Are these the securities that are sought for the protection of the protestant church? If so she cannot obtain them—She will never see Catholics so lost and so abandoned as to take the oath which was proposed, an oath not to seek directly, or indirectly the subversion of the Protestant Church! Why this would be to abuse the Divine command, which says, "Go ye and teach all Nations."

These are the sentiments of the Mover of the resolution against securities, which resolution was put and carried. Let every Protestant in the empire bear this constantly in his mind, that the reason which Dr. Drumgoole, the decided enemy of securities, gives against any oath, not to seek directly or indirectly the subversion of the Protestant church is, that it is the duty and object of the Papists to seek and attempt the destruction of the protestant Church, and, if of the Church, the Protestant Constitution likewise, for they must stand or fall together. This being the avowed object of Papists, the

duty of Protestants is clear, manifest, and undoubted—Not to concede one single claim to the Papists.

We always contended that the late bill which proposed to give legislative jurisdiction to Catholics, went infinitely too far. But this enemy of securities, this advocate for the destruction of the Protestant Church, treats the concessions contained in it as paltry; nay, as absolutely insulting. It ought almost to have been rejected at the cannon's mouth. Hear his words:

" A Bill so full of shameful exaction, so subversive of religion, and so injurious to general liberty, that our ancestors would have rejected it in the darkest night of the Penal Code; and which I have a right to assert, it ordered as articles of capitulation to those brave men, who on the walls of Limerick, made the last stand for Irish Independence, would have been replied to in no other way than from the mouth of the cannon. It is fairly, then, imputable to your own act, if you have been insulted and disappointed. Your friends were led to believe, from the tenor of your conciliatory Resolution, that, for the obtainment of Civil Rights you had broken with religion, that long-wished for divorce from your prelates was effected, and that you had at last determined to hand them over, to be dealt with at the discretion of Parliament. Did Mr. Grattan think so? If he did, how can we justify the severity of animadversion, with which in the frenzy of disappointed hopes and insulted feelings, his great name was treated for the part he was supposed to have taken in those transactions? Mr. Grattan was a Protestant, and there are many worthy and conscientious men of that persuasion who naturally think that it would be rendering a most important service to Ireland by making all its inhabitants Protestant, and by putting, because they don't perceive the mischief to which it would lead your Church its government and appointments upon the same footing with the Church of England. There might be no departure in this from that political rectitude, from which I most stedfastly believe Mr. Grattan never intentionally swerved. To his integrity, then, to the powers of his great and commanding talents, you may, with safety and advantage, entrust the advocacy of your Civil Rights; but you cannot confide your Religious Rights to his prejudices. No Layman, no Protestant, but, above all, no English Parliament, as at present, or in whatever way consti-

tuted, ought to be allowed to intermeddle in the administration of your Church. That right belongs to another authority, where it was placed at the first birth of Christianity—where only it can safely rest or be ultimately exercised."

The Dr. is explicit enough. No English Parliament is to be allowed to intermeddle with the Catholic Church. Why? Because it must not be fettered in its purpose and object, which is the destruction of the Protestant Church, and, as we have already said, the consequent destruction of the Protestant Constitution.

In the zeal of this Popish Advocate in his crusade against the Established Church, he sees already its destruction—he glories and glories over the number and activity of its assailants—he describes the Methodists as Cossacks, carrying on a destructive warfare against it—he views the Presbyterians as a strong and a republican phalanx against it; whilst the Catholics collecting their columns, challenge the possession of the Ark—that is, demand the surrender of our Church and Constitution into their hands. He leaves no doubt that this is his meaning—he holds up our church as having "already the marks of ruin upon it;" as an institution that has had its time upon the earth—a date nearly as long as any other novelty"—and completing the picture which his Catholic bigotry has drawn, he views us at length sitting down quietly under the yoke of a Catholic King, and a Catholic Parliament. These are his words:

"No! if the Church of England trembles for its safety, it must seek it elsewhere, *we have no securities to give!*—THAT SHE STANDS IN GREAT NEED OF SECURITIES who can doubt, when she sees division in the camp, and observes the determined war that is carried on against her—*muros pugnatur, intra et extra*—that her articles of association are despised by those who pretend to be governed by them. That the Romans, and men of strange faith, are amongst *those in command*; whilst from wisdom she is incessantly assailed by the thousand bands and associations of tribes, *who neither give nor take quarter*. Why are not means taken to coerce? Why are they not bound over to keep the peace? Why are they not put upon their securities? Furious tribes, religious warriors, who neither take nor give quarter. Why are they not put upon their securities? Why are not they bound over to keep the peace—to pass over others? Observe the Methodists, a

sort of Cossack infantry, religiously irregular, who, possessing themselves of the fields, and fighting from ruined houses and church-yards, are carrying on a desultory, but destructive warfare against her. In the mean time, the strong and republican phalanxes of Presbyterianism occupy an imposing position; and the Columns of Catholicity are collecting, who challenge the possession of the Ark, and unfurling the Oriflam, display its glorious motto—*En tou to niku*.

“ But the Established Church will stand—it will survive the storms with which it is assailed, if it be built upon a rock ; but if its foundation be on sand, no human power can support it. In vain shall Statesmen put their heads together—in vain shall parliaments, in mockery of Omnipotence, declare, that it is permanent and inviolate—in vain shall the lazy churchman cry from the Sanctuary to the Watchman on the Tower, that danger is at hand—it *shall fall for it is human*, and liable to force, to accident, and to decay—*IT SHALL FALL, AND NOTHING BUT THE MEMORY OF THE MISCHIEFS IT HAS CREATED SHALL SURVIVE. Already the marks of approaching ruin are upon it, it has had its time upon the Earth, a date nearly as long as any other NOVELTY* ; and when the time arrives, shall Catholics be called by the sacred bond of an oath to uphold a system which *they believe will be one day REJECTED BY THE WHOLE EARTH* ? Can they be induced to swear that they would oppose even the present Protestants of England, if ceasing to be truants, they thought fit to return to their ancient worship, and to have a Catholic King and a Catholic Parliament ? ”

Was the man who dared to deliver these sentiments under a Government yet, thank God ! Protestant, driven with indignation from the assembly in which they were uttered ? Was his voice drowned in the indignant disapprobation of his hearers ? No—as far as we can find he was heard, not only quietly but with applause. One Member indeed, said, that “ it became necessary for him to remark, with *something of disapprobation*, certain sentiments of the mover.” Something of disapprobation ! Gentle censure—delicate rebuke ! But no other member seemed to feel even this “ something of disapprobation,” and the resolution was put and carried.

Members and friends of the Established Church ! Our path is now clear, our duty obvious. If we are so assailed and menaced, as the Dr of the Catholic Board tells us, let us stick firmly together, and if the

Catholics unfurl their *Oriflam*, let us display our Royal Protestant Standard. We must not yield one inch of ground, nor make a single concession. After such doctrines and arguments as those of the Papist Doctor, it is high time to encourage Orange principles, and cry out, No Popery !—No Popery !

These reflections we have copied from a most respectable, and ably-conducted paper ; they perfectly accord with our own sentiments on the subject. If this open threat to subvert and destroy the Established Church, do not open the eyes of all those Protestants, who have hitherto supported the measure of *Catholic Emancipation* ! then shall we have a right to conclude that they are perfectly indifferent to the security or preservation of that Church.

Since the resolution of the Catholic Board, referred to above, a correspondence has ensued between it and its two leading advocates, Mr. Grattan and Lord Donoughmore. These gentlemen concur in condemning the conduct of the Board in dictating to Parliament the *Bill* which they should pass. Mr. Grattan says, in his answer, “ I do
“ acknowledge and applaud the wisdom of the idea which the Board is
“ pleased to express on the subject of *healing measures*, and I do
“ second, most cordially, the wish they express, to remove injuries
“ and groundless alarms ; but I must be permitted to add, that these
“ jealousies and alarms can only be removed by a spirit of accommo-
“ dation, and by such steps as may unite the Irish and the English
“ Catholics, and may harmonize the Irish Catholics with one ano-
“ ther ; and I do not hesitate to say, that without a spirit of accommo-
“ dation and conciliation the Catholics will never succeed.”

How the jealousies and alarms of the Protestant community can be removed, by the union and harmony thus recommended by Mr Grattan, surpasses our powers of conception. A spirit of accommodation and conciliation, is, indeed, necessary to reconcile the Protestants even to those liberal concessions to the Papists, which have been so lavishly granted during the present reign. But certainly a very contrary spirit has been uniformly manifested by the Catholic Board ; and Mr. Grattan himself, strange to say, indirectly admits this fact, in the following paragraph.

“ The Board is pleased to say, that it has attempted to do its duty

" to the Catholic cause, to their Protestant brethren, and to the legislature; permit me to add, that when the Board shall have adopted the spirit of accommodation and conciliation, *then, and not till then,* can the Board proclaim that it has endeavoured to do its duty."

Here, indeed, is a direct admission that the Catholic Board has not hitherto been actuated by a spirit of accommodation and conciliation. Most assuredly it has not;—it has displayed a spirit of inveterate hostility to the Established Church, and has, in truth, in more than indirect terms, avowed its resolution to destroy it. Yet Mr. Grattan, a Protestant, notwithstanding this marked hostility, has thought proper constantly to plead its cause, and to labour hard to persuade the legislature to entrust its members with political power, that is, with the means of giving effect to their enmity, and of executing their resolution. This champion of Popery, however, at length favours the Papists, and the public, with an express avowal of his views on the subject.

" They are the complete emancipation of my Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, without injury to their church, or their religion, the *perpetuation of the Protestant succession to the Crown, and the preservation*" (not *perpetuation*, mark!) "*of the Protestant Church.* These are the sentiments in (with) which I support the Catholic petition."

What would the Old Whigs of 1688 have said to any one who had contended that the admission of Papists, without restriction, to all places of trust and power in the state, was perfectly compatible with the safety of the constitution, with the perpetuation of the Protestant succession to the crown, and with the preservation of the Protestant church? Had Mr. Grattan lived in those days, and entertained the same sentiments, must he not have resisted the dethronement of James, and the appointment of William to succeed him? He must have done this, or have acted in direct contradiction to his avowed principle, for James the Second did no more than Mr. Grattan and his associates endeavour to persuade, and almost to compel, George the Third to do. If Mr. Grattan be really anxious to perpetuate the Protestant succession, and to preserve the Established Church, it must be confessed, that the means which he adopts for that purpose are singularly curious. He need not be told, much less are our readers in want

of any such information, that the perpetuation of the Protestant succession, and of the Protestant Established Church, were the very objects which those statesmen had in view who achieved the Revolution of 1688; and for the accomplishment of which *they* excluded James from the Throne, appointed William king, and made or confirmed those laws which effectually excluded, not Papists, quoad Papists, but all persons of whatever religious persuasion, who would not give a test of their attachment to the Established Church, from all places of power, trust, and emolument, in the State. These are the tutelary, the conservative, laws, which Mr. Grattan and his colleagues wish to repeal; yet, with an inconsistency, which even the ingenuity of Mr. Canning can never reconcile, they profess to be actuated by the very same motive which influenced the men who enacted those laws. We must take leave to question either their understanding or their integrity. If they really wish to preserve the Protestant constitution of this country in Church and State, they must be the weakest of all human beings to adopt the very means to which its enemies have always had recourse for its destruction; and, in that case, we must either condemn the abilities of all the great statesmen who flourished at the period of the Revolution, or else impeach the understandings of Mr. Grattan and his too numerous associates. On the other hand, if this strange mode of preservation is not to be referred to weakness of head, we must necessarily conclude that they are actuated by some other motive than that which they openly profess; and *then* their integrity must be contemplated with an eye of suspicion.

Lord Donoughmore, in his answer, finds more fault than Mr. Grattan with the Catholic Board. He condemns their proceedings, as far as we understand his lordship, as too dictatorial, particularly their presumption in framing a *Bill* for Parliament to pass. He censures, too, with more delicacy and reserve than the occasion called for, some speech which had been delivered at the Board, and which, we presume, was the speech of Dr. Dromgoole, given above; though his Lordship, for reasons too obvious to admit of misinterpretation, studiously forbears to mention any name. He talks, indeed, of *misconception*, and of words "*supposed to have fallen from the person into whose mouth they have been put.*" Now, if we be right in our conjecture that Dr. Dromgoole's is the Speech referred to, most assuredly

It is not calculated to give birth to *misconception* ; it is much too plain, indeed, to be either misconceived or misunderstood. The Doctor speaks out, like an honest and true Papist ; he manfully avows his enmity to the *heretical* church established by law in this country, and, knowing that the extirpation of heresy is commanded by those general councils, to which he and his fellow-religionists owe implicit obedience, he consistently objects to any measure which may be supposed to conduce to its security ; all this is perfectly natural, and perfectly intelligible. There is no mystery in it. Nor is there any room for misconception. We are very far from blaming the Doctor for this open avowal of his sentiments. We think, on the contrary, that he has played an honest part ; and we heartily wish that all Papists would follow his example. It is their duplicity, their hypocrisy, only, which are to be feared. Let them pull off the mask, and we know how to encounter them. Lord Donoughmore's letter seems calculated to supply a hint to the Papists to *disavow* the Doctor's speech. But it is too late ; it was delivered at the Catholic Board, and the sentiments which it contained received the silent assent of the members. It has been circulated throughout Ireland, and will, we trust, be circulated throughout England ; where, we doubt not, it will produce its *proper* effect.

The Papists have now, by their authorized organ, the Catholic Board, declared their firm resolution TO MAKE NO CONCESSIONS, TO ADMIT OF NO RESTRICTIONS, TO ACCEPT NO CONDITIONS ;—the Protestant community, therefore, are put on their guard ; they now know what they have to trust to ; and they know also what confidence is to be reposed in the Papists, and in their bigotted advocate Dr. Milner, who first authorized their parliamentary advocates, in either house, to offer a VETO on the appointment of their Bishops to the King---a vain and nugatory offer, indeed, considered as a *security*---who afterwards retracted that offer ; and whose agent, Milner, proclaimed to the world that he would shed the last drop of his blood sooner than allow to a Protestant monarch the smallest right of interposition in the nomination of Bishops, although he was the very man who authorized their parliamentary advocates to make the offer ! There is, in this transaction, a manifestation of that fraud, duplicity, and bigotry, which disgraced the Church of Rome in its plenitude of

power, and in the dark ages, and which renders it madness to repose confidence in the professions of its members, on any matters connected with its immediate interests.

To the Editor of the Antijacobin Review.

SIR,

It must be obvious to you, that the exclusive advocates of peace (as they term themselves) had a most difficult task to perform in their attempts to escape from the imputation they lay under of being the uniform advocates of the imperial despot that lorded it over the continent, and the upholders of a system of political measures that have been proved by recent events to be utterly erroneous and impolitic. They seem also, if we take as a criterion of their feelings the laboured, studied, and elaborate harangues made recently at the meeting of the Concentric Society, to be convinced of the degradation into which they have fallen in the public eye, owing to their continued opposition to the efforts of their own country against the designs and intentions of an implacable and tyrannical foe, by their systematic support of his power, name, and dominion, as far as their influence extended, in their public addresses and through the medium of that part of the press under their controul.—The vindication of their *fair fame*, they have attempted : attempted, however, in such a manner as serves to show the low ebb to which they are reduced, and their wish still further to continue the veil on their deluded followers, who may (perhaps considering ignorance as bliss) wish still to continue in the display of their folly, and in a repetition of their hitherto falsified prophecies. The evidence of fact and the light of truth, which still blaze conviction from the recent victories of the Allies, still find an insuperable bar in the convincing of these men, who, besotted by folly, and in love with their prophetic and theoretical dreams, cannot be brought to view political occurrences but through the medium of party, and the prognosticating of evils to come. Buonaparte, exalted hitherto by them, is now, according to their preposterous assertions, humbled by the adoption of their principles and the practical operation of their opinions. But this cloak will not avail them, *their former opinions are upon record*, and are well remembered. Their phrensiad declamations and their wilful misrepresentation of our principles shall not avail ; the fact, I trust is established, *that the present state of Europe is solely to be attributed to the principles of Mr. Pitt, and the persevering exertions of those of his school*. For the purpose of viewing the vindication and justification of these *mock patriots*, allow me to review the speech of Mr. Shepherd, as reported in the Liverpool Mercury of last week, because he seems to have been the person fixed upon as the organ and the unblushing upholder of their opinions. The rest appear by the report not worth the attention which they seem to have gained while delivering their sentiments. One most undaunt-

eddy in the midst of a commercial community deprecating the *back bone* of this country; the advantage of commerce seems more fit to discuss the value of particular breeds of cattle, than the discussing of subjects requiring what appears to make no part of his *observant* self, a clear comprehension and a knowledge of political greatness.—The libeller of the English nation as to its conduct to Ireland, is beneath a serious answer—the demagogue appears in all his furious sentences—the personality of his attacks proclaim him passion's slave, as well as his sentiments proclaim his want of discernment, without a knowledge of state affairs, or viewing them (to use the words of one whom *he* terms the utterer of elaborate nonsense) with a statesman's eye. Mr. Shepherd commences with an assertion, that through the influence and co-operation of their principles, the grand scene of European deliverance is about to be realised; an assertion as repugnant to common sense as it is in direct contradiction to all their former reiterated sentiments since the commencement of the war. What! shall it be said, that the principles of the men who have *till now* impugned the measures and policy, not merely of their own governments, but also of our Allies, have conduced to this glorious end?—Preposterous assertion! Is not the policy that has been persevered in, and has thus been triumphantly successful, in direct opposition to that which they laid down and called upon the executive to adopt? Do not all their prophecies, made ever since the glorious flame of independence burst forth in Spain, stare them in the face, and cry aloud, that all their prognostications have come to pass exactly the opposite of that foretold? What! shall the men that supported that false prophet, Mr. Brougham, at the recent election, whose eyes were so dimmed with opposition phrensy that he mistook the patriotic conflagration of Moscow for an argument in favour of a speedy peace with France, and the ground of an invective declamation against the memory of the immortal Pitt, who mistook it for the death of Russian independence and resistance, and the annihilation of our *last Ally*, shall they unblushingly come forward, and assert in the face of these facts, that their principles have triumphed? No; though assertion and impudence may impose upon their besotted followers, the hideous deformity of their anti-patriotic principles shall be exposed, their former opinions and fore-bodings shall be held in memory as memorials of their disgrace.

The opposite policy to this has prevailed: how then have they a right to come in for a share of the honour attendant on success? They never expected, they told us, that Buonaparte would be humbled; for though defeated in Russia, it was the act of Providence and the seasons, and not at all to be put to the account of the persevering resistance of our ally. The contest commenced again; still they saw no hope but in peace. In defiance, however, of their opposition, the contest was continued; and yet they inform us it is their principles that have triumphed. When the war was to them doubtful then they were their opponents principles. Thus always is error when joined to folly—determined in the support of falsehood, which, when

detected, resorts to a justification as destitute of truth as common sense.

A PITTITE AND A REAL LOVER OF
THE PEOPLE.

Liverpool, Dec. 16.

PUBLIC REJOICINGS AT LIVERPOOL.

(Continued from 687 of the Appendix to Vol. 45.)

Mr. Edwards, corner of Nelson-street, and next door, three Stars and two festoons, in lamps.

Mr. Eden, Mount-Pleasant, G. R. and Star.

Mr. Edward Edwards, Lawton-street, Medallion of Lord Wellington.

Mr. Evans, Rose-hill, Star.

Mr. Edwards, Bridgewater-street, transparency of Lord Wellington.

Mr. J. Flinn, Upper Stanhope-st. Wellington, in variegated lamps.

Mr. Golightly, Renshaw-street, "Wellington and Orange Boven."

Mr. Harvey, Rodney-street, "Ships, Colonies, and Commerce."

Mr. Twemlow, Great George's-square, Crescent, Crown and Feather.

Mr. Tattersal, Beau-street, "Our Allies."

Mr. Willink, Great George's-sq. "Orange Boven," and Festoons.

Mr. Myets, Queen Anne-street, "Victory."

Mr. Seear's Colquit-street, "Old England."

Mr. Haigh, Frazer-street, a Transparency. Bust of Lord Wellington, on the Pedestal, "Vittoria;" underneath "Talavera, Leipsic, Salamanca:" and the following couplet:

"God is our shield, let every Briton sing,

Peace to our Isle, and health to George our King."

The range of Houses opposite the Garden, Colquit-street, a Crown in the centre, and the word "Victory" along the whole in large Letters and festoons.

Mr. Rowe, Hanover-street, Crown and G. R.

Messrs. Barned and Co. Lord-street, Transparency Britannia, one hand pointing to a ship in full sail, with the inscription of "Ships, Colonies, and Commerce," the left hand holding a Scroll with Victory pointing to a full length figure of Wellington; Fame crowning his Head with Laurel; from her Trumpet is suspended a flag, inscribed—the British Hero. Underneath "The gallant defender of Spain and Portugal."

Talbot Inn, Crown, G. R. and Transparency of the Prince Regent Lamps round the arched entrance.

Mr. Hensman's, Russel-street, windows exhibiting appropriate devices, mottos, &c.

Mr. Stanistreet, Russel-street, Crown, Star, &c.

The Centre Houses, Queen Anne-street, large Crown and words "Leipzig and Victory."

Mr. Carters, Old Hall-street, an illuminated Sphere revolving, exhibiting a Figure of Britannia, a Dutchman presenting an orange to the nose of a French officer. Buonaparte facing the British soldiers with fixed bayonets, pursued by a British Lion, and a Russian Bear, surmounted by a beautiful Crown on a Cushion. Both Transparent, Mottos, round the foot of the Crown, "The cause of Europe;" on the Cushion "Rejoice, Europe is free;" on the Sphere "Prosperity to the town of Liverpool."

Mr. William Foster, Bold-street, P. R. and a plume of feathers, in variegated Lamps,

Dr. Brandreth, Bold-street, Transparency, the King's Arms, Motto, "Peace to the World."

Mr. Chew, Lord-street, G. R. in Lamps, Transparency, with Motto,

"Whate'er befalls your life shall be my care,
One death or one deliverance we will share."

Mr. Gibson, Lord-street, G. R. and a Crown.

Messrs. Ogilvy and Co.'s Lord-street, Transparencies with inscriptions "Britons have done their duty, our Allies are firm, Peace will be the glorious reward."

Mr. Abbott's, Bold-street, a Transparency, and a singular representation of Lord Wellington, and the Crown Prince of Sweden.

Mr. W. Thompson, Islington, G. R. a Crown and "Rejoice," in Lamps.

Mr. Avison's, Hanover-street, a Star, in Lamps.

Messrs. S. and T. Francey's Marble Rooms, Brownlow-hill, a figure of Lord Nelson, painted on the left window, Lord Wellington in the centre, and Britannia presenting Liberty to the oppressed nations of Europe, on the right.

Mr. Fernell, Portrait Painter, Pool-lane, Transparency, "The Modern Belshazzar," Buonaparte in the above character, the Imperial Crown falling from his Head, appalled at a vision of the late Premier, who from the centre of Europe suspends the Tekel, overweighed in the Balance, and found wanting; Motto, "Pitt's Ghost, or the opinion of Europe;" second window, "Righteousness exalteth a Nation," Britannia presenting the Holy Bible to Asia, and attending to the solicitation of Africa for Missionary instruction; in her left hand the Balance of Crowns, under which is a Young Prince, soliciting for the throne of his Ancestors; Motto, "Enlightener of the world, and Restorer of the Balance of Power."

Mr. Rushton, Pool-lane, Transparency of John Bull and his friends; a humorous description of John Bull, with a Portuguese and Spaniard, meeting his old friend the Dutchman, who is encouraged to renew his ancient connections by the Russians, Swedes, Prussians, &c. one of whom is seen pointing to the Federalist Prophecy in the year 1810, "England hath stood, now stands, and will stand the mighty conflict." At a distance the Dutch Fleet, and the rising sun, with the approach of the Cossacks. The words "Wellington," "Orange Boven," and Star, in variegated Lamps, on the front.

Mr. Ravenshaw, Tea Dealer, Pool-lane, Transparency, a view of Shropshire Hills in France, Sir Rowland Hill, and his Brother as his Aid-de-Camp; distant view of the Oxford Blues in charge against the French.

Mr. Atherton, Mount Pleasant, Crown, G. R. Star, and "Old England for ever," in variegated Lamps.

Captain Derbyshire, Parr-street, Crown, "Our Allies and Cause," in variegated lamps.

Mrs. Bartington's Backbone Club House, Liver-street, Crown, and "Backbone Club," in variegated Lamps, with two Transparencies.

Wm. Nicholson, Esq. the Worshipful the Mayor of Liverpool, Everton Crescent, Crown, G. R. Stars, and "Europe's Cause, in variegated Lamps, extending across the house.

Miss Blackburne's, Pembroke-place, two projecting Transparencies, one exhibiting the eye of the Almighty, with the words, "shed thine influence over us," in the rays proceeding from it, below "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, goodwill towards men.—Hallelujah!—Amen." The following inscriptions, on labels interwoven with an Orange branch, bearing the ripe fruit, "Thanks be to God who giveth us the victory," and "Success to our glorious allies all over Europe; England firm—Europe free;" on the other a Crown, under this, "God save the King, long live the King, may the King live for ever—Amen." A Plume of Feathers bearing a label in front, with "May his Successor inherit with the kingdoms all his Father's virtues." Star, in Lamps on the front.—The whole had a very fine appearance, and does great credit to the taste and sentiment of the fair Proprietor.

Courier Office, Castle-street, on the outside a regal Crown and Plume of Feathers; the left window, first story, a Transparency, representing the figure of Fortitude resting firmly on a pillar, the background exhibiting a turbulent sea, Moscow in flames, and a deserted city; the Elements stormy, flashing lightning, underneath "England has saved herself by her Firmness, and other nations by her example." The right hand window, a Transparency of the Genius of Britain holding up the star of independence to the oppressed nations of Europe, with the emblems of valour and wisdom at her feet, and the following inscription below: "That Ray which has shone with such a steady lustre from our own happy shores, is now rapidly diffused throughout the whole continent." The four windows above, severally exhibited the words "Vittoria, Leipzig, Moscow, and Deanevits," encircled in Radii, each accompanied with appropriate emblems, Crests, &c.

Mr. J. Gore, Castle-street, "Britons rejoice," in variegated lamps, and two Transparencies—one figure of Marquis of Wellington, standing on a pedestal, inscribed "Firmness," surrounded with the names of his different engagements, surmounted with Laurel, and the words "British valour triumphant;" the other, a Cossack, on a pedestal, inscribed "Courage," the names of the several battles in which they have been engaged, and surmounted with "Northern Europe Free."

Baillie and Wilson's, Castle-street, Transparency—Ships; motto, "Ships, Colonies, and Commerce."

The Rev. J. Stephens, Leeds-street, four windows illuminated, two containing "Portugal, Spain, Germany, and Holland," encircled in radii, two others containing the initial letters of "Pitt, Nelson, Wellington, and Alexander," encircled in the same manner, accompanied by appropriate emblems; mottos, "England has triumphed gloriously," and "This is the Lord's doing, it is marvellous in our eyes."

Mr. Bibby, Kent-street, G. P. R. and "Vittoria."

Islington Row, festoons of Lamps, and in centre, Transparency of Britannia.

Mr. Hicks, Byrom-street, G. R. and Crown.

Mr. Norris, Daulby-street, Transparency, exhibiting a Forge, beating swords into Plough-shares and spears into Pruning-hooks.

Mr. Sandbach, three Transparencies.

Mr. Hinclam, an elegant display in lamps.

Mr. John Tarleton, jun. a Star and "Rejoice."

Edmund Rigby, Esq. "Victory," and "B. A." in Lamps.

Messrs. Stanistreet and Eden, Leigh-street, G. R. and a Crown, P. R. and Plume of Feathers in Lamps.

Mr. Robertson, Brownlow-street, G. R. and a Crown of Lamps.

Mr. P. Scott, Brownlow-hill, a fine Transparency of Lord Wellington crossing the Pyrenees.

Mr. Crook, Scotland-road, Crown, Star, and Festoons; in Castle-street, a Crown.

Messrs. Jones and Son, corner of Castle-street, "Vittoria," in Castle-street, and a star in Water-street.

Mr. Fairhurst, Elliot-hill, transparency, Boney in centre of an hobble.

Mr. Farrar, P. R. and feather, with tin lamps, which certainly gave a more brilliant light than the glass ones.

Mr. Fairclough, Beau-street, Prince of Wales's feathers, motto, "Ich Dien," transparent, very ingenious and well managed. On each side were festoons of laurel, and interspersed lamps.

Mr. W. Gore, Duke street, star, in lamps.

Mr. Gay, Byrom-street, Flambeaux.

Mr. M'Grath, Shaw's-brow, a transparency.

Mr. Gibson, Lord-street, G. R. and a crown.

Mr. F. Gordon, Mill-street, W. and Success, in variegated lamps.

Mr. Gibbon, Trueman-street, Wellington, and the balustrades finely ornamented with variegated lamps.

Mr. Gilbert, Sparling-street, Star, M. W. in variegated lamps.

Mr. Glover, Duke-street, transparency, on the base of a pillar uniting the force of England and the allies, raised against the enemy of mankind, stands Fame, holding under her right arm the history of 1813; crowned with plenty by Perseverance, and proclaimed to the world by Victory and Commerce; she is presenting Lord Wellington with a crown of laurel, on her right hand stands Britannia, with a fixed determination to support the cause she has in hand, whilst the

lion with one paw on a broken iron yoke is ready to avenge the injuries of those who fly to her for assistance ; on the left are several officers of distinction advancing to receive their laurels ; in the back ground are several fugitives retreating—the French eagles are broken and trampled in the dust—the cannon, &c. denote our national strength.

Mr. Hollowes' house, St. James's-walk, two fine-formed transparent figures of Hope and Britannia, done by a first-rate artist, and a beautiful model of an English merchant vessel displaying colours of various nations ; the lower apartments lighted up with much elegant simplicity,

Mrs. Hewit, Mount Pleasant, Star.

Mr. Haworth, Upper Pitt-street, four transparencies.

Mr. J. Holmes, Berry-street, a brilliant star, small anchor, and transparency.

Mr. David Hastie, Cable-street, "Wellington," in lamps.

Mr. J. Hardman, Rodney-street, balcony with variegated lamps.

Mrs. Hartley, Wapping, crown and G. R. in variegated lamps.

Mr. Thos. Holt, Hope-street, a line of Lamps along the whole front of his house.

Mr. Hind, Upper Stanhope-street, star, in variegated lamps.

Heroulanxum Pottery Warehouse, Duke-street, Vittoria, in lamps along the higher range, and along the lower Moscow, Leipzig. In the centre window below the above a spirited and well-executed transparency (painted, we understand, by one of the artists employed by the company in their manufactory.) The subject corresponded with the occasions celebrated by the lamps. It represented Buonaparte falling with his sword broken, and a French eagle with a broken staff lying near him. Tremendously dark clouds hovering around him, and lightning darting against him. In the part from whence the lightning issued, appeared the words, "Mene Tekel." In the background troops flying in all directions ; and in the distance appeared the town of Leipzig. The motto at the foot of this piece, is, "He shall be broken in pieces LIKE A POTTER'S VESSEL."—In the windows on each side of the above, two other transparencies, each representing the European part of the globe, emerging above the horizon—Over one appeared Fame with a scroll in her hand, on which were inscribed the names of Wellington, &c. and over the other, Victory holding a tyrant in chains—cherubs attending these two figures pouring the contents of a cornucopia, and scattering Olive branches on the globe, beneath each—Motto, to these two transparencies,

"Fame let thy trumpet sound,
Tell the whole globe around,

Europe is free :

Free may she still remain,
From every Tyrant's chain,
Peace universal reign,

Whilst time shall be."

Mr. Thomas Holland, Mount-Pleasant, transparency, Britannia, Motto, "The deliverance of Europe appears to be at hand,"

Mr. Hunter, Mount-pleasant, Britannia, W. on the ground area, and string of lamps over the entrance.

Messrs. Heywood's Bank, Brunswick-street, Peace and Plenty, two anchors and a crown, in crystal lamps, very elegant.

Mr. Heaketh, Brownlow-street, transparency—Truth reflecting with her Mirror on the following words : " England has saved herself by her firmness, and other countries by her example."

Mr. Harrison, Bold-street, festoons of lamps, and transparency, Bonaparte making his escape after his discomfiture, seeks shelter and protection from his wife and the young king of Rome.

Mrs. Hall, Trinket-street, feathers.

Mr. Harrison, Kent-square, G. R. in lamps.

Mr. Harding, Harrington-street, four small devices, with a crown affixed to each, indicating severally, a motto applicable to our recent resplendent victories, over an inveterate enemy, illuminated with variegated lamps ; also, a sheep dressed in orange ribbons and laurel, which was afterward eaten by a few friends, true to the cause that has occasioned so grand and brilliant an illumination.

Mr. Hope, Hope-street, three transparencies, with two stars.—1. Great Britain and her Allies victorious, Spain, Portugal, Germany and Holland free ; May these victories be succeeded by a lasting and honourable peace. 2. Britannia receiving the news of Europe liberated. 3. Non nobis Domine, Non nobis sed, Nomini tuo da Gloriam.

Capt. James, St. James-place, the Russian drop.

Mr. Jones, St. James-street, G. R. in variegated lamps.

Mr. Jones, Bedford-street, star, in variegated lamps.

Mr. Jackson, Springfield, motto, " Europe is free."

Mr. Kilshaw, Great George-street, star, in lamps.

Mr. James Knowles, Derby-square, displayed in the window a loaf weighing 80lbs. ; a jug of ale containing eight gallons, and large standing rib of beef, decorated with laurel.

Mr. King, Daulby-street, two flambeaux.

Mr. Kinchen, Queen Anne-street, crown.

Mr. Knocks, Haymarket, star in variegated lamps.

Mr. Latham, Richmond-row, crown.

Mr. Lloyd, Paradise-street, handsome transparencies.

Mr. Litterland, Brownlow-hill, two transparencies Britannia attended by Wisdom and Valour.

Mr. Lonsdale's enchanting cottage under St. James's-walk, five handsome transparencies in the windows, and over the door a crown, with the Rose, Thistle and Shamrock.

Mr. H. Lothian, Shaw's brow, G. R. and a sheep adorned with variegated lamps.

Mr. E. Ledward, Rodney-street, " Rejoice," in variegated lamps.

Mr. Lindsay, Surgeon, Great George-street, " Leipsitz," and transparency, Wellington standing on a cannon.

Mr. Lonsdale, St. James-street, five handsome transparencies, and over the fan-light of the door a crown with the Rose, Thistle, and Shamrock, on the stem.

Mr. J. Lucy, Richmond-row, two transparencies representing a Cossack elegantly mounted, and Peace sounding the trumpet with the words, "Peace on Earth."

Lillyman's hotel, Castle-street, two transparencies, crown, P. R. and star: one transparency, Commerce, motto, "Town and trade of Liverpool:" the other Britannia, motto, "England! he that does not like her let him leave her," with the profiles of Mr. Canning and Lord Wellington, and Prince of Wales's feathers and the Liverpool arms in miniature.

Mrs. Lindop, Duke-street, star in variegated lamps.

Mr. Marsden, Rose-place, star.

Mr. M'Vicar, Rose-place, star.

Mr. Massey, Great George-square, Transparency, a spirited representation of Marquis Wellington on horseback.

Mr. R. M'Neil, Mill-street, lamps round the cornice.

Rev. Mr. M'Donald, and Mr. Steele, a brilliant star.

Mr. Miller, Union-street, G. R. in lamps.

Mr. W. Morrall, Alfred-st., "Victory," in lamps, decorated with laurel.

Mr. M'Camley, Great George square, crown, G. R.

Capt. M'Leod, Russel-street, a brilliant transparency, representing the chains of slavery broken, pointing out to Holland and Spain; the beaten French army by Lord Wellington. On the back ground the British Lion tearing the French flag to pieces.

Mr. Maitland, Rodney-street. crown, Plume, two anchors, and festoons in lamps.

Mr. M'Iver, Great George-street, crown, and G. R. in lamps.

Mr. Myers, Queen Anne-street, G. R. and star, "Leipsic" in lamps.

Rev. T. Moss, Islington, festoons of variegated lamps.

Morocco leather Manufactory, Highfield-street, star and V. in variegated lamps.

Mr. Milbourn, Norton street, four transparencies, Spain, Moscow, W. A. and Britons rejoice.

Mr. J. Malonek, Mount pleasant, Crown and G. R.

Mr. Marsh, Wapping, three transparencies—1. Britannia bearing a medallion of Lord Wellington—2. Dutchman on a Cask of Gin—3. medallion of the Crown Prince of Sweden.

Mr. Newness, Shaw's-brow, a transparency.

Mr. Nightingale, Mill street, a star in variegated lamps.

Mr. Nicholson, Paradise-street, Crown and G. R. in vast variegated lamps.

Mr. W. Nevett, Old Church yard, P. R. Feathers, Vittoria, Vimeira, and Salamanca, in variegated lamps.

Mr. Orton, Castle Ditch, two transparencies, figures of Fame with Mottos "Courage and Perseverance of England rewarded by the emancipation of Europe," with names of the Allied Generals.

Messrs Ogilvy and Co.'s, Lord street, transparencies with inscriptions, "Britons have done their duty, our Allies are firm, Peace will be the glorious reward."

Mr. O'Neil, Cable-street, Star and two Festoons in variegated lamps; transparency of Wellington.

Mr. Oakes, Pembroke-place, Crown, Prince of Wales's Feathers, and laurel, variegated with lamps.

Mr. Overton, St. Ann-street, two transparencies, one Hill underneath Vittoria, and the other Broke underneath Shannon.

Rev. W. Pulford, Nile street, eight flambeaux.

Mr. Pattison, Great George-place, G. P. "Leipsic," in lamps.

Mr. Platt, Great George st. Prince of Wales's Feathers, in lamps.

Mr. Park, Newington, Victory, and in Bold-street, "Europe free," in lamps.

Mr. Peel, Everton Crescent, Crown, G. R. in variegated lamps.

Mr. Robertson, Rodney-street, G. R. and Star.

Mr. C. Robinson, Parliament street, large Star.

Mr. Riddough, Dale-street, a Star in variegated lamps.

Mrs. Robinson, Upper Parliament-street, transparency, the Happy Union—Vittoria.

Mr. Richards, Upper Pitt street, four emblematic transparencies.

Mr. Richardson, ditto, Crown, and windows, painted.

Mr. Robinson, St. Ann's-street, "Europe delivered," and Feather in lamps.

Mr. Samuel Roberts, do. Star, and festoon of variegated lamps.

Mr. G. A. Robinson, Wreath of variegated lamps.

Mr. Rees, Brownlow street, transparency, view of Everton.

Dr. Renwick, windows decorated with festoons of lamps and laurel.

Mr. Roe, Queen square, beautifully lighted with wax, and small transparencies, emblems of Great Britain, Prussia, Sweden, Russia Spain, and Germany.

Mr. Robinson, Castle street, Star in lamps.

Mr. Richardson, Post office Place, three handsome transparencies, 1st, Britannia standing in a firm attitude, her right hand holding a Palm Branch, her left resting on her Shield, the British Lion supporting the Arms of Britannia; Fame holding a medallion of Alexander, with a label inscribed "Success to our brave Allies, Russia, Prussia, Austria, Sweden, and Holland;" two Furies flying in terror from Britannia. In the fore ground, the Arms of Liverpool, with emblems of Commerce, &c; shipping in the distance: motto, "The wisdom of her Councils, with the energy of her People, has placed the independence of Great Britain with her foundation upon a Rock, and rescued surrounding Nations from Tyranny."—2d, a well drawn figure of Lord Wellington with a staff of Command in his right hand, on a spirited grey Charger, at the top "Field Marshal Wellington," at foot "The Hero of Portugal and Spain."—3d, His Majesty's Crown with G. R. and the Union represented by the Rose, Thistle, and Shamrock; underneath the Prince of Wales's Plume with G. P. R. at foot a festoon of oak and acorn with, Town and trade of Liverpool.

Mr. W. Southwell, Duke-street, two transparencies.

Mr. Smallwood, Christian street, M. W.

Mr. Steel, Case's street, Star, in lamps.

Mr. A. Stewart, Rodney-street, balcony splendidly illuminated.

Mr. Swainson, Clarence-street, Star.

Mr. Stowel, Mount-pleasant, transparency, Vittoria and Leipzig.

Mr. Smith, Lawton-street, transparency, King's Arms.

Mrs. Seaman, Mount-st. Crown, G. R. and a Scroll of lamps.

Mrs. Seaman, Rodney-street, G. R. and Crown, with a festoon in Mount-street.

Mr. Shaw, Marble-street, G. R. and Crown, in variegated lamps.

Mr. John Steele, Soho-street, "Our Allies," in variegated lamps, surrounded with laurel.

Mr. Stewart, Beford-street, transparency, Britannia decorated with English and Dutch Flags.

Mr. Starkie, ditto, transparency, the Tyrant's Downfall, "Orange Boven."

Mr. Sandbach, St. Anne-street, three transparencies, Lord Wellington, Admiral Nelson, and the Prince of Orange, protected by Britannia—all full length figures.

Mr. Scholfield's eating house, Paradise-street, the Union Flag hung out; a large Sirloin of Beef, decorated in a circle with lamps, and orange and blue ribbons, with two pillars of lamps, and a transparency, "England is a Lion;" a British tar says, "Come, eat my roast beef, and give your dogs the Boney-part."

Mr. J. Towne, Arrad-street, a resplendent Crown.

Mr. Tattersall, Beau-street, large Star, and motto, "Our Allies," in lamps, V. L.

Miss Tillinghurst, Williamson-square, a beautiful transparency of Britannia, Lion, &c.

Mr. M. J. Tobias, Great George-square, Star, in lamps.

Mr. Troughton, Parliament-street, Crown, in variegated lamps.

Mr. J. Tomkins, Lime-street, L. W. in variegated lamps.

Mrs. Thompson, milliner, Upper Pitt-street, transparency, King's Arms, motto, "Loyalty, Charity, Love, Liberty."

Mr. Twamlow, Great George-square, an elegant Star, grand arch Prince of Wales's Feathers, and festoons the whole front.

Mr. Tayleure, Brownlow-hill, a transparency representing Victory, Wellington, and Union.

Mr. P. M. Taylor, Rodney-street, two excellent transparencies, one a Star, with the Regent's Plume, and over it the words, "Liberty, Glory, Security, and Trade;" the other a Castle and a Ship at a distance, with a Cannon and Anchor on the fore ground, the whole surmounted by a Crown, with the words, "May England's Heroes never be forgotten." The upper windows tastefully illuminated with coloured Stars and Plumes of Feathers.

Mr. Vaughan, Islington, a transparency.

The Vine Tavern, Pitt-street, and shop next door, four delicate emblematic Transparencies.

Mr. Van Zeller, Queen Anne-street, large Crown, and words, "Leipzig and Victory."

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- Mr. Venables, Great George-square, double line of lampson balcony.
 Mr. Worthington, Christian-street, two Transparencies.
 Mr. Wellstood, Christian-street, an Anchor.
 Mrs. Wilson, Shaw's-brow, two Transparencies.
 Mr. Wright, Paradise-street, Crown, and G. R. in crystal lamps.
 Mr. Ward, Richmond Row, Arch and Star of variegated lamps.
 Mr. Wardropper, Upper Pitt-street, Transparency, Bust of Wellington.
 Mr. Wood, Mount Pleasant, four Transparencies, inscribed,
 "Crown, Wellington, Leipzig, and Moscow."
 Mr. Waln, Camden-street, Transparency of Lord Wellington in full length.
 Mr. J. B. Yates, St. Vincent-street, Crown, Star, and festoons ;
 the two next houses a treble line of Lamps, with festoons.

ORIGINAL POETRY.

EUROPE LIBERATED.

A FORM.

Expressly written for the Celebration at Liverpool of the glorious Successes of Great Britain and her Allies over the Arms of France.

LOUD sounds the war-trump on yon sanguin'd plain,
 And drowns the piercing, mad'ning groans of pain :
 Hark ! Echo spreads tumultuous shouts of war
 Through fields of air, enthron'd on Ether's car,
 Whose arch domain extends thro' endless space,
 Gives law to sound, and lightning's speed to pace :
 Exulting Europe, with supreme delight,
 Hears the shrill goddess from the dreadful fight,
 Proclaim aloud thro' heaven's expansive sky,
 " Napoleon's star no longer flames on high,
 " No more his eagles ride on victory's wing,
 " Nor sparkles light from rays the sun-beams bring ;
 (In foreign tow'rs those *mighty* emblems rear,
 The pride of Russian arms—of France despair :)
 " No more his clarion sounds, to arms ! to arms !
 " Sublimes the soul to glory's lofty charms,
 " Nor prostrate nations fear his iron crown,
 " The price of blood and image of renown ;
 " Fled is the coward, tarnish'd all his fame,
 " And doom'd thro' endless time to endless shame."

What time did Gallia's chief's ambitious mind
 Conceive the bold design to rule mankind ?
 O'er Europe's sons his powerful sway to plan,
 By war's dark art, and intellectual scan ?

By fortune favour'd and by skill renown'd,
 He fought,—and empires totter'd to the ground,
 Receiv'd his law, and own'd his giant power,
 Strong as the storm that battles down the tower,
 Worn down with grief, as Treason stalk'd around
 Gave the full cup, and fix'd the poison'd wound.
 Pale Europe sigh'd—while o'er her vanquish'd lands
 NAPOLEON rode, and gave his stern commands.
 Indignant kingdoms groan'd with Gallic crimes,
 And found Bright FREEDOM fled to other climes;
 Fled to yon Isle, whose cliffs, like driven snow,
 Ne'er blush'd when Britons met th' insulting foe,
 Where, proudly thron'd, bright as the star of morn,
 She cast on France contemptuous looks of scorn;
 Points with a pow'rful arm, and eye serene,
 Where British seamen rule the boist'rous main,
 And dare in vain their shuddering foes to fight,
 For England's charter and for ocean's right.

Led on by hate to Britain's sacred Isle,
 Seat of the brave, illum'd by beauty's smile,
 To Moscow's towers Napoleon's legions came,
 (Grave of his power—memorial of his shame,)
 Where sad defeat, in flight, his woes began,
 And Moscow's ashes prov'd the friend of man.
 Astonish'd realms beheld their haughty foe
 Retreat thro' Russian fields of chilling snow,
 Assail'd by dark and elemental war,
 By noble warrior rous'd from plains afar,
 By fire-eyed Cossacks, terrible and strong,
 Like tigers fierce contending o'er their young,
 Whose dreadful shouts in mock derision call,
 "Are these our foes, *crown'd kings* by Europe's fall.
 "These the *dread conquerors* waging endless war
 "Like blood-hounds, tracking murder's awful car?
 "A little while the grave will yield repose,
 "Atone our wrongs, and cover all your woes."
 Already fainting Gallia's veterans lie
 Yok'd to the frost, unprivileg'd to die,
 Children of blood—Lo! rising from the tomb,
 The grim king comes to seal your awful doom,
 While mem'ry's pangs heart-broken thoughts recall
 That wives and mothers in your fates must fall.
 Yet still Napoleon's vast ambitious soul,
 That shame can't vanquish or defeat control,
 Rous'd France again to try her fate in arms,
 With slaves unus'd to battle's loud alarms
 With friends unfaithful, whom the breath of pow'r
 Charm'd to his aid, then turn'd in peril's hour,
 And left on Leipzig's field a mournful theme—
 That pow'r is tyranny's more splendid name.

Not Jena's laurels, or Marengo's fight,
 Could rouse to conquer or deter from flight :
 Not the proud feats achiev'd on Friedland's plain,
 Or Wagram's trophies wrought from heaps of slain,
 Could stop the flight of vaunting Gallia's band,
 When Europe fought and Austria gave command,
 Now stately rising from the deep below
 Holland's bright GENIUS springs to meet his foe,
 Tall as the mountain's head his awful brow
 Doom French oppression to the shades below :
 See ! streaming, glorious, to the wind unfurl'd,
 His flag shows ORANGE BOWEN to the world.
 Joy tunes each feeling heart, supreme it glows,
 Love, freedom, commerce from its fulness flows ;
 Fond picturing fancy looks to ancient days,
 To Trump's renown and Ruyler's brighter bays :
 France sees aghast the rising flames extend,
 And Albion fly to aid her ancient friend.
 Some, flaming cherub, muse of fire divine,
 Bring thy bright wreath from *Tell's* lamented shrine,
 Awake the slumbering dead—burst the strong tomb,
 And call forth life from nature's mould'ring womb !
 Oh ! could thy magic pow'r awake the dead,
 And light cold clay with soul for ever fled ;
 Then would Helvetia kiss the sword of Tell,
 And hurl her Despot to the gates of hell.
 Ah ! what strange thoughts must crowd Napoleon's brain ;
 What lofty visions bold, but yet insane,
 What course pursue—when Europe all in arms,
 Breathes blood and slaughter thro' war's dire alarms—
 When rous'd by recent wrong, by Moscow's woe,
 The dreadful Cossack strikes the righteous blow :
 Demands e'en Paris as the victor's prize,
 To raise another flame (like Moscow) to the skies.

The tyrant's fell despotic reign is o'er,
 France seeks protection on her guilty shore,
 Beholds her empire girt with mighty foes,
 Her cities pregnant with expected woes ;
 Her armies bleaching Russia's desert shore,
 And conquest fled from France for evermore.
 No stars bright beam illumines the dreary scene,
 Gleams on the blood that flows from life's last vein :
 The war fiend flies, and calls on black Despair
 To grasp the ensign Gallia's legions bear.
 Colossal nation ! drunk with crimson'd crimes,
 Thy dreadful night-bell of destruction chimes !
 The conqu'ring WELLESLEY comes—his visage flame,
 Gives death to Hope, perdition to thy Fame.
 Already Sult, war's child and Europe's foe,
 Feels his strong arm, and sinks beneath his blow.

His banners shine with SALAMANCA's name,
 VIMIERA's laurels, and VITTORIA's fame,
 BADAJOZ' lofty tow'rs, RODRIGO's wall,
 Points where France sunk and mourn'd her wretched fall.
 Hail conq'ring chief ! from India's sultry clime,
 Thy deeds are wond'rous, and thy thought sublime ;
 On thee all Europe gaz'd, from thee began
 The spark that kindled life and bliss to man.
 Sweet Guardian Angel ! Warlike Albion's shield,
 Nerve his strong arm, and guide him in the field ;
 Direct his view where peace, thro' war, may reign,
 Seize the red sword, and wipe away its stain.

Ah ! splendid FREEDOM, man's imperial guide,
 Guard of our sacred island, and its pride,
 HOPE, fir'd by thee, lights every dungeon's gloom,
 And smooths the thorny path to mis'ry's tomb—
 Why clos'd thy watchful eye, and scorn'd to see
 France blindly wade thro' blood in search of thee ?
 Enthroned a monster, whose pernicious breath,
 Pollutes her realm, and yields her sons to death ?

See mournful SCIENCE—child of heavenly peace,
 With looks divine, and more than mortal grace.
 Rear'd on pure CAMBRAY's tomb—her eyes to heav'n—
 Beholds the tempest o'er her empire driv'n,
 Finds her wide influence check'd by vicious charms,
 And war entwinn'd in mad ambition's arms :
 Cloud-seated Science ! is thy empire o'er—
 Shall genius teach thy fav'rite sons no more,
 Light the bright flame that guides the human soul
 From earth to heav'n, and circumscribes the whole.
 Lov'd seat of art, farewell—thy glorious throne
 Must fall by wars destroying arm alone ;
 Enlighten'd minds no longer guard thy sway,
 From the dark storm that sweeps thy fame away ;
 And as an earthquake rocks some mighty town,
 War, man's own tempest, shakes thy sceptre down.

Could the bright eye of human genius see
 The future thoughts of beings yet to be :
 Trace, with prophetic truth, the mind of man,
 Read its ideas and all its windings scan ;
 Then would the splendour round Napoleon's fame
 To dark oblivion be consign'd by shame ;
 Then would its frail and perishable form,
 Subside like ocean's billows from the storm :
 As light as dust that floats on solar beams,
 Grows dim in shade, and scarce existence claims.
 So truth would measure vast AMBITION's stride,
 Mock its vain steps, and all its schemes deride.

IMPROMPTU,

*On the Victory gained in British North America by 300 CANADIANS,
over near 8000 Americans.*

To Persia's overwhelming host,
Three hundred Sons on Grecia's coast,
Opposed a wall more strong than brass,
Led by their chief, *Leonidas* :
And now the brave *Canadian* band,
Has made the same heroic stand,
And realised again we see,
The Wonders of Thermopylæ.

F. W.

Europa Restituta Auspice Britannia. By Thomas Rodd.

Fair Liberty, once, in the sea while she bathed,
Left her garments behind on the shore,
Licentiousness saw, and her body enswath'd
In the garments that Liberty wore,
Then she shouted aloud to the nations around,
"Ye nations attend to my voice."
Britannia alone undecieved by the sound,
Bade Britons be slow to rejoice,
'Tis not Freedom that calls—'tis some demon that raves :
Wherever she ranges the people are slaves.

In the sunshine of Fortune awhile seemed to bask
All Gallia that bow'd to her sway,
But ere long the false traitress abandon'd the mask,
And blood marked her horrible way.
Britannia uprous'd seized her shield and her spear,
Sent her navies the ocean to ride,
And, whilst mighty kingdoms all trembl'd with fear,
The legions of Gallia defy'd ;—
Alone stood the brunt of the battle, and hurl'd
Her bolts at the ruffians that troubl'd the world,

Iberia by injuries deeply sustain'd
Was first from her torpor to wake ;
Her Princes torn from her yet firm she remain'd,
For she felt that her All was at stake.
But, unable alone with the thousands to cope,
Like Locusts that deluged the land,
To Britain she turned as her anchor of hope---
Her bulwark---their hosts to withstand ;
Nor did Britain refuse—to her rescue she flew,
And sent forth her heroes the foe to subdue.

Thro' Europe the tidings of victory blaz'd,
The North caught the generous flame;
Nor longer appalled with cold apathy gaz'd
On the shackles that whelm'd her with shame.
From the Elbe, from the Rhine, from all Germany driv'n,
The scourges of Kingdoms retreat;
Batavia in turn feels the impulse of Heav'n,
And glories at Gallia's defeat.
Again shall all Europe from Tyrants be free——
'Tis the Will of the Gods---'tis Britannia's Decree !
To England Batavia alike turns her eye,
As first did the children of Spain;
Like them the brave Dutch on brave Britons rely;
They implore---and implore not in vain.
O quick let us send them both warriors and arms,
All---all that their hearts can require;
Save, save them my friends, from the *WOERDEN* alarms--
From rapine---from slaughter and fire.
And tell them " All Europe again shall be free——
'Tis the Will of the Gods---'tis Britannia's Decree !"

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Mr. Picquot has written a new Treatise on Geography, in which Ancient Geography is included—a feature of novelty as well as utility for school purposes.

A new Edition of the Life of Merlin (surnamed Ambrosius,) including all his curious Prophecies and Historical Predictions, from the reign of Brute to King Charles, is in the press.

A Volume of the most interesting and least exceptionable Comedies of Aristophanes, translated by Cumberland, Fielding, Dunster, &c. will be published this month, handsomely printed in uniformity with the new edition of Colman's Translation of Terence.

The late Mr. Cumberland's defence of the Christian Religion is about to be re-published in a neat and convenient form.

In the Press, and speedily will be Published, Second Edition, in one thick volume, 8vo. Travels through the South of France, and in the Interior of the Provinces of Provence and Languedoc, in the years 1807 and 1808, by a route never before performed, being along the Banks of the Loire, the Isere, and the Garonne, through the greater part of their course; made by permission of the French Government. By Lieutenant Colonel Pinkney, of the North American Rangers.

Captain Lisiansky's (of the Russian Navy) interesting voyage round the world, is now printing, and in great forwardness, the accompanying curious Plates and Charts are also nearly engraved. This voyage contains much new information respecting the Navigation of the South Sea.

A History of the Hundred of Edisbury, in Cheshire, by George Ormerod, Esq. M.A., F.S.A. of Charlton, near Chester, is in considerable forwardness, which may probably be followed by the other Hundreds. The pedigrees of the extinct and existing County Families are about forty; and among the principal subjects of the Hundred are the Castle of Beeston, and the sites of those of Frodsham, Northwich, the Sevenlowes, and other tumuli on the Forest of Delamere, the Camps of Edisbury and Kelsborough, Ince Grange, Banbury College, and the Abbey of Vale Royal.

In the Press, and early in February will be Published by Subscription, *A Key to Bonnycastle's Plane and Spherical Trigonometry*, by G. Davies, Master of the Academy, 8, Lizard Street, St. Luke's; and Member of the Mathematical Society, London.

Mr. BRITTON is preparing a pamphlet to contain a full and critical investigation of the Law and Justice of the claims of the Universities, &c. to eleven copies of every new publication. As the subject is of deep interest and importance to Authors and Publishers, it is hoped that it will obtain a candid, enlightened, and ample inquiry.

Mr. Elton, translator of Hesiod, is about to publish "Specimens of the Classic Poets, in a Chronological Series from Homer to Tryphiodorus, translated into English Verse, and illustrated with biographical and critical notices." The work will form three elegant octavo volumes,

An Introduction to the Study of Bibliography, by Mr. THOMAS HARTWELL HORNE, will be speedily published. It will comprise a general view of the different subjects connected with *Bibliography*, as well as some account of the most celebrated *Public Libraries*, ancient and modern; and also a notice of the principal works on the Knowledge of Books. Numerous engravings will be given, illustrative of early printing, together with fac-similes of the Books of Images, and the Monograms or Marks used by the first Printers, &c. &c.

The eighth Edition of the *Christian Remembrancer*, or Short Reflections upon Faith, Life, and Conduct, of a real Christian, by the late Ambrose Searle, Esq. will appear early in February; it is Printing from the Author's last corrections, accompanied with a Biographical Memoir of his Life and Writings.

Works in the Press.

Dr. Madan's Translation of Grotius de Veritate Religionis Christianæ, with the additional Books of Le Clerc.

The Parent's Poetical Anthology; being a Selection of English Poems, primarily designed to assist in forming the Taste and Sentiments of Young Readers.

The third Volume of Dr. Hales's new Analysis of Chronology, which completes the work.

THE
ANTI-JACOBIN REVIEW,
AND TRUE
Churchman's Magazine,

&c. &c. &c.

For FEBRUARY, 1814.

If thou put the Brethren in remembrance of these things, thou shalt be
a good minister of Jesus Christ.

1 TIM. iv. 6.

A Practical Exposition of the Tendency and Proceedings of the British and Foreign Bible Society, begun in a Correspondence between the Rev. H. H. Norris, and J. W. Freshfield, Esq. relative to the formation of an Auxiliary Bible Society at Hackney; and completed in an Appendix, containing an entire series of the public documents and private papers which that measure occasioned; illustrated with Notes and Observations. Edited by the Rev. H. H. Norris, M. A. Curate of St. John's Chapel, Hackney, and Chaplain to the Earl of Shaftesbury, 8vo. Pp. 440. Rivingtons. 1813.

IN our last number, we declared our intention of reconsidering, more fully than we have hitherto done, the pernicious effects of the Bible Society, in its progress to maturity. We have, from the beginning, endeavoured to discourage it, from a thorough conviction of its tendency to injure that cause which it professes to support, to impede instead of to promote the diffusion of Christian knowledge, to injure instead of to serve the best interests of the Christian religion. In announcing this opinion, we were fully aware that we should expose ourselves to the charge of presumption, as many men of undoubted worth, knowledge, and piety, some members, and a few dignitaries, of the Church, had become its open, anxious, and zealous supporters. But no authority, however respectable,
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able, can give sanction to error ; change mischief into good ; convert danger into security ; transform schism into unity ; or make falsehood pass for truth. Without, then, meaning to impeach the motives of the respectable individuals to whom we advert, we have contented ourselves with confuting their arguments ; and we shall stedfastly continue, without regard to persons, to plead the cause of truth, and to defend the church, against the professed enemies, the hypocritical advocates, and the mistaken friends, of both or of either.

We have always thought, in the first place, that the union of Churchmen, with Dissenters, schismatics, and even infidels, of every denomination, for the attainment of a religious object, is unnatural in itself, and dangerous in its consequences. Unnatural, because there is no one point of religion upon which members, so congregated, can agree with each other ; dangerous, because it impresses the common people with the truth of an opinion, which Dissenters have long sedulously laboured to inculcate, that there is no essential difference in religious persuasions, and that whether a man go to a church or to a conventicle, 'tis the same thing. Indeed, when the prelate, the quaker, the presbyterian, the independent, the socinian, and the jew, associate for one common *religious* purpose, such a conclusion must be allowed to be very far from irrational, when drawn by those who will ever judge chiefly from appearances. But we are wished to believe, by some who are not absolutely blind to this glaring incongruity, that the *end* justifies the *means* ; and that more good is produced by the union of heterogeneous characters, than could be effected by their separate agency. It would puzzle, however, a plain man to discover, how the separate exertions of churchmen, and of dissenters, in their respective spheres, animated by the same spirit, and conducted with the same energy, could fail to achieve as much good, as could be produced by their united efforts. It has, therefore, always appeared to us, that no advantage resulted from the society in question, to counterbalance the evil with which it was pregnant.

Here we have taken a very limited view of the question, on the assumption, that the *only* object of the society is the circulation of the scriptures. Out of this another question arises,—is the circulation of the bible, *without note or comment*, which is the boasted peculiarity of excellence arrogated to itself by the Bible Society—the best, or most likely, means of promoting christian knowledge ? This question Mr. Norris has discussed, and, therefore, we shall reserve our own sentiments upon it, till we come to the passage in which he considers it.

It must not be forgotten, for a moment, by those who peruse Mr. Norris's book, that the contest, on *his* side, was purely defensive ; that he was engaged, like a true parish priest, in performing, conscientiously, within his appointed sphere of action, the important duties of his sacred office ; when a number of fanatical intruders,—for even Mr. Freshfield, who is, we understand, an attorney, and in partnership with Mr. Kaye, the solicitor to the Bank, was not a parishioner either of Hackney or of Newington,—endeavoured to interrupt the existing harmony by the establishment of Auxiliary Societies there. Mr. Norris, and his worthy vicar, Dr. Watson, felt it to be their duty to resist them. And how were they resisted in the present instance ? by *private* remonstrance. Nor till this proved absolutely ineffectual, by the ostentatious obstinacy of their *legal* opponent, had they, or either of them, recourse to any public manifestation of their sentiments.

In assigning his reason for dedicating his work to the Bishop of the Diocese, the reverend author observes, that “ the subject treated of involves in it the discharge of pastoral obligations, and is therefore tendered officially to your lordship, as an appeal, from the decision of self-constituted judges, to that legitimate authority which is at once empowered, and qualified to decide.”

“ The question at issue, my Lord,” continues Mr. Norris, “ is whether the engagements entered into by clergymen at their ordination are merely words of course, attaching no responsibility to those who make these solemn stipulations, or whether they are to be conscientiously fulfilled in the several particulars specified, whenever occasions arise to which each of them specifically relates.”

These engagements, of course, it cannot be expected, avowed dissenters and schismatics will respect ; but it was to be expected that the gentleman whose irregular and presumptuous conduct provoked this controversy, and who professes *now* to be a member of the Church of England, would not presume to arrogate to himself a right to interpose his notions of religious instruction between the clergyman of a parish and his flock. By the assumption of that right, he betrayed, at once, his ignorance and his presumption, and to him, and to those who acted as his associates, must the evil consequences and the blame, of interrupting the peace and harmony of two parishes, provided with clergymen, eminently distinguished for their christian piety, their well-regulated zeal, their theological knowledge, the purity of their doctrine, the excellence of their sermons, and the irreproachableness of their conduct, be, exclusively, ascribed.

"I am well aware," adds our author, "that respecting the tendency of the Bible Society opposite opinions are *still* entertained, even amongst men of distinguished worth and reputation; and I am ready to admit, that it would have been highly arrogant in any one, in the hitherto divided state of mind in which churchmen are found upon the subject, to have expected from them that, to such persuasions as those stated above, they should yield a general concession.— But this was not what the Clergy of Hackney solicited. The *sum and substance* of their solicitation was (were,) that deference might be paid to their conscientious judgment, within those limits, in which they sustained the burthen of subordinate spiritual authority, and had the line of conduct which it was their duty to pursue, marked out to them by the above specified stipulations."

Such were the moderate views, and the reasonable expectations of the parochial clergy, to which, however, the zealots of the Bible Society were not disposed to pay deference. The boasted tendency of the Bible to promote "quietness, peace, and love," which has been so ostentatiously brought forward, as a decisive answer to every possible objection, has been proved, in numberless instances, to be nothing more than a vain pretext; for the effect has been to encourage schism, insubordination, and strife. This may seem blasphemy to those who have been accustomed modestly to identify themselves with the word of God; but it is, unhappily, a melancholy truth, too well established to admit of confutation. But these gentlemen forget that the clergy of the established church vow, among other things, at their ordination, to promote peace and union, by "the banishing strange doctrines away;" and it would puzzle a much wiser man than Mr. Freshfield to prove, either the existence of a right in any body of persons to interfere with the discharge of this imperative duty; or to shew that the proper discharge of it can be facilitated, by the introduction of strangers into their parishes, composed of different sects, and professing those very doctrines which they are bound to drive away.

Mr. Norris, in his introduction, shews that he is aware of the disadvantages under which he must labour who enters upon a discussion upon which so much has already been said, and on which so many different opinions still prevail. He successfully pleads, however, the necessity of the case, arising out of the duty imposed upon him, to vindicate himself from the charge of vexatious opposition, and to prove to the parish in which he officiates, and to the world at large, that he has used every effort in his power to resist what he considers as pernicious, and that he has done no more than it was his duty to do. It has been contended, by the advocates for the Bible

Society, that no one argument has been adduced, which can be considered as *proof* that it has any secret views injurious to the interests of the established church; and that *proof* of such tendency must be brought forward, before it can be expected that a Society, encouraged by so many respectable persons, should be condemned. On this, Mr. Norris thus remarks:

"The weight of this objection is much more imposing than substantial; for it demands an evidence which, in the outset of any undertaking, it is not in the nature of things possible to produce; it implies that the connection between moral causes and effects bears no analogy to their connection in nature; and that mankind can draw no sound practical conclusions from past experience; and it involves this further implication, that all enquiry of a precautionary nature is unavailing; and that every mischievous device must be allowed such progress towards success, that those whom it is circumventing, and, when suffered to have its perfect work, it will ultimately destroy, must first sustain some partial injury from its baneful operation, before any effectual impression can be made upon their minds, that it has any properties belonging to it by which their welfare can be affected.

"It is, however, to meet this objection, that the present publication is sent forth. It answers the call of those who call for DEMONSTRATIONS; and this is its specific claim to public regard. It is emphatically what its title sets forth—a *practical* exposition of the *tendency and proceedings* of the Bible society. It is an exhibition of its whole plan *systematically* arranged and displayed, not in theory, but in effect. The "*surmises*" which were deemed too uncandid and improbable to be listened to, are all *verified*; and the *artifices* are exposed, by which "*excellent and distinguished men*" have been lured to give it their support. The comparative value, moreover, of this *main stay* of the institution is appreciated, and its disrespect towards dignitaries discountenancing its proceedings is pointed out. From the special relation which it bears to a particular parish, it might be conceived to be a detail rather of a *local* nature, than one of *general* application; and it is so far true, that a lively interest in the welfare of that parish, to which many powerful ties bind the editor's affections, first suggested the undertaking; and much of the exemplification which appears is derived from documents and information which vigilant attention to the proceedings of those, who were resolved, at all adventures, to make Hackney an auxiliary station, put in his possession. But many most important illustrations are extracted from the records of simultaneous movements in other parts of the kingdom; and the parallel passages from scarce remains of puritanical history, and from the system of the united Irishmen, have a reference to all. Independently, however, of this, it is to be recollected that, in all the ramifications of the Bible society, one system prevails; it being not the least profound article of its policy, that a plan of organization, synoptically exemplified, and most dis-

tinctly explained, should be assiduously circulated wherever any opening appears for an attempt at affiliation. Its characteristic principle is, that it should be **ONE AND INDIVISIBLE**. Wherever, therefore, the scene is laid, the drama is the same, as well in its design as in its execution ; and though the editor reports specifically transactions which have taken place at *Hackney*, yet .

————— “ mutato nomine, de te
“ Fabula narratur.”

Hor. Sat. 1. l. 17.

will bring home his narrative to *every* parish throughout the kingdom ; which, if already brought within the magic circle of auxiliary association, may read in it a transcript of what has been practised upon itself, though very possibly, through inadvertency, without its observation ; and, if hitherto undisturbed by the society's assiduous proselytists, may confidently consider it as a free monition of what it will experience, should it ever become the subject of their operations.”

Such is the nature of the author's design ; and such the true portrait of a society, constructed on the original plan of the Jesuits, afterwards perfected by the affiliated jacobinical clubs in France, then adopted by the seditious societies in England, and by the united Irishmen ! Surely the bare mechanism of such a society is enough to excite a rational alarm in those who have witnessed the effects of societies similarly constructed ; and, at any other period than the present, when the *mind of the government*, if we may use the expression, has become *liberalized*, it would not fail to rouse the vigilance, and to raise the apprehensions of those in whose hands the reins of power are deposited. It is impossible, however, not to perceive to what destructive purposes a society of this nature, so extended yet so connected, so dispersed yet so united, may, in the hands of fanaticism or of disaffection, be applied. We do not mean to say, that the present members of the Bible society have any *such* purpose in view ; but the facility with which it may be perverted, by different persons, to the accomplishment of such an object, ought to prevent the friends of the constitution, and, more especially, the friends of the church, from affording it the smallest encouragement. That it is much wiser, as well as much safer, to prevent danger than to resist it, is as true, as it is, that it is better to prevent crimes than to punish criminals. And, in proportion to the importance of the object to be secured from danger, is the necessity of adopting precautionary means for preventing its exposure to danger.

Mr. Norris, having explained his design, proceeds to state the method which he has adopted for carrying it into execution,

and as this statement will apprize our readers of what they have to expect from a perusal of the book, we shall extract it.

"The publication commences with a series of *Letters* between himself and the gentlemen who, according to his own statement, 'first submitted the measure to his neighbours;' the correspondence being introduced by a letter from the editor, addressed to Mr. Freshfield the moment the fact was established that he had this project in view; and it was written in the hope that it might add something to the weight of the decided expressions of disapprobation which both the Rev. Dr. Gaskin, and the Rev. Dr. Watson, had signified; and being an additional evidence of the *unanimity* which prevailed amongst the parochial clergy of the two parishes of which his auxiliary district was to be composed, and of the *strong sensibility* of their feelings upon the subject, might, in its associated operation, induce him to deem it expedient to abandon his undertaking. This not being the case, the correspondence proceeded till Mr. Freshfield's third letter convinced the editor that all further reasoning on the subject was in vain. No reply, therefore, was returned to it, and this defect is now supplied by copious annotations. The *Appendix* which follows, and which may rather be considered as a *continuation* of the discussion, is much the *most* important part of the work.

"It commences with a letter from the Rev. Dr. Watson, conveying to a respectable parishioner his reasons for disapproving of the projected institution, which, at the joint request of that gentleman, and several of his neighbours, was printed and circulated through the parish for general information. This is followed by the *unanimous* resolutions of three successive meetings of vestry, passed in consequence of the vicar's letter, and circulated through the parish; together with another letter from him, occasioned by the vote of thanks expressive of the high sense entertained by the vestry of the value of his pastoral exertions.

"The preliminary address of the provisional committee of the proposed Auxiliary Society follows next, to which a counter address, and a churchman's reasons for discountenancing the establishment of the institution, (the two replies which it produced) are subjoined. Upon both of these papers, Mr. Freshfield published his remarks. These are inserted next in the series, with animadversions by the editor. The three ensuing articles are Socinian pasquinades; prefixed to which will be found some preliminary observations upon the interest taken by Socinians in the Bible Society, interspersed with authentic documents establishing that important fact, and shewing the baneful operation of this alliance upon the Christian faith. At the close of these observations, the singular coalition of some churchmen with socinians and papists, in charging popery upon those of their brethren who have withstood the aggressions of the bible society, is touched upon; and a parallel coalition of the calvinists and papists in the reign of James the First, is pointed out, and some apposite sentiments from the 'gag' which Bishop Montague applied to "the gagger of

protestants," are produced. The last paper of a controversial nature, is an excellent letter from the vicar of Doncaster to the editor of the Doncaster Gazette, which was re-printed for the benefit of the parish of Hackney, and closed the parochial discussion of the subject.

"To these discussions succeeds the practical part of the proceedings; the two next papers being the notice of the auxiliary meeting, and a statement of the proceedings of the day, published by authority.

"Here the editor thought that his labours were to terminate; but, no sooner was the auxiliary meeting over, and the parochial collection made, than the gentlemen, who had been active in the execution of that design, commenced ulterior proceedings; and, parcelling out the parish in four subdivisions, they distributed themselves in four provisional committees, and resumed their functions in that capacity for adjusting all the preliminary arrangements for the incorporation of the *lower orders* in four bible associations; and, after an interval of six months, general meetings were called in each subordinate district, and these were formally established.

"The editor, therefore, had a further task assigned him to render his practical exposition complete. Accordingly, the account of the auxiliary meeting will be found succeeded by a short narrative to connect the two proceedings together, and the whole terminates with the hand-bills, notices, and resolutions, of this perfecting extension of the auxiliary system, illustrated by the editor, and commended to the reader's serious and impartial consideration in a concluding address; in which the pretensions of the bible society are briefly investigated, the dangers to be apprehended from it set forth, and that course of proceeding earnestly recommended to the adoption of churchmen of all descriptions, which, in his strong conviction, the present emergency requires."

Thus our readers will instantly perceive the important nature of the publication before us; embracing the discussion of a subject of extraordinary consequence, and exhibiting a practical illustration of those lax principles, which are the reproach of the present age, and which, from the ardour with which they are embraced, and the indefatigable pains taken to give them the widest possible diffusion, are pregnant with the most formidable dangers to the Established Church. To see the country distributed into minute portions, having one common bond of union, one common centre of action, and subjected to one common influence—all its constitutional divisions, land marks, and authorities, disregarded; and a new kind of papal supremacy, rising superior to all acknowledged laws and institutions, established; general meetings, in each portion, convened, at the pleasure of their leaders, and all diverging from the parent society, like the rays of a circle from its centre; to see this, and at the same time, to see the guardians of the church and

the state, perfectly quiescent ; some of them, indeed, engaged in promoting this new and most alarming order of things, and others looking calmly on, unwarned by history, untaught by experience, and deriving no wisdom from the awful lessons with which this portentous age abounds, is well calculated to excite astonishment, and to create alarm, in the mind of every man who loves his country, and who venerates those institutions which justly render her an object of affection. How often has our warning voice been raised against these alarming innovations? How often have we remarked that in the nineteenth century, we are threatened with a return of either the reign of Mary, or the usurpation of Cromwell ! Popery on the one hand, and fanaticism on the other, are diligently labouring to undermine the venerable fabric of our reformed church ; though wide as the poles asunder in their principles and their doctrines, they cordially unite for the purpose of destruction. Common enmity to the establishment is their bond of union ; and their grateful return for toleration carried to an extent unknown to any age or country in which an established church had existence ; it has, in truth, ceased to be *toleration* ; the lavish hand of concession has given it every characteristic of *encouragement*. But while every thing has been conceded by the church, nothing has been conceded by her enemies. The legislative measures which have been lately adopted for the purpose of conciliation have wholly failed (and such measures ever must fail until human nature shall undergo some great revolution) to produce the desired effect ; they have, on the contrary, only served to give fresh confidence to the enemies, and fresh cause of regret and apprehension to the friends, of the church. Whoever attempts to strengthen the establishment by additional safeguards, or even to secure it against further encroachments, instantly becomes an object of inveterate enmity and abuse to dissenters of every denomination. Thus it was that Lord Sidmouth was treated for his endeavour to restrain the gross and scandalous abuses of the toleration act ; and thus have the clergy of Hackney been treated for their conscientious exertions to prevent their parish from becoming the scene of schismatical experiments.

“ That offence will not be taken,” says Mr. Norris, “ at the development which is made, is a hope which he has not the inexperience to entertain. His object is, *the maintenance of that ascendancy, which the pure and reformed part of Christ's holy catholic church, established in these kingdoms, has so long enjoyed, with that liberal toleration of all who differ from her, which has never been exercised under any other religious domination, and which will immediately*

cease, should her numerous assailants succeed in *their* enterprize, and again bring *her* down to the ground---and this is a service which, however *reasonable* for a *decided* churchman to undertake, he knows cannot be at once *efficiently* and *inoffensively* performed.

“ The moment *she* fell, at a former period of national frenzy and infatuation, *toleration* fell with her : for the presbyterians, who first snatched the reins of spiritual power into their hands, esteemed the *rights* of private judgment in religion, to be *spiritual wickedness*, and did their utmost to abolish the exercise of it *by law*. And when, in the progress of reform, the independent party gained the mastery over them, though *universal liberty of conscience* was *their* principle, yet tolerating *blasphemies* of every kind, they interdicted the *doctrine and discipline* of *that church*, whose *too compliant spirit* had enabled them to acquire the power by which they refused *her* toleration.”

Does not this plain statement of an historical fact, which ought to be known to every churchman in the kingdom, speak volumes on the subject of the Bible Society ? Are the presbyterians, the independents, and the other countless tribes of fanatics which constitute the disgrace of the age in which we have the misfortune to live, different in *spirit* and *intent*, from those of the seventeenth century ? Or, as knowledge and self-confidence increase, do the lessons of experience cease to have effect ? There is nothing in the events of the last five and twenty years to quiet our apprehensions of danger at present from the same sources which produced destruction a hundred and fifty years ago.

“ The editor confesses,” and we cordially join him in the confession, “ that he does not wish to see the days of the usurpation return, and that, to prevent their recurrence is the object of his labours. He would say to every man, in the freest spirit of toleration, ‘ choose you this day whom you will serve,’ for *truth*, he is satisfied, is only to be propagated in a *rational* way, and *force* will not work *real* conviction. But while he grants cheerfully this licence to others, he wishes to enjoy the same privilege himself, and be allowed to adopt the *close* as well as the commencement of the Jewish ruler’s declaration ; ‘ as for *me* and *my house*, we will serve the Lord ;’ and lest this should give an offence, which he most *anxiously* disclaims, he begs to qualify it by this proviso, that he arrogates *no* infallibility to *himself* ; but he *does* mean to affirm, that the Scriptures promulgate *one* faith to be kept, and *one* mode of worship to be observed ; and further to avow his *deliberate* conviction to be, that the church of England in *both* those respects sets forth the *revealed* way of salvation.”

(To be continued.)

An Historical View of the Philippine Islands, exhibiting their Discovery, Population, Language, Government, Manners, Customs, Productions, and Commerce; from the Spanish of Martinez de Zuniga; published at Manilla, 1803, in Two Volumes, with a New and Accurate Map of the Islands, from the best authorities, public and private, translated by John Maber, Esq. 8vo. Pp. 603, 1l. 4s. Asperne. 1814.

WHEN we consider the spirit with which, in different ages of the world, conquest has been achieved, we are compelled to regard, with a feeling of wonder, those martial exploits which have grown out of it, and are induced to look upon the Cæsars, the Pompeys, and the Antonys of the Old World, as beings soaring above the common herd of the human race. They are, however, only insulated individuals, in whose disposal, superior ability, or a concurrence of fortuitous events, may have placed military force, which has been used for their own personal aggrandizement. But when we find whole nations like the Carthagenians and Phœnicians, commencing their career with the olive branch in their hand, and forming colonies with no further view to conquest, than to give facility to the introduction of the arts, the amenities, and the intercourse, of meliorated social life, we follow their footsteps with reverential awe, and are even disposed, in the original motive, to find a palliative for any excesses, or stretch of power, to which the human mind is in all cases too prone, and which have at times disgraced the councils and conduct of even the wisest and best regulated commercial republics and governments, both ancient and modern.

The only nations upon ancient record, who addicted themselves to commercial pursuits, are those above alluded to, and, although the victorious arms of the military republic of Rome eventually succeeded in the total annihilation, not only of the power of her commercial rival, but almost of any trace by which her position may be unquestionably ascertained, and the same destructive weapon was wielded with similar success, against the Tyrian capital, yet no other monument than the modern Cadiz (Cades) is required, to immortalize the deep policy which dictated the establishment of that colony, as well as that of the numerous remains in the Mediterranean, and elsewhere, which, though deprived in the revolution of human events of their original importance, still bear testimony to the wisdom which founded them, and which, in after ages, by the

introduction of the useful and the decorative arts, contributed to the melioration of the lot of humanity.

We recollect but one solitary instance, in which one of the renowned conquerors of antiquity allowed himself to pause in his victorious career, and select one of the finest positions in the Old World, for the establishment of a commercial empire. Alexandria still contains indubitable marks of the grandeur and sublimity of conception which distinguished the mind to which it owes its birth.

The martial preponderance of Rome having checked the commercial spirit of colonization, and the iron age which followed the declension and fall of the empire, having completed its destruction, or at most, confined its exertions to a few inconsiderable republics, in or near Italy, we look in vain for any tendency to improvement in the state of society, until the ferment which Peter the hermit raised began to evaporate, and the discovery of a new route to India struck at the root of that power which the republics had found means to consolidate, and animated the then leading nations in Europe, with the hope of victorious competition in the great field of commercial enterprise. This new species of crusade, we may almost say, created the New World, and the domineering spirit of the Church of Rome took it on itself to divide that New World between the grand pillars of its support, the Portuguese and Spanish nations.

Although the spirit of martial conquest has for these twenty years back been making powerful efforts for superiority, and, in its progress towards that end, with a feigned contempt for the milder influence of commerce, has even designated its supporters as unworthy of an association with the more daring soldier, yet the present ruler of France, with all his views apparently directed to the acquisition of universal empire, has been occasionally drawn into an acknowledgment of the effects of that preponderance which Great Britain has acquired; nay, it is notorious that, during the short cessation of hostility, he had been detected in covertly pursuing the identical plans of the old government, and establishing through all Europe, by means of commercial residents, a species of espionage to aid his views of empire; nor does the spirit of the times give us any reason to expect that a peace will prevent the re-establishment of this system. During the old, as well as the convulsions of the new government, we have sufficient evidence to prove that no relaxation in this respect has taken place, and, in the volumes now before us, to which, by the way, it is full time to draw our reader's attention, we find the translator has

judiciously availed himself of a work published under the auspices of the present French government, though undertaken during the time of Louis the Sixteenth. This work, the production of the traveller, Sonnerat, and edited, with additions, by Sonnini, is, we know not why, still without an English translation, at least in print, for it appears, by the introduction of the translator of Zuñiga, that he has borrowed what he wanted from the *excellent* manuscript translation of a friend.

The two volumes now submitted to the public contain the translation of a work published at Manilla in 1803, which purports to be, according to the Spanish author, a description and history of the settlement of the Philippines down to the peace of 1763, deprived of the excrescences with which most Spanish authors, of a certain cast, have been pleased to encumber their works. The source, from which the information contained in them is drawn, must be allowed to be undoubted, and the freedom used in his strictures on the Spanish government and colonial system, rather raise our wonder, at the same time that they give the author a weight and independence, which a different conduct would not have conferred. The convulsions, which in the Spanish colonies have flowed out of the domestic policy of the mother country, may have a termination very unfavourable to the superiority of the parent state; and it is no strain of political foresight to say, that the taste of power acquired, and now possessed, by the creoles or landed proprietors of Spanish America, will create such a relish from possession, as to render its relinquishment at least doubtful, nor does it seem compatible with the present impoverished state of old Spain, that she should be able, even in the event of peace, to wage a successful war of resumption of power over her dependencies. Should this be the case, the Philippine islands must become an object of very considerable importance with some powerful maritime nation, and, even if no such event should follow the present struggle, still the dispersion of prejudice against foreign interference in the Spanish colonies, continuing to vanish gradually, whilst by the new East India Charter, and the bill for the regulation of the East India trade, now before the House, which will go far to exclude the north American states from the Indian Peninsula, a field of a most extensive description is opened for the British merchant and manufacturer, we are disposed to hail as a literary acquisition any authenticated source of information, on so interesting a subject as the islands in question, on the real state of which, we have hitherto been almost in total darkness.

The authenticity of the original work of Zuñiga give a

colouring and weight to the whole, which undoubtedly is imposing; but we are of opinion, that the information it contains might have been conveyed in a compilation on the subject, for which the translator seems to possess very adequate ability, though, at the same time, it cannot be denied, that with the advantages of a compilation, we are apt to lose sight of the authority. The Spanish historian's narrative of the events in the colony must occasionally be dull, but, by these means, we not only trace its progressive improvement, but become as it were assimilated to the establishment, and perfect masters of all its windings and turnings, so that were we to have occasion to venture another capture of Manilla, the way is open and the path trodden.—A very interesting part of the historical view is that which treats of the successful attack made on it in the year 1761, and of the appearance of Anson in those regions, together with the capture of the Cabadonza Galleon, and its calamitous effects on the colony.

In a commercial point of view, this publication, by means of the text of Zuñiga, and the extracts and notes which accompany it, offers a full source of information on whatever regards this colony, from recent events become so interesting to the British merchant, on account of its vicinity to China, and its being the great South American depôt between that continent and India; nor is it a matter of small import to find, that our translator, after availing himself of the most respectable authorities, both public and private, vouches for the map which adorns his work as the most correct in existence.

Among other subjects contained in the volumes before us, not immediately adverting to commerce and politics, perhaps the dissertation, in the second chapter, on the origin and language of the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands, may be recommended to the attention of the physiologist, as replete with matter of a curious and novel kind; whilst the quotation supplied by the translator from an authentic communication of the Patavian Philosophical Society, giving a full detail of the nature and habits of that peculiar species of swallow, which forms the vaunted bird's nests in such demand in China, as an exquisite dainty at the tables of the luxurious, may probably tend to rouse the energies of our modern Heliozaboli, so that we need not be surprised if the opening of the oriental trade contributes this additional delicacy to the pages of a European almanac de gourmands, and stimulates the wealthy adventurers of London, Bristol, and Liverpool, to draw largely on the proverbial guttling propensities of their own countrymen, or the more refined gouts of continental *bons vivants*.

On the execution of the work, as far as regards the translator, and unacquainted as we are with the Spanish of Zuñiga, we have no reason to presume that he has not given a faithful transference into English of his monastic original ; and we think his introduction and notes do him great credit. A few typographical inaccuracies occur in the course of his volumes, and sufficient attention does not seem to have been at all times bestowed on the due subdivision of his matter by separate paragraphs, but as we understand that Mr. Maver on this occasion makes his first appearance in print, we trust that, in a second edition, the necessary emendations in these respects will not be neglected.

On the whole, we consider the " Historical View of the Philippines," as a species of desideratum on a subject, respecting which, we have been hitherto too much in the dark ; and, whilst we venture to confirm the translator's hope, that it will add to the stock of general knowledge, we cordially unite with him in asserting, that *the well-wisher to the temporal and eternal felicity of the human race, will hail with exultation the opportunity which ere long may be offered, of spreading the christian faith, and amicably and peaceably lending the reformed religion in aid of the catholic missions, to civilize the population of a very extensive portion of the eastern hemisphere.*

Marsh's Review of Sir George Barlow's Administration.

(Continued from Vol. 45, p. 643.)

IN our last notice of this important publication, we brought down our remarks to the close of those memorable trials in which the Governor of Madras thought proper to interpose, for the purpose of protecting criminals against the lawful effects of their crimes. We have seen the officious secretary, Buchan, expunge, from the proof sheet of the Madras Gazette, the advertisement which announced the publication of the proceedings at the trials in question. It was, indeed, politic to keep the public as much in the dark as possible on the subject, because, when fairly and fully apprized of all the circumstances of the case, they would not fail to form the same judgment, on the conduct of the Governor, and of his agents and abettors, as every impartial man in this country will form. But it was an attempt to stifle the voice of truth, to still the sounds of justice, to check the diffusion of useful information, which cannot be too strongly reprobated by all who love truth, who revere justice, and who are friendly to the circulation of

useful information, as calculated to enlighten the public mind on subjects which it is highly important that they should not only be acquainted with, but should clearly understand.

"In England," observes Mr. Marsh, "the presence of a numerous bar, consisting of men disciplined to the same learning, operates as a perpetual restraint on dangerous innovations of doctrine, or discretionary violations of principle, in the courts of law. In unison with this check, the publication of the proceedings communicates an instant alarm, and error or injustice is summoned before the public mind by an almost instantaneous process. But in India, the absence of the former check confers an inestimable value on the other. The court would virtually sit with closed doors, a dark chamber of inquisition, were all notice of its proceedings through the press to be prohibited. Such, however, was the protection thrown over the most sordid criminals that were ever tried at Madras, that the most sacred institutions of law and policy were broken down without remorse or scruple. In this instance, however, the prohibition did not answer its end. The interest excited by the extraordinary conflict between power and justice in the supreme court, was so general, that several native writers made as accurate notes of the trial, as could have been taken in the most rapid short-hand. In the Gentoo, Malabar, Hindoostanee, and Mahratta, tongues, accounts of each day's sitting were transmitted to the extreme bounds of India, and read at meetings of their several castes. They were illustrated, too, with comments, that marked with how acute an intelligence the intrigues and discords of their European masters are noted by those, who are too much considered as the unobservant spectators of what is acting and suffering on that great theatre of our affairs.

In a note on this passage Mr. Marsh observes ;

"A weak attempt was made by one of Sir George Barlow's party, in the House of Commons, to justify the suppression of the publication of these trials, by the regulations framed by the Marquis Wellesley on the press in India. But that enlightened nobleman merely restrained the publication of political intelligence. It was foreign from his policy to prevent the publication of proceedings in a court of law. No such prohibition ever took place in India, previous to the arbitrary measure of Sir George Barlow.

The mere attempt to justify so scandalous an act of despotism, on such a pretext, sufficiently shews to what lengths this party of Sir George Barlow is prepared to go, in support and defence of their favourite. Lord Wellesley, the wisdom and firmness of whose Indian government cannot be too loudly commended, had much too high a sense of justice and of honour to descend to such low, such paltry, such despicable means for the accomplishment of any object which he had in

view ; nor, indeed, was his mind capable of devising an object which would require support from means such as these. Sir George Barlow has the merit of being the sole governor in India, who had the ingenuity to conceive, and the courage to execute, a project for preventing the publication of proceedings in a court of justice. There exists no power in the British empire to issue such a prohibition, to impose such a restraint ; it is, indeed, notorious, that such is the extreme jealousy of the British constitution respecting the publicity of legal proceedings, that even the publication of trials, offensive to public decency, cannot be restrained, nor can the publishers be punished.

The trial of one of the witnesses, Batley, for perjury, was fixed for the quarter-sessions to be holden on the fourth of January, 1809. This was immediately connected with the case already decided, for the alledged perjury consisted in the assertion of Batley, that Anundah Row had resided, and was on service, at the Durbar, at the period when the bonds proved to have been forged were signed. Sir George Barlow was equally active in his preparation of means for the defence of this criminal, as he had been in the affair of the greater criminal, whom the jury had convicted. And he had again recourse to measures, the audacity of which must excite astonishment in the mind of every man who contemplates, with fixed attention, this part of the Governor's conduct. Again, the law-officers of the government, and the Company's Solicitor, received orders to defend the culprit. And, on the suggestion of the latter, "it was resolved to send a *civil servant, in the name and authority of Government*, to Managoordy and Chillianbrum, for the express purpose of procuring amongst the villagers of those districts witnesses to negative the alledged residence of Anundah Row in those places."

This fact, extraordinary and disgraceful as it is in itself, is rendered infinitely more so by the fact stated by Mr. Marsh, that the inquiry in question had been actually made by order of the government, and by a person of great respectability, Mr. Ravenshaw, the Collector of Arcot, previous to the trial of Reddy Row. This gentleman had informed them that he had ascertained the fact of Anundah Row's residence in the districts in question within the time mentioned. Now, there could not have existed the shadow of a reason for casting a doubt on the accuracy of this information. It was full, satisfactory, and decisive. What, then, could have been the motive for the institution of a fresh inquiry? It could not have been a desire to promote the ends of justice ; for justice

demanded the punishment of the criminal who had violated the solemn obligation of an oath, which punishment must have been insured by the proof of his residence in those districts, already in possession of the government. But this, most manifestly, was not the object. It was wished, not to punish, but to exculpate, the culprit; and it was for the gratification of this wish, that a new inquiry was set on foot, and Mr. Saunders dispatched to make it. It was, as Mr. Marsh assures us, the hope that the influence of Government, thus *honourably* employed, and the prospect of reward, would obtain sufficient witnesses to overpower, by their numbers, the few whom the prosecutors, labouring under the inconveniences arising from the proclaimed displeasure of the Governor, would be able to produce.

"On this embassy of perjury, this diplomacy of fraud and subornation, with instructions in the name of the government of Fort St. George, to *procure* witnesses to swear that they had never seen Anundah Row in the districts of Managoordy and Chillambrum, and to send them to Madras, Mr. Saunders proceeded, disgusted with the employ, but fearful to dispute the orders. His precursor on this infamous expedition was a dubash of the name of Vencata Row, a person of broken character and desperate fortunes, who having already arrived at Chillambrum, caused the villagers to be assembled, and proclaimed the protection and the favour of the *great men* at Madras, to those who would volunteer on the simple service of swearing what was required of them! Let it be remarked, also, that *he was accompanied by Anundah Row, who, though convicted of forgery, had left the jurisdiction of the Court with the knowledge and connivance of the law-officers and the Government.*"

Was ever any public transaction, within the limits of British authority, so pregnant with facts and with circumstances not merely of foul suspicion, but stamped with the indelible character of infamy. Here stands the Governor of an important settlement, and the law-officers of the government, charged not only with inverting the very order of justice, not only with the grossest dereliction of duty recorded in the annals of public depravity, but with a direct conspiracy to suborn witnesses to commit perjury in a court of Law. It is impossible that a charge like this can be suffered to pass without a public investigation by a competent tribunal. It would disgrace the national character if this, and the other charges here exhibited against Sir George Barlow, were to remain unnoticed, unanswered, and unrepelled, in the only way in which they can be noticed, answered, or repelled, by legal evidence, produced before a legal jurisdiction, and on a legal trial. This the national character requires, this public justice imperiously demands. But let us proceed to unfold the whole of this complicated scene.

"The fruit of this embassy," which Mr. Marsh had before characterized, "was about fifteen miserable wretches, who were dispatched to Madras to give evidence at the ensuing trial of Batley. It is a justice due to Mr. Saunders, that he felt the full disgrace of his situation. I HAD, FROM HIS OWN MOUTH, A MOST INGENUOUS ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF HIS CONVICTION, THAT THE FACT, WHICH THESE WITNESSES WERE PROCURED TO NEGATIVE, WAS INDISPUTABLY TRUE, AND THAT EVEN THIS WRETCHED GANG WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN COLLECTED, IF VENCATA ROW HAD NOT LIBERALLY DEALT OUT RUPEES AND PROMISES IN THE NAME OF THE GOVERNOR. The amildar of the district, Narrain Pillay, *being suspected of believing the fact, which the governor was anxious to disprove, and therefore not favourable to his views, was, at the bare suggestion of that circumstance, through Reddy Row and Anundah Row, removed from his office and ruined.*"

In what a light is this miserable despot here presented to a British public; engaged in a work of darkness, no means for its accomplishment appear too low, too degrading, for adoption; none, too high, too daring, for execution. Armed with the powers, with the influence, and with the resources, of an extensive presidency, he confers protection, and lavishes rewards, not for the honourable purposes for which the ability to bestow the one, and to distribute the other, was vested in him; but to secure accused culprits from the legal effects of their misconduct; to protect convicted criminals against the sentence of the law; to collect evidence, not for the manifestation of known guilt, but for giving to guilt the semblance of innocence; for making truth and falsehood exchange situations and characters; for allotting impunity to crime, and punishment to honesty! Nor did this extraordinary business end even here.

"The expense of bringing those witnesses to Madras, amounted, it seems, to a sum little short of fourteen hundred Pagodas. It will scarcely be credited, even of Sir George Barlow, that he ordered this sum to be defrayed out of the fund set apart for the creditors; out of the fund which the prosecutors, as creditors, were endeavouring to protect from fraud. On this very fund, which these criminals were convicted of having attempted to plunder, the costs of their defence were made chargeable. This fact distinctly appears in the papers* produced from the India House. The statement demands no common portion of credulity. It stands, however, before the legislature on record."

It even staggers credulity; and the parties who ordered the

* "Papers for the House of Commons, 3, Carnatic Debts, P. 111.

payment, and the commissioners who had the care of this fund, ought to be indicted for a conspiracy to defraud the creditors. It was, indeed, a refinement of injustice and oppression to make the prosecutors of criminals defray the expence not only of the *prosecution*, but of the *defence*; and to defray it, too, out of the very fund, for the attempt to defraud which the prosecution was instituted. There is, in this transaction, an injustice which disgusts, and an audacity which astonishes. It would seem to be the work of a mind, regardless of all duties, and spurning all controul.

"This waste of a fund," observes Mr. Marsh, "appropriated by act of Parliament to specific uses, and over which Sir George Barlow had no dominion or controul, has other consequences beyond its involving the liability of the Company to refund every farthing of the misappropriation. It was shameless rapacity, an illegal act, issuing from the mere volition of arbitrary power. Reddy Row, it seems, had disbursed this sum. He applies to the Company's solicitor, Mr. Orme, for indemnification, and delivers to him his account of disbursements. The solicitor recommends it to be paid by the government. Sir George Barlow *'sanctions the expences,'* and directs the Auditor to pay, and place it to the debit of the fund appropriated to the payment of the creditors. On the bare voucher of a man convicted of the grossest fraud on the creditors, a sum of money is thus taken from their pockets to defray the charges of his defence.—Is it POSSIBLE THAT THIS ASTONISHING TRANSACTION SHOULD CAUSE NO DEGREE OF SENSATION IN THIS COUNTRY, AND INVITE TO NO SORT OF INQUIRY?"

There must, indeed, exist a perfect apathy to acts of the grossest injustice, and of the most odious oppression—there must be a total absence of all honest and honourable feeling, if a transaction like this failed to excite a most powerful sensation, or to call forth a most serious inquiry. But such an apathy, and such an absence, will not, we are persuaded, be chargeable on this country. An investigation must and will take place on the return of Sir George Barlow from his government. A motion was made for a new trial; the arguments, however, were all on one side; for on the other, the opinion of the Judge was all that was opposed to the verdict of the Jury; and not the smallest attempt was made to confute the doctrines advanced by the counsel for the prosecution. The conduct of the judge was most unaccountable; for he "pronounced no judgment on the question, but *left the defendants at large on their own recognizances!*" Batley was tried for perjury by a special Jury; and, notwithstanding the *expensive* witnesses who had been *procured* to contradict the evidence for the prosecution, and who prevaricated and contradicted

themselves, as might naturally have been expected; and notwithstanding the curious logic of the chief justice, who "endeavoured to prove that the witnesses for the defendant, *having been adduced by the government*, had the presumption of credibility on their side; the jury thought proper to convict the culprit, though they recommended him to mercy, on the ground of his former good character.

"Under this defeat, it seemed hardly possible for the governor to solace himself by imputations on the characters of a jury, of whom the greater part were in situations of the highest trust in the service of the company. Destitute, however, of every honest pretext or decent plausibility to question the justice of the verdict, he began about this time to play off the wretched trick of ascribing it to faction, though the majority of the persons composing the jury were at that time holding places of responsibility in British India. Nor has the Madras governor abstained from the reiteration of this wicked calumny, in his dispatches to the Court of Directors; and with a degree of success, sufficient to shew that he took but too accurate a measure of the heads and hearts of the persons whom he seduced into that mischievous error. Yet, though some of them have suffered under his displeasure, the majority of these jurors are now exercising the highest judicial and civil trusts which can be committed to men; judges, in the last resort, over the lives and properties of their fellow citizens, though, in the language of their employers, guilty of the foulest judicial perjury: ministers of an immense revenue, in offices which try the austere virtues and the sternest integrity, though accused by the Madras governor of the basest prostitution of their consciences and their oaths."

Such is the inconsistency into which men, destitute of principle, and regardless of means for the attainment of a favourite object, are incessantly betrayed. Words proclaimed the baseness, but facts bespoke the integrity, of those upright jurymen. In order, however, to afford something like a pretext for the injurious imputation, it was proposed that the three convicts should remain at large upon their recognizances, until their cases had been reported to the king, and his Majesty's pleasure made known. To this modest proposal the complaisant chief justice yielded a ready assent. And, indeed, we are rather surprized, considering the spirit of resolution displayed by the governor, and the spirit of concession manifested by the judge, that the notable project of absolving the convicts and indicting the juries was not adopted. It would have given a complete finish to the whole business. These worthies, however, had not yet got rid of their difficulty. Another indictment remained for trial, against Batley and Reddy Row, for cheating Venaigum Moodelliar by means of a forged bond.

The sessions, at which this trial was to take place, were adjourned, by mere accident, no doubt, from day to day, till at length they were fixed for the 2d of March. The interval, however, which these successive and accidental adjournments occasioned, was not neglected; for an attempt was made to bribe the prosecutor to desist from his suit.

"A compromise was actually began betwixt Venaigum and Reddy Row and Batley, and a warrant of attorney given by the former to an attorney of the court, a *Mr. Disney, the brother of Mr. Anstruther, and the clerk of the chief justice, authorizing him to withdraw the indictment, and release the prosecution.*

"This scheme was, however, frustrated. The counsel for the prosecution advised affidavits of the fact to be filed, and actually obtained a rule on the 22d of February, to shew cause why an attachment should not be issued against the attorney and the parties concerned in this infamous conspiracy. This attempt to buy off the prosecutor, no candour can reconcile to the consciousness of innocence. Such, however, was the evidence against Batley and Reddy Row, that the presumption arising out of this circumstance was not once urged against them."

Once more were these culprits convicted, by an honest and respectable jury, to the great satisfaction of all the friends of justice, but to the complete mortification of the governor of Madras. The counsel for the prosecution immediately moved for the commitment of the delinquents; and the chief justice, who had nothing to object to the motion, consented to commit them. Now, at least, our readers will conclude, the ends of justice were attained, and the criminals consigned to the punishment due to their multiplied crimes.

"This circumstance was too hastily hailed as an omen of the return of common sense and justice. For whilst men were congratulating each other on the triumph of law over the intrigues of Sir George Barlow, the delusion was dispelled. The court was adjourned to the 8th of March, on which day it was expected that judgment would have been pronounced. On the 7th of March, however, the chief justice had a long interview with Sir George Barlow. The next day the criminals were brought up, and the chief justice pronounced his intention to refer the last verdict, with the former ones, to his Majesty, and to leave the defendants, in the mean time at large on their recognizances. He condescended not to give one reason for this compliance with the wishes of the governor, which rendered the proceedings of justice at once contemptible and useless."

The governor having now succeeded in his honourable attempt to screen the criminals from punishment, mustered up sufficient resolution to execute not the least difficult part of

his schemes, the punishment of their prosecutors. The commissioners for settling the debts of the Carnatic, were base enough to supply the miserable pretext for this singular proceeding. These commissioners, on the 6th of February, 1809, addressed a letter to the Governor in Council, through the Chief Secretary, in which they stated that they had received a letter from Messrs. Parry, Abbott, and Maitland, requesting copies of certain papers, on which to found new prosecutions. And these men added, that, if they were subject to such interruptions, they could not go on with their regular business; and they had the hardened audacity further to state,

"That unless measures were adopted by Government to relieve them from the embarrassment to which they were reduced by the persons who have avowed themselves the prosecutors on the late trials, it would be impracticable for them to proceed with any immediate effect, or with any prospect of ultimate success, in the discharge of the duties that had been confided to them."

Prettily, indeed, these commissioners would have gone on, had they been left to themselves, undisturbed by repeated detections of forgery and fraud in the claims which it was their duty to investigate, and so enabled to proceed, without trouble or delay, in ordering the payment of all securities presented to them, whether forged or real. But this letter to the Governor was manifestly a paltry juggle; they felt not the inconvenience of which they complained; they experienced not the apprehensions which they affected; and, so far from dreading any interruption to their proceedings from the application to which they had referred, they had, three days before, sent a very polite note to Messrs. Parry, Abbott, and Maitland, telling them that *their deference for the verdict of the jury*, induced them to comply with their request, and to allow them to take copies of the papers referred to, which were neither more nor less than "certified copies of informations, sworn before them by Reddy Row and others," accompanied by an intimation, "that a suspicion of perjury in those depositions had been suggested by facts disclosed on the trial of Batley, and avowing their intention of indicting the suborner or suborners of the cheat and perjury, which had been established by two successive verdicts." The answer was sent the very day on which the application was made, the 3d of February.

If any doubt could be entertained of the object of the letter addressed to the Governor on the 6th of February, the Governor's comment on it would effectually remove it.

"The matter, it seems, was hardly deemed worthy of a decent

portion of deliberation. On the 9th of February, Mr. Roebuck received an order, removing him from the places he held of military paymaster-general, and superintendent of the mint, places of great emolument, to the charge of the factory at Vizagapatam, five hundred miles from Madras, a petty office, with a salary scarcely adequate to the bare support of existence. On the same day, Mr. Maitland was dismissed from his office of justice of the peace, and Mr. Thomas Parry, who was deeply engaged in extensive mercantile concerns, which he had carried on for nearly twenty years, at Madras, was ordered to proceed, without delay, to England."

We defy the advocates of Sir George Barlow, either in or out of Parliament, to produce, from the annals of despotism, (with the single exception of the iron usurpation of Napoleon Buonaparte) a more outrageous act of tyranny, a more scandalous violation of public justice, and of private rights, than this. It is an act, considered in every point of view, for which our language supplies no adequate terms of reproof. A criminal prosecution ought, unquestionably, to be instituted against the governor, the attorney-general, and the commissioners; and if one other person were included in it, the cause of justice would be more essentially served. As to the commissioners, who thus wantonly became the tools of Sir George Barlow, who went so much out of their way to become, as it were, partners and associates in this infamous transaction, it is difficult to say whether their conduct excites in the mind a greater portion of indignation or of contempt.

"This answer" (to the prosecutors) "in their complaint to Sir George Barlow against the prosecutors they wilfully suppressed. The deference, however, which on the 3d of February they felt for the verdict of a special jury, was all gone on the 6th. *The matter would be inexplicable beyond all hope of solution, were it not a fact, which they cannot and dare not deny, that the day after they had condescended to express their deference to the trial by jury, they were directed by Sir George Barlow, at the suggestion of Mr. Anstruther, to write this very letter of complaint against the prosecutors, for the purpose of furnishing a flimsy semblance of justification for the long-meditated measures against them.*"

Mr. Marsh proceeds to examine the conduct of these wretched men in every point of view; he pins them up in a corner whence they cannot possibly escape; and leaves them the hopeful alternative of having "either corruptly abused and betrayed their trusts, or played the parts of miserable underlings to Sir George Barlow." To Sir George Barlow he sticks more closely, he traces him through all his obliquities, and he places his conduct in so strong and so clear a light as to leave not a

shadow of doubt on the mind of any honest member of the community. Having examined the reasons publicly assigned by this trading despot for his persecution of three respectable subjects, he thus sums up the proceeding.

"It stands, then, not as an implied confession reluctantly extorted, but in a public declaration publicly recorded by Sir George Barlow himself—his own commentary on his own acts—that these gentlemen, British subjects, living under the protection of the British constitution, and entitled to all its privileges, were visited with deprivation and banishment, and without a hearing; *retrospectively*, to punish them for having instituted criminal proceedings in a King's court of law; and *preventively*, to obstruct and deter them from further appeals to the same tribunal.

"Happily neither justice nor law *are* (is) in this instance, shaken by any thing of eloquence or reasoning. The shameless persecution is seen in all its odious nakedness. The outrage to humanity is reconciled to the understanding by nothing of that artifice of persuasion, or embellishment of discourse, which too often extorts from it an unwilling assent to the maxims of injustice and oppression. The same observation may be extended to all Sir George Barlow's writings in defence of his own acts. Cold, dull, heavy, and absurd. The littleness of his mind is pictured in the poverty of his style; no faint illustration of the fine reasoning of the poet and the critic.

'*Le faux est toujours fade, ennuyeux, languissant.*'

"But had nature or education enabled the governor of Madras, or his agent in England, to varnish over, with the most splendid sophistry, an act so cruel and illegal, it would have still sounded with harsh discordance in the moral ear, that a power should any where exist to punish British subjects with beggary and ruin, for appealing, through a British tribunal, to the laws of their country; that such a power, which the highest member of the English constitution could not assume with impunity, should be exercised by the head of an English colony, the delegate of a mercantile company, and calmly avowed, as if it were in the ordinary course of his lawful duties. He places himself as a sentinel at the doors of his Majesty's court of justice, and deals out at once punishment and menace to the suitors who resort to it.

"Let it not be overlooked in the grave investigation of these matters, that the parties who incurred the displeasure of Sir George Barlow were never heard in their defence. He vouchsafed not to notice or answer their respectful applications, to know their crime, or their accuser. The very mandate of punishment contained no mention of the accusation or the offence."

Will any Englishman venture to deny, that this transaction bears every feature of the most odious despotism; the most pullen and obstinate contempt of every principle of justice; the most flagrant disregard of every notion of law, public or

municipal? It will not, it dare not, be denied; and how a single apologist could be found for the author of such tyranny, in a British House of Commons, and in a man, too, bordering on Puritanism in his avowed principles of religion and morality, sets conjecture at defiance! We now come to a melancholy part of this disgraceful detail—the fate, not of the convicted criminals, who have become objects both of political and of legal protection—but of their ruined prosecutors, the objects of political, if not of legal, vengeance. We should betray the cause of truth and of justice, were we not to lay before our readers this interesting portion of Mr. Marsh's book.

“ Upon Mr. Roebuck, this act of power fell with peculiar weight. A service of thirty-five years, during which he had not once quitted India, and the laborious duties of the various offices he had filled creditably to himself, and profitably to the company, had given this old and meritorious servant a fair title to the lucrative appointments he held at Madras. To these appointments he had been promoted many years before the government of Barlow. In the department of the mint, his talents and pursuits rendered him the most useful officer in the service. This testimony has been given by one who could well appreciate his merit, in the protest of Mr. Petrie, against these arbitrary and wanton acts. ‘I particularly lament,’ says that gentleman, ‘the removal of Mr. Roebuck from the mint, as I am convinced there is not at present a gentleman in the service, who, from knowledge or experience, is capable of taking charge of that important department.’ ”

Thus, while Sir George Barlow gratified private resentment, he committed a public injury, by depriving the government of the only one of its officers capable of presiding over one of its most important departments. But, as he knew that the *first* office in the government was filled by a person who had not any one of the requisite qualifications, he was probably led to form the hasty conclusion, that neither talents, knowledge, judgment, nor any of the more *sterling* qualities of the human mind or heart, could be necessary for any of the inferior officers. But to return to the unfortunate victim of his ill-governed passions.

“ He was about sixty years of age, a period when nature, especially in that climate, is beset with wants and infirmities. Habits of hospitality and kindness had endeared him to all who visited or inhabited Madras. A variety of circumstances had prevented him from laying up any provision for his age, independently of the emoluments of his rank and station in the service. His removal, therefore, was not simple exile from a place where a large portion of his life had been

spent; but the sudden deprivation of almost all the comforts and supports of life.* Nothing was omitted of insolent or offensive in the mode of inflicting the punishment. His applications for time to arrange his affairs, were contemptuously refused. The governor of Madras made it a subject of facetious remark at his table—the ruin of an amiable old man, reduced by one blow from affluence to misery. What a heart must that be which could extract a joke from this terrible vicissitude of fortune.

“ It is no reproach to this gentleman, that his health sunk under the calamity. The public degradation, the loss of the comforts, and the absence of the society, that soothed his declining years, overwhelmed his fortitude; and HE DIED LITERALLY OF THAT LINGERING MALADY, A BROKEN HEART. *No man, indeed, can say, that he was assassinated by the knife or the poignard; yet these inflictions would have been comparative mercies, because they would have shortened the struggle between life and sorrow. Nor can it be said that his death comes within the legal definition of a felonious homicide. But that is all.* NATURE TAKES INQUISITION OF HIS BLOOD. THE CRIME IS NOT ENGROSSED ON PARCHMENT, BUT ENGRAVED ON THE HEARTS OF ALL WHO HAVE NOT UNLEARNED THE ALMOST INSTINCTIVE ABHORRENCE OF MEN TO MALICE AND OPPRESSION.”†

We have not *unlearned* that abhorrence of malice and oppression, and never, while we retain the power to use a pen, will we cease to express it, whenever oppression stares us in the face. But *oppression*, odious as it is, is a term not sufficiently odious, nor yet sufficiently expressive, to characterize

* “ It is well known that this unhappy gentleman, when he received the mandate from Mr. Buchan, addressed a respectful letter to the government, dated the 9th of February, 1809, requesting to know why he was dismissed, and petitioning to be heard; and containing a declaration literally true, *that when he found the prosecutions in which he had engaged were displeasing to the government, he had actually withdrawn from them.* In that letter, after expressing some surprise at the severe punishments inflicted on him, he says, ‘ In this peculiarly distressing situation, I rely with confidence on the justice of government, that an opportunity will be afforded me of explaining or defending my conduct; that I shall not be condemned unheard.’ So soon as I received your letter of the 5th of October, directed to me jointly with Messrs. Abbott and Parry, I immediately withdrew myself from all connection with their proceedings, nor have I had any concern in them in the most indirect manner. I have paid a small sum towards fees, in the two suits in which verdicts have been found against the parties, but I have no concern with any other trial; and in these I concerned myself, because it was of consequence to my property.”

† “ Mrs. Roebuck's appeal to the Court of Directors.”

the transaction in question. It requires, at least, adjuncts and epithets to give it character, and force, and point, to render it adequate to the purpose. But why should we add a word to this brief, yet compendious detail, which speaks home to the business and bosoms of men? When we read this, and then turn to a Madras paper of the 21st of August, 1813, by which it appears, that a number of individuals, who must have witnessed the transactions recorded in Mr. Marsh's volume, did not blush to stand forward to present a public "testimonial of their respect and esteem for the public and private virtues" of Sir George Barlow, we must confess that our patience is exhausted; and that while our indignation rises high, our contempt for the abject, servile beings, who could become the flatterers and the parasites of such a man, rises still higher. It must be admitted, however, that these individuals knew the colour and complexion of his mind, and duly estimated the cast and character of his disposition, when, in presenting him with a service of plate, they took special care to inform him of its precise value—*four thousand pounds*! This mixture of Eastern ostentation and trading precision, would have disgusted any one whose feelings were less callous than those of the Governor of Madras.* We now return to the other victims of his power.

* When it is known that a lengthened and most pompous account of this transaction, and of a farewell dinner and ball given to Sir George Barlow and his lady, was inserted in the very gazette from which the advertisement of the trial at which the objects of his protection were convicted of fraud and forgery, was expunged by the Governor's orders, it requires no extraordinary degree of shrewdness to conjecture by whose *command* this account was inserted, nor yet for what purpose these testimonials and these entertainments were given. The importance attached to them is evident from the circumstance of money having been paid for the insertion of the account in the English newspapers, which, thanks to the integrity of the conductor of one of the London prints, is proved by the word 'ADVERTISEMENT' prefixed to the said account; and too much cannot be said in praise of a practice, which, as far as our observation goes, is peculiar to the paper referred to, (the Times) and which, while it prevents a fraud on the revenue, exposes the artifices of individuals for the promotion of private purposes. There is something extremely curious in the peculiar susceptibility of Sir George Barlow's feelings, of those feelings which could make the ruin and beggary of an old and faithful servant of the public the subject of a joke, and which yet were so overpowered by the presentation of a service of plate, worth 4000*l.* as almost to deprive him of the faculty of speech. At the dinner, the health of the CHIEF JUSTICE was, most *appropriately*, drunk, not as the enlightened Judge, but as the *friend* of Sir George Barlow!

"The punishment of Mr. Maitland, who, in virtue of his duty as a magistrate in the king's commission, had taken the informations against Reddy Row, a duty he could not have evaded, was, in its effect, less severe. He was only deprived of his office, the fruits of which enabled him to maintain his family. BUT THE PUNISHMENT OF THIS GENTLEMAN DEMANDS THE AWFUL ATTENTION OF ALL WHO RETAIN THEIR REVERENCE FOR THE FORMS AND PRINCIPLES OF THE CONSTITUTION. SIR GEORGE BARLOW ASSUMED IN THAT PUNISHMENT THE RIGHT OF PUNISHING A MAGISTRATE FOR THE EXECUTION OF HIS DUTY. He avows it. "The conduct of Mr. Maitland having been incompatible with his public duty as a magistrate of this place, resolved, that he be removed from that station." What was incompatible with his duty as a magistrate? *He had honourably refused, at the bidding of Sir George Barlow, to dismiss the informations lodged before him.* For the abuse of his office, or any other malfeasance, he was punishable by the supreme Court in due course of law. BUT THIS PROCEEDING PROCLAIMED TO ANY MAGISTRATE, THAT THE TENURE ON WHICH HE HELD HIS OFFICE WAS THE ABJECT SURRENDER OF ITS DUTIES TO THE CAPRICE AND INTRIGUE OF SIR GEORGE BARLOW."

For this single unconstitutional act, the Governor richly deserves impeachment! It was an attempt to poison the current of justice at its very source; it was an effort to destroy the independence of those whom the constitution has appointed the ministers and dispensers of impartial justice, and to render them the mere tools and instruments of a trading governor. Mr. Maitland was dismissed, too, for a mere act of duty, which, if he had not performed in compliance with the shameless mandate of the governor, he would have violated his oath of office, and have rendered himself amenable to punishment. We wish to know whether the directors have restored this upright magistrate to his office; or whether they, or the board of controul, have adopted any measures for marking their reprobation of such unconstitutional conduct, and for bringing the offender to punishment! If deeds like these are suffered to be perpetrated with impunity, the fair fabric of British justice, which Lord Wellesley had raised in the East, must crumble into dust, and the name and character of Britons become the scoff and derision of the nations of Hindustan.

"Mr. Thomas Parry, the other person who suffered for having prosecuted Sir George Barlow's favourites, was ordered home to England by the next ship; that is, a British merchant, in the midst of his complicated speculations, was simply to be driven, at a few weeks notice, to the distance of more than half the globe, from his property and employment. CAN THESE THINGS BE, AND INCITE NO INQUIRY?"

It is mortifying to be obliged to answer, that these things are; and no inquiry has been yet incited. But we should feel something more than mortification, had we reason to answer that no such inquiry will be incited. We trust, for the honour of the British character, that the whole of these transactions will undergo a full and complete investigation.

“ It is a most mortifying reflection, that the causes of all this persecution and outrage should have been three miscreants, thrice convicted by the oaths of English jurors, of infamous crimes. But the proscription did not stop here. *The sublime project was now conceived of punishing those individuals among the juries, to whose influence the spies and sycophants of Sir George Barlow (instruments of government notoriously and avowedly set at work) chiefly attributed their verdicts.* Mr. George Strachey, Mr. Grant, Mr. Oliver, and Mr. Keene, were respectively removed from Madras; some of them apparently, because they had served on the grand and special juries; others, amongst whom was Mr. Wood, for having merely uttered their opinions and their feelings on the subject of the trials.”

Thus was the list of proscription complete; prosecutors, magistrates, witnesses, and jurors, were thus judiciously selected as the objects of the governor's consistent resentment!!! Here, for the present, we leave him. Our readers have been supplied with sufficient food for reflection to last them till the appearance of our next number, when we shall further pursue this most disgraceful subject, which it is not our intention to quit, till we have sifted it to the very bottom.

(To be Continued.)

The Works of Mrs. Cowley; Dramas and Poems. In Three Volumes. 8vo. Pp. 1285. Wilkie and Robinson. 1813.

A COLLECTION of the writings of this lively and spirited writer, was a *desideratum* in dramatic and poetical literature; and, pleased as we have been, heretofore, by the diversified productions of her muse, we were much gratified by the declared intention of producing a complete edition of her works. The re-perusal of them has excited in us the same sensations which individuals experience on the renewal of early friendship. We trace again the scenes of times long past; we dwell with eagerness on those ancient sources of amusement, which delighted us in the days of our youth, and we derive great satisfaction from the discovery, that what the enthusiasm of early life applauded, the judgment of maturer age approves.

The plays fill two volumes, and the poems one; and the whole are introduced to the reader's notice, by a well-written preface, containing a brief sketch of the author's life, and a short account of her various productions. From this we learn, that Mrs. Cowley was the daughter of Mr. Philip Parkhouse, of Tiverton, in Devonshire, who was educated for the church, but, in consequence of disappointment in his hopes of preferment, abandoned his original intention, and became a bookseller. Mrs. Cowley, who appears to have been his only child, was born in 1743, and, when she was about twenty-five, married Mr. Cowley, who is represented as "a man of very considerable talents." But we, who knew something of Mrs. Cowley, and a little of her husband, could never discover in what his talents consisted; he was, for some time, editor of the *Gazetteer*, a paper not very remarkable, either for brilliancy of wit, depth of research, or solidity of judgment; and we remember well, that the lady herself paid no great deference to the opinion of her husband. Indeed, she was a being of a superior cast; and, though they passed their time happily enough together, thanks to her discreet and compliant spirit, there did not seem to be any thing congenial in their dispositions. She was lively, open, and engaging; he was sententious, close, and repulsive. We believe, in no instance, did she consult him in the composition of her works. Cowley afterwards entered into the East India Company's service, in which he died, in 1797. He had four children by his wife, the eldest of whom, a girl, died early. The lady's talent for dramatic writing burst forth in a very unusual, and unexpected, manner.

"In the year 1776, some years after her marriage, a sense of mental power for dramatic writing suddenly struck her whilst sitting with her husband at the theatre. So delighted with this, said she—why I could write as well myself. His laugh, without notice, was answered in the course of the following morning, by sketching the first act of *THE RUNAWAY*, and, though she had never before written a literary line, the play was finished with the utmost celerity. Many will recollect the extraordinary success with which it was brought out. It established the author's name at once, and caused incessant applications to her to continue to write."

This, we apprehend, is a solitary instance of so sudden an explosion of dramatic genius. The farce of *Who's the Dupe*, the only farce she wrote, was her next production. This was followed by her tragedy of *Albina*. She then wrote the *Maid of Arragon*, a long poem, in blank verse. In 1780, she produced the *Belle's Stratagem*, which was followed, in succession, by

Which is the Man, a Bold Stroke for a Husband, More Ways than One, a School for Grey-beards, The Fate of Sparta (a tragedy) *A Day in Turkey, and The Town before You*; which constitute the whole of her dramatic pieces. Her poems are various, and fill, as before observed, the third volume of this collection. The editor's observations on her dramatic powers are just enough.

"The different departments of the drama, tragedy, comedy, and farce, were kept quite distinct in her mind. The *Comédie Larmoyante* is never found amongst her works; her tragedies vouch that this was not from inability to touch the passions. As free are her tragedies from the intrusion of the comic muse, as is her *Thalia* from losing her spirits and shedding tears. *Who's the Dupe* is the only instance in which she descended to farce, but, with the utmost flow of humour, she will be found, to have by no means sunk herself with her subject; her mind is always perceived paramount to the vulgarity or the folly which she is describing. Still, she as correctly writes farce, as before she wrote comedy, and afterwards wrote tragedy; is equally at home, as each in its due turn may be requisite, in the humorous, the pathetic, the witty, and the sublime. There is one instance, at the close of her dramatic writings, in which, for variety, she professed to write a mixed drama—*A Day in Turkey*."

That her talents were diversified, her works abundantly prove,—she had no inconsiderable portion of wit and humour, added to a sprightliness and vivacity which gave spirit and animation to her dialogues, while the fertility of her invention, and her knowledge of human life, supplied her with incidents and characters, which her judgment enabled her to arrange and distribute to advantage. In short, she may be considered as one of the best and chastest dramatic writers of the latter part of the eighteenth century.

"Modern writers," observes the editor, "in general cannot be said to fail in their attempts to bring gentlemen and gentlewomen on the stage—they don't attempt it. There seems to be an inclination but to paint from lower life."

This is, to the disgrace of the age, but too true; indeed, dramatic writing has been too much engrossed, of late, by men who were not in the habits of associating with gentlemen, and who therefore could not be expected to portray their manners, to delineate their characters, or to mark their pursuits. And if this dearth of qualified dramatists had not subsisted, still how were the characters of gentlemen to be represented on our modern theatres, where the most successful actors have degenerated into downright buffoons, seeking to obtain applause

by the same vulgar artifices to which the fools and merry andrews of Bartholomew fair have recourse for the same purpose? These men would be as little at home in the representation of a gentleman, as a bear is in his representation of a dancing master. It must also be observed, that the manners of the age have undergone a material alteration; and that while players have been sunk into buffoons, gentlemen have been degraded into coachmen, and pugilists, whose dress, habits, manners, and language, they have studied with much more application and success, than were ever visible in the result of their classical, religious, or moral, pursuits. The writers of plays, then, act wisely in confining their humble efforts to lower life; though the public, it must be admitted, act foolishly, in tolerating such performances,

"But Mrs. Cowley constantly keeps up the elegance of style which comedy, as distinct from farce, should preserve. In her plays posterity may perhaps find as complete specimens as will reach them, of English colloquy towards the close of the eighteenth century, and of manners as characteristic of the day, as the style of the elder dramatists is of theirs."

Murphy presents the connecting link in the chain between the dramatists of the earlier part of the last century, and Mrs. Cowley; and from their works a pretty correct delineation of the manners of that century may be collected. But what estimate will posterity be led to form of the manners of the present age from the productions of our modern play-writers?

That Mrs. Cowley's productions should not have been the effect of study will appear surprising, and indeed almost incredible, to those who knew her only by her works. But so the fact was.

"She was accustomed to say that she always succeeded best when she did not herself know what she was going to do, and suffered the events, and even the plot, to grow under her pen. It is this that has so often given an air of real nature to her works. In one instance, however, a portion of one of the plots of a comedy (*The School for Grey-beards*) was taken from an old play. It was extracted and prepared for her, she knew not whence it came, nor ever saw the original. Her plots, except in this instance, had their origin only in her own mind.

As a poet Mrs. Cowley did not shine so much as she did as a dramatist. Many of her poetical pieces, however, are highly creditable to her talents; there are strong marks of genius in most of them; and in all there is a total absence of those meretricious embellishments which are too profusely employed in some

of the poems of the present day. Sense and nature, indeed, appear to have been Mrs. Cowley's favourite guides; and she either wholly rejected the aid of art, or else had attained to that perfection of art, of which it has been well said—'*Ars est celare artem.*' Still, the later productions of her pen, some of which are now published for the first time, do not possess that animation, energy, and fire, which mark the earlier effusions of her muse.

Those around Mrs. Cowley perceived, with surprise, that she never seemed to hold literature in much esteem. Her conversation was never literary. She was no storer up of her letters. She disliked literary correspondence; if she found herself accidentally entangled in it, she instantly retired. The constant reference to, and examination of what HAD been done, was to her disagreeably retrograde. Native thought always pressed upon her, invention was the natural habit of her mind.

It was still more extraordinary, that she never attended the first representation of her own pieces; and was never known to read a play or a poem written by another person. Travels were her favourite works.

Mrs. Cowley died at Tiverton, her native place, where she passed the last years of her life, on the 11th of March, 1809, in the sixty-seventh year of her age. Her works will very long survive; and we consider the present collection of them as a valuable acquisition to the stock of English literature.

POLITICS.

February 25th, 1814.

WE have postponed our political retrospect to the last moment, in the expectation, that something of a decisive nature would occur in France, which would put an end to the painful state of suspense in which the public mind has been kept for some weeks past. Nothing, however, of this description, has yet occurred; the allies still maintaining an imposing attitude in the field, and a doubtful policy in the cabinet; still threatening the capital of France with an hostile visit; and still assuming a pacific countenance at *Chatillon*. Several sanguinary actions have been fought, in which the Tyrant of Europe has, as usual, claimed the victory; and in which, not as usual, he has gained some advantage. We do not pretend to a sufficient degree of military skill to account for the conduct of the allies in extending their line of operations, so as to afford to the enemy the opportunity of

attacking their weakest parts with a concentrated force of superior numbers, and thus to increase his chances of success. In such a complicated scene, where so many objects are to be secured, it would be presumptuous in us to condemn the measures of veterans in the art of war. But, it certainly has appeared to us, that the best policy which the allies could adopt, was to concentrate their army, and to proceed, regardless of minor objects, with an overwhelming force to Paris. There, on the grand theatre of his crimes, is the tyrant to be destroyed. At all events, once in possession of the capital, the people, released from the fear of coercion, and the dread of punishment, would freely declare their sentiments, under the tutelary protection of the allies.

The *march to Paris*, which some years ago formed so prolific a subject of satire to the wits of opposition, and of sarcastic admonition to the sage statesmen of the Morning Chronicle, is an achievement no longer to be considered, even by them, as Quixotic or fabulous ; it has ceased to be problematic, and is reduced to a plain matter of fact, of which all Europe will, we trust, in a few days, have the most satisfactory proof. The contracted sphere in which Buonaparte now moves, hemmed in, as it were, between the Seine and the capital, the conscription rendered impracticable by the forward advance of the allies, his communications intercepted, his resources cut off, his army, thinned by repeated actions, and harassed by a desultory and protracted warfare, is reduced to a numerical strength greatly inferior to that of the allies. The allies, too, have the further advantage of receiving subsistence for their troops in the enemy's country, with all their own resources open to them, and with the certainty of constant reinforcements. When Prince Schwartzenberg shall have effected a junction with Blucher's army, and with the army of the Crown Prince of Sweden, whose presence in France will be a tower of strength to the allies, he will have so decided a superiority of force, that nothing can impede his progress. It is only by a division of his own strength that his enemy can possibly prevail. In his first exploits in Italy, Buonaparte obtained all his advantages by bearing, with a concentrated force, on the weak part of the Austrian line ; and a similar mode of attack presents the only possible chance of success which he can have

at present : but, warned by experience, it is not to be supposed that the Austrian Commander will now fall into the snare.

In turning our attention from the field to the cabinet, we find less cause for satisfaction or confidence. Before the allies passed the Rhine, we shewed, from their own conduct, that they could not forbear to exert every possible effort for the restoration of the legitimate government of France, without a palpable violation of their own principles, and a direct departure from their own admitted rule of action. But, independently of this consideration, which, however, is a complete *argumentum ad homines*, we are prepared to prove, that every motive of policy, of interest, of self-defence, and of humanity, too, imposes on the allies the duty of labouring to restore the Bourbons to the throne of their ancestors. It is too well known, to be disputed at this day, that every writer on the law of nations has acknowledged the undoubted *right* of other powers to combine for the purpose of crushing the present government of France, which has conspired, for a long series of years, to subvert and overthrow every existing throne, and to destroy the independence of every existing state, in the great commonwealth of Europe. That policy, interest, and self-defence, therefore, imperatively require the demolition of such a government, follows, of necessity, from this admitted fact. That its destruction would be equally favourable to the cause of humanity, is evident, inasmuch as it was founded on violence, and exists only by force. A more harsh, cruel, and vindictive despotism, than the Corsican upstart has exercised over his abject slaves, the annals of the world do not exhibit. He has torn up all the moral and physical resources of the country by the very roots; he has dried up the very springs of social and domestic happiness, he has obliterated every vestige of personal, and of public, freedom, and he has violated every law, human and divine. Nor have the direful effects of his atrocious spirit been limited to France; wherever his arms have extended, or his intrigues have prevailed, the same horrible consequences have ensued. That scenes like these are revolting to human nature, will scarcely be questioned; the cause of humanity therefore, loudly demands the removal of the man by whom, and the destruction of the system by which, they were produced.

Why, then, it may be asked, did not the allies, the moment they set their feet on French ground, proclaim to the people of France their wish to witness the restoration of the Bourbons? Why not,

at least, instead of the miserable Declaration smuggled into circulation at Francfort, as if its authors were ashamed of it, as they well might be, publicly state the different terms on which they would make peace with France, in either of these alternatives—in the event of the people restoring Louis XVIII;—and in the event of their retaining Buonaparte for their ruler.—If you chose to return to your allegiance to the legitimate descendant of your ancient monarchs, we will immediately treat with him, on the most honorable terms; we will restore to him the ancient dominions of his house, in their full extent, because from him we are apprehensive of no conspiracies against the security of our thrones, and the independence of our countries; but, if you chose to retain Napoleone Buonaparte, we will avail ourselves, to the utmost, of the rights of conquest, and prevent your ruler from all future attempts to dethrone us, and to subjugate our people, by the only possible means—by depriving him of the power to make the attempt. Language, like this, would have been clear, intelligible, and consistent. It would have enabled them to ascertain the real sentiments and opinions of the French nation, and it would have taught the people of France what they had to expect. Nor would it have afforded a pretext to those squeamish politicians who feel such a wonderful delicacy about the dismemberment of France, (though they were never, in the smallest degree, affected by the dismemberment, or even subjugation, of other countries by France) to send forth their dismal ditties to the world, on the interested ambition of the allies. Instead, however, of having recourse to this wise system of policy, by which they would, in all probability, have raised a strong party in France to favour their views, they have not even remained *neuter*, but have adopted the unaccountable resolution of opening a negotiation with Buonaparte, by which measure they have checked whatever spirit of returning loyalty might have been felt in France, and even encouraged the people to retain the tyrant for their ruler.

It has been confidently stated, remarks a contemporary writer on this subject, that a French nobleman, deputed from several persons of weight in Paris, had arrived at the head-quarters of Prince Schwartzenberg, to urge a declaration of the allies in favour of the House of Bourbon. We rather give credit to this fact, because we have been assured, from other sources, that there was not long

since a powerful party in the senate, who had determined to set aside Buonaparte, and were very willing to listen to the pretensions of the ancient family ; but we fear, that they have been suffered to take a totally different turn, by the backwardness of the allies to make any personal declaration against Buonaparte. We fear, it is, in a great measure, true, what the French Journalists themselves assert, " that the allies had but one chance of success,—that of dividing the nation, and separating it from its government." The senators, many of them, hate, many envy, and many despise, Buonaparte; but they are all Frenchmen, they are all imbued with the national vanity ; they are all enraged to see "*la belle France*" treated as the other countries on the continent have been treated. When they behold an enemy penetrating hostilely into the heart of their country ; when they find Paris in such imminent hazard of retaliation for the fate of Moscow ; and when the allies hold out to them no medium of friendly intercourse, through a sovereign whom both parties may trust, they are absolutely driven upon Buonaparte, as their only resource. His talents, as a general in the field, nobody questions, and the allies force them to have recourse to those talents as their only protection. As matters now stand, every thing is thrown upon the chances of war. Strange, indeed, is it ! that the princes and statesmen of the continent cannot see, that this is not a contest between Buonaparte and Bourbon ; no, nor between France, and Russia, or Prussia, or Austria ; it is between the miserable certainty of France, as she is, a spreading cancer which threatens to overrun all Europe, and the auspicious hope of France, as she may be ; an ornament and a blessing to the civilized world. The words Buonaparte and Bourbon are mere symbols ; the one of never-dying hate, of disappointed ambition, of unprincipled fraud ; the other, of returning order, of wisdom taught by adversity, of ancient and known principles of honour and good faith. The object of most of the continental statesmen seems to be to shine in a treaty, no matter with whom. They have done enough, if they get Buonaparte to restore a few provinces ; but what does the *Gazette de France* candidly tell us ? Why, that " he is very easy on this head ; being well satisfied, that nothing, no, not even the cession of any of the provinces of France, could separate them from the empire." And the author of this *Gazette* is certainly right, if we are to deal only with Buonaparte. Observe, with what

facility the successor of Charlemagne consents to give up the whole of his empire beyond the Alps, that is to say, Rome, Tuscany, Lucca, Genoa, Parma, Placentia, Piedmont, Savoy, not to mention the departments of the Simplon and the Lemman ! Count Metternich comprehends all these sacrifices in two short words, *natural limits* :—and Catlincourt at once replies, we agree to all you ask. Sixteen departments, and four millions and an half of subjects, do not cost the-magnanimous emperor a sigh. The royal domain of that precious infant, the hope of France, and of the universe, is thrown into the lump : and the tender father treats it as a mere *bagatelle*. *Ce sont des miseres !* as he said to Lord Whitworth. How, or why should he be so indifferent ?

The why is plain as way to parish church. He means to cede the provinces in full and entire sovereignty ; he means to attest the Holy Trinity to the sacredness of the treaty ; he means to bind himself, in the most irrevocable manner, by words ; but when, by these artifices, he has recovered his veteran legions from captivity, then he will have recourse to the morality of the *Gazette de France* ; then he will tell us, that “ nothing, no, not even the cession of these provinces, could separate them from the empire.”

It has ever been evident to us, that no treaty, concluded with Buonaparte, could afford the smallest prospect of a permanent peace, of a peace which would enable us to contract our expences, and to diminish our burdens. We should think that the result of the peace of Amiens would have impressed this conviction on every mind. But we are sorry to say, that after all the enormities which Buonaparte has committed, after the grinding oppression which he has exercised over the people, wherever his sway has extended, he has still partizans and admirers in this country. Yes, there are still Englishmen who do not blush to triumph in his victories, and to exult in the defeat of his enemies.

But if the allies had, for purposes known only to themselves, thought proper to open a negotiation with Buonaparte, still, in the hour of victory, it behoved them, at least, to avoid the degradation of suffering their representatives to become the associates of an Assassin, for such is *Caulaincourt*. This wretch, we admit, is a very fit and appropriate representative of Napoleone Buonaparte, because he was his accomplice in a crime which filled all Europe with horror ! We

are surprised, indeed, beyond measure, that any English gentleman could be found to submit to such a degradation. He was, no doubt, selected for the purpose of insult, on this occasion, as he had been before, when sent as ambassador to the Court of St. Petersburg. An objection to such a man could not have been perverted into an indication of disinclination to treat at all. France, surely, supplied other diplomatic characters, unstained with innocent blood, to whom her interests might have been safely confided. But this pliant spirit of diplomatic courtesy is destructive of all moral feeling in a state, as well as in an individual. We are convinced, that there is not a private gentleman in his Majesty's dominions, who would admit Caulaincourt into his society; nay, who would not shudder at the bare thought of being introduced to him. On this subject we are happy in finding our opinions and feelings in perfect unison with those of a contemporary writer, already quoted, and who, in reference to this topic, observes,

We must plainly declare our fixed and decided opinion, that the honour of England required a special objection against the person of such an ambassador as Caulaincourt. Have we forgotten the gross and intolerable insult which, in 1804, was offered to us by the official declaration of Buonaparte, that "he would not recognize the English diplomatic corps in Europe?" Have we forgotten, that this declaration was followed up by the seizure of Sir G. Rumbold, in the neutral territory of Hamburg, by French soldiers, acting under the order of the minister of police at Paris? Have we forgotten the abuse poured out by a vagabond, named Regnier, (now a *soi-disant* Duke) against a respectable English minister, employed on the continent? His language is surely applicable to Caulaincourt. We may well say, "a minister like Caulaincourt cannot be punished by disgrace. Disgrace can only mortify men who know the price of virtue, and feel the value of honour;" and as Regnier urged the First Consul to take measures that certain Englishmen, whom he named, "should not be received by any power friendly to France, in any public character whatsoever;" so, and with much more reason, ought we strenuously to insist, that a man like Caulaincourt, the violator of the neutral territory of Baden, the prime agent in the infamous murder of the Duke D'Enghien, should be proscribed from the society of gentlemen and men of honour, in every part of the globe. We say, "of gentlemen and

men of honour," for though certain contemporaries of our's make themselves very merry with the ridicule which, as they conceive, attaches to those titles; we are well persuaded that the substantial glory and true virtue of that nation, is fast sinking into oblivion, where such distinctions are unknown. The contrary opinion, indeed, is consistent enough in a writer who claims to himself the designation of a *true Jacobin*; but none but Jacobins, in the very worst sense, can look without horror on a wretch like Cau'aincourt. Our first wish would undoubtedly have been, that the allies should have declined all appearance of treating with Buonaparte, at a time when negotiation with him must tend to stifle every reviving hope of loyalty in France; but if, in pursuance of a policy which we own we cannot satbom, they mean to try a sort of middle course, treating as if for peace, and yet penetrating into the heart of France, as if bent on the most sanguinary and desolating war; we trust, that time, at least, will be given for the developement of those sentiments, which may exist among the French people, in favour of their ancient sovereigns. Sincere and earnest are our prayers to heaven, that our country—great and valiant Britain, the shrine of freedom—may never be desecrated by that worst of abominations—the false friendship of Buonaparte. We cannot be at peace with him, and be innocent. We cannot be at peace with him, and preserve

The homely beauty of the good old cause,

And pure religion, breathing household laws.

With him it is impossible that we should "seek peace and ensue it." This feeling is deeply interfused through all ranks and degrees of people in this country. It is the feeling of all who listen to the voice of conscience; and do not absolutely disjoin politics from morals. We deny not, that the power of evil may predominate. The short-sightedness of our allies,—the apathy of a great part of France,—the wicked activity of the advocates and accomplices of murder and treason—all these may raise up the down-trodden hopes of the detested tyrant. He will, doubtless, make an imposing display of his forces. He has drawn all his armies, except those of Soult and Suchet, to a point. Their composition must be bad; but their numbers may be great. If, under all these circumstances, and after affording some time to the Bourbon Princes for a trial of their strength, the allies should at last treat with Buonaparte, we hope it will only be to dictate

to him terms, which, though far short of justice, may afford the world some tolerable prospect of security. Besides binding him within strict limits, let him have no influence beyond these boundaries,—no mediation, no protectorate, no kingdom of Italy, no Grand Fiefs of the Crown, no endowments for Senators, no assignments for his soldiery on the national domains or public debts of foreign states; no *exterior receipts* for his public treasury, or for his private chest. Among the minor objects—(minor, indeed, if weighed against the tremendous evil of Jacobinism triumphant and imperial in the heart of Europe—yet in itself of most important consequence to the future tranquillity of the world) is the cession of Antwerp to the Dutch. This, or the raising of its fortifications, the entire destruction of its arsenal, and the consequent annihilation of its *école pratique de marine* ought to be a *sine qua non* on the part of the allies, and particularly of this country. Should the French be so base and dastardly as still to crouch to this low-born and low-minded tyrant; and should he hesitate to submit to the demands of the allies, we have his own word, that there is a tolerable chance of our seeing Paris, the proud city, the city vain of the trappings of iniquity, at once stripped of her riches and grandeur, and even reduced to a heap of ashes, like that Moscow over whose fall she so unfeelingly insulted.

The sentiments which we have here quoted, are honourable to the feelings of a free-born Briton, and such as British statesmen ought carefully to cherish, and sedulously to inculcate. For proclaiming these opinions we shall, no doubt, be classed among the enemies of peace, and the lovers of war. But we shall contend, that these opinions, and the feelings out of which they arise, are cherished by us because we love peace; not that peace, indeed, which has nothing but the name and form of peace; nothing of the spirit of real amity, nothing of the security of solid tranquillity; but peace made in the spirit of peace, with one who is anxious to preserve it, and who can hold out, either in the integrity of his character, or in the circumstances in which he is placed, a well-grounded hope, and a reasonable security, for its permanence. Such a peace, in short, as will relieve us from the burdens of war, by removing all apprehensions of its speedy violation. A peace of this kind the allies have it now in their power to obtain; and if they neglect to obtain it, they will ill repay the bounty of Providence, and will richly deserve the censures of

their contemporaries, and the execrations of posterity. The moment is critical; and, ere we shall have occasion to address our readers again, the fate of Europe will, in all probability, have been decided.

In America, affairs have assumed a more pleasing aspect; the enemy has returned, discomfited and disgraced, from the field; and we trust, that ere he can resume offensive operations, government will have adopted effective means, not merely for the security of Canada, and for engrossing the navigation of the Lakes, but for making Mr. Madison and his supporters feel the weight of British vengeance. Meanwhile, we recommend to the serious attention of our readers, the very excellent reflections on the atrocious message of Mr. Madison, which they will find in the succeeding article.

o In our domestic affairs, there is nothing deserving of a comment. A schism, it has been confidently reported, has prevailed in the Cabinet on the subject of peace with Buonaparte, which had nearly ended in a dissolution of the existing ministry; but, as it is said also, that the Lord Chancellor found the means of reconciling the opposite opinions, by the proposal of a *medius terminus*, to which both sides could accede, we shall not repeat what we have heard on the subject.

As the meeting of Parliament approaches (though an intention of a further adjournment has been whispered) it was our intention to offer some further reflections on that constant bone of contention, *Catholic Emancipation*, and on the present temper of the Irish Papists, but having received on this subject some very judicious remarks from an old and highly respected correspondent, we shall subjoin his letter as a substitute for our own intended animadversions.

To the Editor of the *Antijacobin Review*.

Magna est Veritas et prevalebit.

SIR,—The triumph of truth must be pre-eminently gratifying to you, who have year after year laboured with such zeal and energy, with such perseverance and efficacy, in support of her cause. On no subject have your labours been more conspicuous than on that of the Roman Catholic Claims; and on no subject has the triumph of truth been greater. Your readers in general, the judicious and discerning part of them at least, from the numerous facts and observations which you have from time to time laid before them, must long since have been convinced of the real views and objects of the Papists. Even those of them who have hitherto entertained doubts on the subject, or have been difficult or slow of belief, may now be fully satisfied in their

minds, and relieved of their Scepticism. The energetic and significant speech of Dr. Dromgoole, given in your last No. p. 52, cannot but *open the eyes* of all who read it. With a degree of openness and candour peculiar to himself, the honest Dr. has made a full disclosure; he has no reservation, he is no player at hide and seek, and has left us nothing to complain of on that score. Whether his Popish Brethren will thank him for his ingenuous frankness, I shall not presume to decide. But the members of the Roman Catholic Board, before whom the speech was delivered, by receiving his sentiments with loud and continued applauses, and by passing the resolution he proposed unanimously and without a division, have identified his Principles with theirs, and made them their own. At a subsequent meeting of the Board, the courageous Dr. disdaining any thing like compromise or recantation, made a renewed avowal of his principles, in terms equally strong, and equally hostile to the Protestant Church. During the delivery of this speech, he was interrupted with repeated bursts of applause, and set down amidst the acclamations of his audience. We are therefore fully warranted to consider these documents as the authorized profession and declaration of the popish leaders, delivered by the mouth of their spokesman, Dr. Dromgoole—Here, then, we are favoured with a direct and deliberate manifestation of popish principles and popish designs. We are plainly told, “that our Protestant Church is of merely human establishment, and of a very novel date; that consequently it will fall; that already the marks of approaching ruin are upon it, that it has had its time upon the earth, and that it will be one day rejected by the whole earth. That it is absurd and insulting in the legislature to propose, and that it would be degrading and humiliating in the Papists to take an oath not to seek directly or indirectly the subversion of the Protestant Church. That no securities can or will be given, no concessions made, no restrictions admitted of, no conditions or stipulations accepted.” A few remarks on these topics, I trust, Sir, you will not consider as unseasonable.—The learned Dr. is, no doubt, well versed in ecclesiastical history. I trust he will allow us likewise to have some acquaintance with it, and will not have the arrogance to bind us down to his exposition and interpretation as *infallible*. He may be assured we shall not acquiesce in any commentary egregiously marked with suppression and mutilation of facts. The Dr. it seems reads history with a jaundiced eye. Prepossessed with the notion, that the Protestant Church has no higher origin than the Era of the Reformation, he argues upon that as a fact, and vainly imagines that his gratuitous assertion will pass current for truth. Does he then need to be told, that a christian church was planted in this island in the times of the apostles, probably by St. Paul himself, even before the church of Rome was established, and that it continued for more than five centuries subject to the jurisdiction of its own prelates, totally independent of the authority and interference of the See of Rome? In process of time, however, after having repeatedly resisted its claims and *protested* against its supremacy, it became subject to its usurped dominion, till it was at length rescued from thralldom by that happy event, which may more appropri-

ately be styled its *restoration* to its original state, than its *reformation* from the corruptions of popery. Does he need to be told, that from this source our Protestant Church traces its derivation, and consequently that it claims to be of divine institution, and of ancient date, equally with his own? These are historic truths, susceptible of proof, and easy to be proved; and however the worthy Dr. may be disposed to shut his eyes against them, that is no reason why we should refuse to open ours. Assured as we are of these truths, and resting on the divine word of promise, we have no fears that our church will finally fall and be destroyed. But as it has heretofore been subdued, and subjugated for a time to a foreign yoke; as a similar degradation may again be permitted to take place; and as we are threatened to be overwhelmed with the united assaults of the Cossack infantry of the methodists, the republican phalanxes of presbyterianism, and the collecting columns of Catholicity, who challenge the possession of the ark; it becomes a duty more imperiously incumbent upon us, not to put arms into the hands of such a host. Sanguine, however, as the Dr. may appear in his expectation of enlisting dissenters under his triumphantly displayed Oriflamme, he may be assured, that, as protestants, they will ever resolutely decline all alliance and confederacy intended to promote the revival and restoration of Popery. In regard to oaths and securities the liberally loquacious Dr. is equally communicative and undisguised, and has suffered some secrets to escape him. "Oaths not to seek directly or indirectly the subversion of the protestant Church, he tells us, it is both absurd and insulting in the legislature to propose, and degrading and humiliating to the papists to take." And why? Because forsooth this would be to abuse the divine command, which says, "Go ye and teach all nations!" The Protestant church, being yet in its infancy, must no doubt stand in need of being taught, and if placed under the tuition of the learned Dr. might reasonably be expected quickly to become a proficient in Catholicity. But I fear that even the Dr.'s exuberant abilities are unequal to the task of conversion, and I think that he himself, conscious of this truth, would prefer the more compendious and effectual expedient of subversion and extermination. This inference at least may fairly be deduced from his abomination of Oaths for the security and preservation of the protestant church, and from his avowed opinion that "it will be one day rejected by the whole earth." As to "Securities," he says, "we have none to give." This declaration indeed is not surprising.

They have for years past been straining every nerve to remove the present securities and safeguards of the Protestant church; and could it possibly be expected, that the moment they had succeeded in getting rid of them, they would consent immediately to the substitution of others in their room? That would be to rebuild the edifice which they had so long laboured to destroy. They have now, through the mouth of the eloquent Dr. Dromgoole, explicitly avowed this to be the case. No securities can or will be given, no concessions made, no restrictions admitted of, no conditions accepted. These truths, Mr. Editor, you have repeatedly proclaimed in the progress of your

work, and you have now the high gratification to find your predictions fully verified. The late Mr. Burke, in a work signalized as an admirable specimen of the sublime and beautiful, developed the principles of the French revolutionists, and described with prophetic pen the dreadful consequences that might be expected to result, in the dissolution of government and social order, in the overthrow of establishments, and subversion of the laws. Subsequent events bore ample testimony to his sagacity and foresight. Various writers, and yourself, Mr. Editor, amongst the foremost, have of late years unfolded the principles of the Papists, pointing out the effects, and forewarning us of the dangers to be apprehended. To the truth and reality of these Dr. Dromgoole has given full and decisive attestation. We thank him for his open and manly profession. We now know what we have to expect. The possession of the ark is challenged, the overthrow of our invaluable constitution is resolved, the destruction of our mild and tolerant church is decreed; in short, the beautiful and well-constructed fabric of our civil and religious liberties is at stake. Those liberties have heretofore risen superior to many trials, have surmounted many difficulties, and escaped many dangers, to which they were exposed: If we still set a value upon them, and deem them worthy of preservation, (which cannot admit of a doubt) we must be prepared to join heart and hand in their defence, security, and perpetuation.

I remain, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

Feb. 16, 1814.

CLERICUS ANGLICANUS.

TO OUR READERS.

We have to apologize to our readers for the spaucity of books reviewed in the present number. Lambert's Travels in Canada, Lord Byron's poems, and several other new publications, were, in fact, set apart for notice; but the length of some of the Miscellaneous Articles, which were of a more temporary nature, and related to subjects of immediate importance, rendered it impracticable. Hereafter, however, more attention will be paid to books, especially to new productions.

POETRY.

Saïe, an Eastern Tale. By J. H. Reynolds, 12mo. Pp. 91. 5s. 6d. Cawthorn. 1814.

LORD BYRON will, no doubt, be very much flattered by the dedication of this tale to him, which is prefaced by some introductory stanzas, the object of which appears to be (for it is not very intelligible) to rouse the slavish inhabitants of the East to a sense of their degraded state, and to make them throw off the yoke of their governors, and recover their long lost freedom. When they were so happy as to enjoy that freedom, the poet has not condescended to state. The East,

according to him, can boast of beauty unknown to this on colder climate.

“ And thou canst boast a line of beauty too,
In the fine features of thy lovely fair ;
A poet's fancy might in vain pursue
The task of painting loveliness so rare :—
Eyes dark, yet soft,—and teeth that might compare
With polish'd rows of whitest ivory :
A glossy flow of hyacinthine hair,
A cheek whose glowing colour well might vie
With the first roseate blush that tints the morning sky.

We know full well that a bed of hyacinths presents a great variety of colours—from pure white to dark purple—but if the ladies of the East have hair of any of the said colours, we must admit that they greatly excel, in this respect, the less splendid beauties of Northern and Western climes. But the poet, feeling a little awkwardness about his *hyacinthine hair*, thinks it necessary to account for it, in one of those notes with which, in compliance with modern custom, he has thought proper to *enrich* and to *illustrate* his work.

“ The *metaphor* taken from the hyacinth is very common with the Arabians, and was so with the Greeks ; a poem can hardly lay claim to the title of ‘ Oriental ’ without it. Sir William Jones has made use of it in an eclogue composed of Eastern images :—

“ The fragrant *hyacinths* of Azza's hair,
“ That wanton with the laughing summer's air.”

So, because Sir William Jones had compared, most appropriately, the fragrance of Azza's hair to the scent of hyacinths, Mr. J. H. Reynolds thinks himself justified in talking of

‘ A glossy flow of hyacinthine hair.’

but both the line and the note afford an apt illustration of the poet's intellectual powers, of his perspicuity, and of his judgment.

We shall present our readers with the opening passage of the poem, in which, no doubt, the bard exerted the greatest powers of his mind.

“ Oh ! Peace had long rested in Assad's haram,
“Till the clang of arms, the war's alarum,
Had scared the meek-eyed damsel from
Her fair abode, her smiling home.
Happiest Assad ! then was't thou sharing
The smiles of a maiden fair and free,
As e'er whisper'd lover's melody ;—
Ever fulfilling, and ever declaring,
She kiss'd thee hence when the steed was mounted,
For the rural pleasures of hunt and chase ;
She listened to hear the feats recounted,
With words of praise and smiling face ;
She swept the lute with an airy lightness,
That hardly seem'd to touch the chords ;
She sang such sweet, such witching words,
And her eyes flash'd such expressive brightness,

That a Houri could never in hours of pleasure,
 Breathe a softer tone or a lovelier measure ;
 Nor could brighter glances ever be given,
 To welcome the souls of the dead to heaven."

Such of our readers as are satisfied with such versification as this, and as can have patience to labour through ninety pages of it, may have recourse to the book itself, of which, they will find, the proemium affords a very fair specimen. Indeed, whatever merit belongs to uniformity, and consistency, of genius, taste, tone, sentiment, and language, must certainly attach to Mr. J. H. Reynolds.

MISCELLANIES.

Observations on the Message of Mr. Madison to Congress in December last.

AT the present moment, when we are on the eve of entering upon a negotiation with the United States, we are happy to have it in our power to submit to our readers, the following remarks of our intelligent correspondent in Nova Scotia, on the conduct of the government of that country : and for a perfect understanding of the subject, we preface these remarks with the address.

It is our most earnest exhortation to the British government, not to enter on any treaty with America without a clear, full, and definite, adjustment, of all points relating to the boundaries, to the fisheries, and to the Indians. The neglect to provide for these essential points, in former negotiations, led to an endless scene of chicanery and contention ; and, by the ignorance of those to whom these important interests were confided, boundaries were ultimately agreed to, which never had been in the contemplation of either party, and which left to American rapacity an easy means of further encroachments, in addition to most enormous actual advantages. The perfidy, the treachery, and the ungovernable hatred, which the American government have displayed towards this country, as unnatural in their origin, as atrocious in their object, superadded to their scandalous violation of the law of nation, in a notorious instance, would render it an act of suicide to yield to its pretensions, one single point on the score of accommodation, or indulgence ; while to leave any thing to future discussion, especially an object of such immense importance as the settlement of boundaries, would be an act of the most inexcusable folly. The loyal and gallant conduct of our Canadian brethren, in defending their territory, against American invasion, assisted as they have been, with a very inadequate European force, entitles them to the most marked attention from the British government. We trust, therefore, that their interests will not be disregarded, as heretofore ; and that they will not have the same ground of complaint, in any future treaty, which past treaties have too abundantly afforded them.

PRESIDENT MADDISON'S MESSAGE.

Washington City, Dec. 7, 1813.

This day at twelve o'clock, the President of the United States, transmitted the following message to both Houses of Congress, by his Secretary :

Fellow Citizens of the Senate, and of the House of Representatives,

In meeting you at the present interesting conjuncture, it would have been highly satisfactory if I could have communicated a favourable result to the mission charged with negotiations for restoring peace. It was a just expectation from the respect due to the distinguished Sovereign who had invited them by his offer of mediation; from the readiness with which the invitation was accepted on the part of the United States, and from the pledge to be found in an act of their legislature, for the liberality which their plenipotentiaries would carry into the negotiations, that no time would be lost by the British government, in embracing the experiment for hastening a stop to the effusion of blood. A prompt and cordial acceptance of the mediation on that side, was the less to be doubted, as it was of a nature not to submit rights or pretensions on either side to the decision of an umpire, but afford merely an opportunity, honourable and desirable to both, for discussing, and if possible, adjusting them for the interest of both.

The British cabinet, either mistaking our desire of peace, for a dread of British power, or misled by other fallacious calculation, has disappointed this reasonable anticipation. No communications from our envoys having reached us, no information on the subject has been received from that source. But it is known that the mediation was declined in the first instance, and there are no evidence, notwithstanding the lapse of time, that a change of disposition in the British Councils has taken place, or is to be expected.

Under such circumstances, a nation, proud of its rights, and conscious of its strength, has no choice but an exertion of one, in support of the other.

To this determination, the best encouragement is derived from the success with which it has pleased the Almighty to bless our arms, both on the land and on the water.

Whilst proofs have been continued of the enterprize and skill of our cruisers, public and private, on the ocean, and a new trophy gained in the capture of a British by an American vessel of war, after an action giving celebrity to the name of the victorious commander; the great inland waters, on which the enemy were also to be encountered, have presented achievements of our naval arms, as brilliant in their character, as they have been important in their consequences.

On Lake Érie, the squadron under command of Captain Perry, having met the British squadron of superior force, a sanguinary conflict ended in the capture of the whole. The conduct of that officer, adroit as it was daring, and which was so well seconded by his comrades, justly entitles them to the admiration and gratitude of their

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country; and will fill an early page in its naval annals, with a victory, never surpassed in lustre, however much it may have been in magnitude.

On Lake Ontario, the caution of the British commander, favoured by contingencies, frustrated the efforts of the American commander to bring on a decisive action. Captain Chauncey was able, however, to establish an ascendancy on that important theatre, and to prove, by the manner in which he effected every thing possible, that opportunities only were wanted, for a more shining display of his own talents, and of the gallantry of those under his command.

The success on Lake Erie having opened a passage to the territory of the enemy, the officer commanding the north-western army, transferred the war thither; and rapidly pursuing the hostile troops, fleeing with their savage associates, forced a general action, which quickly terminated in the capture of the British, and the dispersion of the savage force.

The result is signally honourable to Major General Harrison, by whose military talents it was prepared; to colonel Johnson and his mounted volunteers, whose impetuous onset gave a decisive blow to the ranks of the enemy; and to the spirit of the volunteer militia, equally brave and patriotic, who bore an interesting part in the scene; more especially to the chief magistrate of Kentucky, at the head of them whose heroism, signalized in the war which established the independence of his country, sought, at an advanced age, a share in hardships and battles, for maintaining its rights and its safety.

The effect of these successes has been to rescue the inhabitants of Michigan from their oppressions, aggravated by gross infractions of the capitulation, which subjected them to a foreign power; to alienate the savages of numerous tribes from the enemy, by whom they were disappointed and abandoned; and to relieve an extensive region of country from a merciless warfare, which desolated its frontiers, and imposed on its citizens the most harassing services.

In consequence of our naval superiority on Lake Ontario, and the opportunity afforded by it for concentrating our forces by water, operations which had been previously planned, were set on foot against the possessions of the enemy on the St. Lawrence. Such, however, was the delay produced, in the first instance, by adverse weather of unusual violence and continuance, and such the circumstances attending the final movements of the army, that the prospect, at one time so favourable, was not realized.

The cruelty of the enemy, in enlisting the savages into a war with a nation desirous of mutual emulation in mitigating its calamities, has not been confined to any one quarter. Wherever they could be turned against us, no exertions to effect it have been spared. On our South Western border, the Creek tribes, who, yielding to our preserving endeavours, were gradually acquiring more civilized habits, became the unfortunate victims of seduction. A war in that quarter has been the consequence, insinuated by a bloody fanaticism recently propagated among them.

It was necessary to crush such a war before it could spread among

the contiguous tribes, and before it could favour enterprises of the enemy into that vicinity. With this view a force was called into the service of the United States, from the States of Georgia and Tennessee, which, with the nearest regular troops, and other corps from the Mississippi territory, might not only chastise the savages into present peace, but make a lasting impression on their fears.

The progress of the expedition, as far as it is yet known, corresponds with the martial zeal with which it was espoused; and the best hopes of a satisfactory issue are authorized by the complete success with which a well planned enterprise was executed against a body of hostile savages, by detachments of volunteer militia of Tennessee under the command of the gallant Gen. Coffee; and by a still more important victory over a larger body of them, gained under the immediate command of Major Gen. Jackson: an officer equally distinguished for his patriotism and military talents.

The systematic perseverance of the enemy in courting the aid of the savages in all quarters, and the natural effect of kindling their ordinary propensity to war into a passion which even among those best disposed towards the United States, was ready, if not employed on our side, to be turned against us. A departure from our protracted forbearance to accept the services tendered by them has thus been forced upon us. But, in yielding to it, the retaliation has been mitigated as much as possible, both in its extent and in its character, stopping far short of the example of the enemy, who owe the advantages they have occasionally gained in battle, chiefly to the number of their savages; and who have not controlled them either from their usual practice of indiscriminate massacre on defenceless inhabitants, or from scenes of carnage without a parallel, on prisoners to the British arms, guarded by all the laws of humanity and honorable war.

For those enormities, the enemy are equally responsible, whether with the power to prevent them they want the will, or with the knowledge of a want of power they still avail themselves of such instruments.

In other respects the enemy are pursuing a course which threatens consequences most afflicting to humanity.

A standing law of Great Britain naturalizes, as is well known, all aliens, complying with conditions limited to a shorter period than those required by the United States; and naturalized subjects are, in war, employed by her government in common with native subjects. In a contiguous British province, regulations promulgated since the commencement of the war compel citizens of the United States, being there under certain circumstances, to bear arms; whilst of the native emigrants from the United States who compose much of the population of the province, a number have actually borne arms against the United States, within their limits; some of whom, after having done so, have become prisoners of war, and are now in our possession. The British commander in that province nevertheless, with the sanction as appears, of his government, thought proper to select from American prisoners of war, and send to Great Britain for trial as criminals,

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a number of individuals, who had emigrated from the British dominions long prior to the state of war between the two nations, who had incorporated themselves into our political society, in the modes recognized by the law and practice of Great Britain, and who were made prisoners of war, under the banners of their adopted country, fighting for its rights and its safety.

The protection due to these citizens requiring an effectual interposition in their behalf, a like number of British prisoners of war were put into confinement, with a notification that they would experience whatever violence might be committed on the American prisoners of war sent to Great Britain.

It was hoped that this necessary consequence of the step unadvisedly taken on the part of Great Britain, would have led her government to reflect on the inconsistencies of its conduct, and that a sympathy with the British, if not with the American sufferers, would have arrested the cruel career opened by its example.

This was unhappily not the case. In violation both of consistency, and of humanity, American officers and non-commissioned officers, in double the number of British soldiers confined here, were ordered into close confinement, with formal notice, that in the event of a retaliation for the death which might be inflicted on the prisoners of war sent to Great Britain for trial, the officers so confined would be put to death also. It was notified at the same time, that the commanders of the British fleet and armies on our coast, are instructed, in the same event, to proceed with a destructive severity, against our towns and their inhabitants.

That no doubt might be left with the enemy of our adherence to the retaliating resort imposed on us, a correspondent number of British officers prisoners of war in our hands, were immediately put into close confinement, to abide the fate of those confined by the enemy; and the British government has been apprized of the determination of this government to retaliate any other proceeding against us, contrary to the legitimate modes of warfare.

It is as fortunate for the United States that they have it in their power to meet the enemy in this deplorable contest, as it is honourable to them, that they do not join in it but under the most imperious obligations, and with the humane purpose of effectuating a return to the established usages of war.

The views of the French government on the subjects which have been so long committed to negotiation have received no elucidation since the close of your last session. The minister plenipotentiary of the United States at Paris, had not been enabled, by proper opportunities, to press the objects of his mission, as prescribed by his instructions.

The militia being always to be regarded as the great bulwark of defence and security for free states, and the constitution having wisely committed to the national authority a use of that force, as the best provision against an unsafe military establishment, as well as a resource peculiarly adapted to a country having the extent and the

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exposure of the United States—I recommend to Congress a revision of the militia laws, for the purpose of securing, more effectually, the services of all detachments called into the employments, and placed under the government of the United States.

It will deserve the consideration of Congress also, whether, among other improvements in the militia laws, justice does not require a regulation, under due precautions, for defraying the expences incident to the first assembling, as well as to the subsequent movements of detachments called into the national service.

To give to our vessels of war, public and private, the requisite advantages in their cruises, it is of much importance that they should have, both for themselves and their prizes, the use of the ports of friendly powers. With this view, I recommend to Congress, the expediency of such legal provisions as may supply the defects, or remove the doubts of the executive authority to allow to the cruisers of other powers, at war with the enemies of the United States, such use of the American ports and markets, as may correspond with the privileges allowed by such powers to American cruisers.

During the year ending on the 30th Sept. last, the receipts into the Treasury have exceeded 37 millions and a half of dollars, of which near 24 millions were the produce of loans. After meeting all the demands for the public service, there remained in the Treasury on that day near 7 millions of dollars. Under the authority contained in the act of the 2d of August last, for borrowing 7 millions and half of dollars, that sum has been obtained on terms more favourable to the United States than those of the preceding loan made during the present year. Further sums to a considerable amount will be necessary to be obtained in the same way during the ensuing year;—and from the increased capital of the country, from the fidelity with which the public engagements have been kept, and the public credit maintained, it may be expected on good grounds that the necessary pecuniary supplies will not be wanting.

The expences of the current year, from the multiplied operations falling within it, have necessarily been extensive. But on a just estimate of the campaign, in which the mass of them has been incurred, the cost will not be found disproportionate to the advantages which have been gained. The campaign has indeed, in its latter stages in one quarter, been less favorable than was expected; but in addition to the importance of our naval success, the progress of the campaign has been filled with incidents highly honorable to the American arms.

The attacks of the enemy on Craney Island, on Fort Meigs, on Sacket's harbour, and on Sandusky, have been vigorously and successfully repulsed; nor have they in any case succeeded on their frontier, excepting when directing against the peaceable dwellings of individuals, or villages unprepared or undefended.

On the other hand, the movements of the American army have been followed by the reduction of York, and Forts George, Erie, and Malden; by the recovery of Detroit, and the extinction of the

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ports*

Indian war in the west; and by the occupancy or command of a large portion of Upper Canada. Battles have also been fought on the borders of the St. Lawrence, which, though not accomplishing their entire objects, reflect honour on the discipline and prowess of the soldiery, the best auguries of eventual victory. In the same scale are to be placed the late successes in the South, over one of the most powerful, which had become one of the most hostile also, of the Indian tribes.

It would be improper to close this communication without expressing a thankfulness, in which all ought to unite, for the numerous blessings with which our beloved country continues to be favoured; for the abundance which overspreads our land, and the prevailing health of its inhabitants, for the preservation of our internal tranquillity, and the stability of our free institutions; and above all, for the light of divine truth, and the protection of every man's conscience in the enjoyment of it. And although among our blessings we cannot number an exemption from the evils of war; yet these will never be regarded as the greatest of evils, by the friends of liberty and of the rights of nations. Our country has preserved them to the degrading condition which was the alternative, when the sword was drawn in the cause which gave birth to our national independence; and none who contemplate the magnitude, and feel the value of that glorious event, will shrink from a struggle to maintain the high and happy ground on which it placed the American people.

With all good citizens, the justice and necessity of resisting wrongs and usurpations no longer to be borne, will sufficiently outweigh the privations and sacrifices, inseparable from a state of war. But it is a reflection moreover, peculiarly consoling, that whilst wars are generally aggravated by their baneful effects on the internal improvements and permanent prosperity of the nations engaged in them, such is the favoured situation of the United States, that the calamities of the contest into which they have been compelled to enter, are mitigated by improvements and advantages of which the contest itself is the source.

If the war has increased the interruptions of our commerce, it has at the same time cherished and multiplied our manufactures, so as to make us independent of all other countries for the more essential branches, for which we ought to be dependent on none; and is even rapidly giving them an extent which will create additional staples in our future intercourse with foreign markets.

If much treasure has been expended, no inconsiderable portion of it has been applied to objects durable in their value, and necessary to our permanent safety.

If the war has exposed us to increased spoliation on the ocean, and to predatory incursions on the land, it has developed the national means of retaliating the former, and of providing protection against the latter; demonstrating to all, that every blow aimed at our maritime independence is an impulse accelerating the growth of our maritime power.

By diffusing through the mass of the nation the elements of military discipline and instruction ; by augmenting and distributing warlike preparations, applicable to future use ; by evincing the zeal and valor with which they will be employed ; and the cheerfulness with which every necessary burden will be borne—a greater respect for our rights, and a longer duration of our future peace are promised, than could be expected without these proofs of the national character and resources.

The war has proved, moreover, that our free government, like other free governments, though slow in its early movements, acquires in its progress a force proportioned to its freedom ; and that the union of these States, the guardian of the freedom, and safety of all and of each, is strengthened by every occasion that puts it to the test.

In fine, the war, with all its vicissitudes, is illustrating the capacity and the destiny of the United States to be a great, a flourishing, and a powerful nation ; worthy of the friendship which it is disposed to cultivate with all others ; and authorized, by his own example, to require for all an observance of the laws of justice and reciprocity. Beyond these their claims have never been extended ; and, in contending for these, we behold a subject for our congratulations, in the daily testimonies of increasing harmony throughout the nation, and may humbly repose our trust in the smiles of Heaven on so righteous a cause.

JAMES MADISON.

Washington, December 7, 1813.

REMARKS ON MADISON'S MESSAGE.

To the Editor.

SIR,—When I addressed you last week, in behalf of our fellow subjects in Canada, I was not aware that my prediction “ If there was not virtue enough in the American people to restrain them, there was vice enough in the American government to compel them to fulfil their threats to murder the prisoners of war, who are now in their possession,” would meet with such immediate corroboration, as you afforded to it, by the publication of Mr. Madison's Speech to Congress, on the opening of the Session at Washington, on the 7th ult.

I rejoice, that this Speech is now before the public. It is a development of the views of that government, from the highest authority, and not only contains an avowal of their determination to act as I have predicted, but every argument they can devise to justify that determination to the Congress and to the American people ; for it is evident that in an official communication from the administration to the legislature, they would bring forward the whole strength of their case, upon a subject, so important, so melancholy, and so awful, as that which they have now submitted to their consideration ; and although I assert, that the blackest guilt will rest upon the heads of the rulers of that government, be it of Great Britain or America,

which first departs from the established laws of nations, and, in open defiance of them, murders prisoners of war; I will admit every fact which Mr. Madison states in justification of his conduct. But before I proceed to consider the arguments he deduces from them, or those by which Great Britain may prove their fallacy, I will state the case, as it now stands between the two countries.

Great Britain has selected from among the prisoners, she has taken in war from America, twenty-three persons whom she accuses of having committed Treason against her; these persons, as is customary with those labouring under similar accusations, are in close confinement, and will be brought to a regular trial for the crime of which they are accused, and if found guilty, will be adjudged to suffer death.

In consequence of this proceeding on the part of Great Britain, the American government have closely confined twenty-three British prisoners of war, and have notified to the British government that they will inflict upon these persons, whatever punishment those confined by Great Britain may suffer.

Great Britain, contending that she has taken no step inconsistent with the law of nations; that these men though taken in war, are not American Prisoners, but traitors, and therefore considering America as the aggressor in the confinement of prisoners of war, has confined two Americans of the higher ranks, for every Englishman, in order to deter America from persevering in such conduct.

This measure has, however, produced the contrary effect, and America, persisting in her assertion that Great Britain is the aggressor, has confined a correspondent number of British officers; and all these unhappy persons now await, in awful suspense, the determination of this momentous question.

As I wish not to inflame the minds of my readers upon a subject so peculiarly calculated to awaken every feeling, I would intreat them, however they may deplore the increase of the miseries of captivity which has already been occasioned by the confinement of so many persons, to remember, that the subsequent steps on the part of both governments, are the necessary consequences of the first *unjustifiable act*—and if Great Britain is not authorised, upon every principle of law and justice, to proceed in the manner which she has done, against the twenty-three persons, whom she accuses of treason, the American government is not only completely justified but was actually bound, as the protector of the American people, to adopt the conduct which they have pursued.

Let us, then, before the Scaffold is erected to increase those torrents of blood, with which the authors of this war have already deluged the field of battle, consider, with as much calmness as the subject will permit, the arguments adduced in the support of the conduct of the respective governments, now at issue upon this heart-rending question; and in the consideration of them, let us divest ourselves, as much as possible, of all feelings of partiality for our own government.

When those who are legitimately possessed of supreme power in any country, direct the sword to be drawn, and declare the nation to be in a state of war with another, it is the duty of the respective subjects of each, to do their utmost in their country's cause, and to leave the responsibility for the blood which may be shed, to those who made the appeal to the God of Battles. But when the established laws of nations are departed from—when an attempt is made to give to war a new and a ferocious character—when an unresisting captive is to be murdered in cold blood—it is then the interest, it is the duty of every human being to investigate the causes of such inhuman conduct; and to join in the execration which it deserves, whether it should fall upon the head of his own government or on that of his enemy. Most solemnly do I declare, that if the government of Great Britain should prove to be the authors of the miseries which have been already sustained, and of the still more dismal scenes which now present themselves to our imaginations, and which I fear will soon be melancholy realities, that I would not only join in execrating them, but would take every step, that the laws of my country would permit, to counteract their, inhuman designs.

Having made these preliminary observations, which it appears to me the awfulness of the subject will not only excuse but justify, I shall now proceed to the discussion of it.

Great Britain, it must be conceded, is the first actor in the scene, she first confined those she had taken in battle.

In vindication of her conduct she says, that although she found these men in the ranks of the American army, they are not entitled to be considered as prisoners of war, because they are native British subjects, who owed allegiance to the King of Great Britain—whose duty it was, if they bore arms in this contest, to fight in defence of their king and native country, and that by fighting against them, they have committed the crime of treason, and deserve the punishment of death.

If Great Britain is not warranted in making these assertions, she is responsible for all the murders which may be committed in consequence of the steps she has taken.

We must first, therefore, inquire whether the facts which she states are true, whether these men, thus taken in the ranks of the American army, are actually native subjects of the British empire, and then, whether the consequence follows, that they are subject to her laws, and liable to be punished as those laws direct, for bearing arms against her.

Upon the question of fact we shall meet with no difficulty, because the President of the United States, in his message to congress, describes the men confined by Great Britain as individuals who had "*emigrated from the British Dominions*,"—long prior to the state of war between the two nations, who had incorporated themselves into our (the American) political society, in the modes recognized by the law, and the practice of Great Britain, and who were made prisoners of war, under the banners of their adopted country, *fighting for its rights and its safety.*"

The two facts then asserted by Great Britain, that those men were *British subjects*, and were taken in arms against her, are thus admitted by the American president. We are now to enquire on what grounds Great Britain rests her right to render them amenable to her laws, notwithstanding that they were taken under the banners of America, fighting for their adopted country. And whether the statement of Mr. Madison, that these persons had been actually naturalized in America,—be in point of fact true or false, we can have no objection to admit it in argument, and to consider them as native British subjects naturalized in America, bearing arms in the service of the latter against Great Britain.

Mr. Madison will not contend, I presume, that there is no such crime as treason. For by the very Constitution of the United States, it is declared, (see section 3d, article 1st)—That “treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort.

Thus we find that the American people, who were so very jealous of the nature of the crime of treason, that they would not leave the determination of it to their supreme legislature, but have defined it in the Constitution itself—still declare that the conduct which these men have pursued against Great Britain, would amount to Treason in an American against his country.

Can then the circumstance of their having been naturalized in America, exculpate them?

Without adverting to those arguments which I addressed to my readers in my last letter, upon the evils which would arise in society if we were ever to admit that a man could absolve himself from the duties which he owed to his native country, I will confine myself to the dry principles of law in this discussion, and seek not the aid of those honest feelings which would so powerfully support my cause. It is a cause which requires no very able Counsellor, no deep read Lawyer to investigate its merits—any man of ordinary information is qualified to become its advocate, and every man of common sense may decide upon its justice, for I find it laid down in a book with which every English Gentleman of education is acquainted, that “allegiance is distinguished by the law into two species, the one natural, the other local, the former being perpetual, the latter temporary. That natural allegiance is such as is due from all men born within the King’s dominions, immediately upon their birth, for immediately upon their birth they are under the King’s protection, at a time too, when they are incapable of protecting themselves; natural allegiance is, therefore, a debt of gratitude, which cannot be forfeited, cancelled, or altered by any change of time, place or circumstance, nor by any thing but the united concurrence of the Legislature. An Englishman who removes to France or to China, owes the same allegiance to the King of England there as at home, and 20 years hence, as well as now—for it is a principle of *universal law*, that the natural born subject of one Prince cannot by any act of his own, no, not by swearing allegiance to another, put off, or discharge his natural allegiance to the former, for this

natural allegiance was intrinsic and primitive and antecedent to the other, and cannot be divested without the concurrent act of that Prince to whom it was first due."—(BLACKSTONE'S Commentaries, vol. 1,—page 370.)

I am aware that gentlemen of the long robe, when addressing themselves to those grave personages, who are seated on the bench, frequently imagine that they strengthen their argument by multiplying authorities to one point, but it appears to me, as a plain man, addressing myself to the common sense of my readers, that truth is equally truth, whether it is stated by one man or repeated by five hundred, and therefore when I find so respectable a writer as Sir William Blackstone, who wrote long before, this question was agitated between Great Britain and America, declare that such are the laws of the land in which I live, and not only of that land, but that they are universal laws, I conceive it to be unnecessary to dive into books rarely opened by any but professional gentlemen, to support a principle which no writer upon national law has ever controverted—but submit it to the public, whether these native British subjects, who could not divest themselves of their allegiance, have not, by entering into the army of the United States, which was actively engaged against Great Britain, committed treason against that country agreeably to the very definition of that crime, laid down in the constitution of the United States of America?

It is vain to say, even if the fact be so, that America, a country of yesterday, has never acted upon, or adopted this principle. As subjects of Great Britain, these men would have been bound by municipal laws, even if they alone declared that a native British subject could not divest himself of his allegiance, but it is a principle of universal law, by which all mankind are bound, and must ever remain so, unless particular nations enter into compact upon the subject.

So far are the engagements, into which these men may have entered, when they became citizens of America, from justifying their taking up arms against their country, that it does not even absolve them from the duty of fighting in its defence, for the learned Puffendorf, (in discussing the question whether a prisoner of war, who had been liberated by the enemy upon condition that he should not serve against them again, could, by entering into such an engagement, justify himself to his country, for not arming in her cause) lays down a general rule, from which he admits the case just mentioned to be an exception—that, even* "*Dans la plus profonde paix, personne ne doit se mettre, ni mettre les autres hors d'état d'exercer les fonctions militaires, et que ceux qui le font méritent d'en être rigoureusement punis.*"—(Barbeyrac's Puffendorf, 9th edition—vol. 3d.—page 275.)

Great Britain then, it is evident, is authorized by the laws of nations, and by those of her own country, to consider those men whom

* In the most profound peace, no person ought to place himself nor to place others, out of the situation to perform military duties, and those who do so, deserve to be rigorously punished.

she found in the ranks of her enemy, as traitors, and can Mr. Madison seriously contend, that because they were found there, they must be deemed American prisoners of war; can the very act which constitutes their crime, protect them from its punishment, or can the execution of the sentence of the law upon criminals, by Great Britain, justify the American president in taking the lives of men who have committed no offence—for shame—for shame, Sir, if you are indeed so lost to every feeling of humanity as to commit deliberate murder upon defenceless men—do not convince us that the weakness of your head can alone be exceeded by the cruelty of your heart, nor attempt to vindicate an atrocious act of barbarity, by a gross insult to common sense.

CLERICUS.

Postscript—Having in this letter established the justice of the case of Great Britain, I shall trouble you with another to prove the fallacy of those arguments adduced by Mr. Madison in support of his cause.

Nova Scotia, Dec. 1813.

FURTHER REMARKS ON MR. MADISON'S MESSAGE.

To the Editor.

SIR,

In my last letter, I admitted that Great Britain first confined some of the prisoners whom she had taken in battle; but I trust I convinced your readers, that the persons so confined by her, had committed the greatest crime that men can be guilty of in a state of society—that she was authorized by the universal law of nations, and by the municipal laws of her own land, to consider them as criminals who deserved punishment, and not as prisoners of war, who were entitled to that humane usage which is now recognized as a right among civilized nations—and that her proceeding against these men as the laws direct in such cases, could not even justify Mr. Madison, in denying to those whom the fortune of war had thrown into his power, the common treatment of prisoners, much less will it afford the slightest extenuation of his guilt, if he should imbue his hands in the blood of those innocent and defenceless men.—This Sir, has, I trust, been made sufficiently apparent on the part of Great Britain.—I shall now proceed to examine those arguments with which Mr. Madison endeavours to support his cause, and I must again request your readers to remember, that the document I refer to for them, viz. his own message to the Congress of the United States, must contain the whole strength of his case.—Let us then see upon what grounds the American President supports his right to murder prisoners of war. For the sake of perspicuity we will recapitulate the *facts* he states, and then consider the inferences which can be fairly drawn from them.

The first fact which he brings forward is, that Great Britain by a standing law, naturalizes aliens in a shorter time than they can be naturalized in the United States.

That she employs naturalized subjects in war in common with native subjects.

That in a British Province (Canada) citizens of the United States, being there under certain circumstances, are compelled, by regulations promulgated since the war, to bear arms, that a number of such citizens, resident within a British Province, have actually borne arms against the United States within their limits and that some of these men are now prisoners of war in the possession of the Americans.

That the British commander in Canada has nevertheless, selected from American prisoners, and sent to Great Britain for trial as criminals, a number of individuals who had emigrated from the British dominions long prior to the state of war between the two nations, and who had incorporated themselves into the American political society.

That in consequence of this measure, the American government had put into confinement a like number of *British prisoners of war*, with a notification that they would experience whatever violence might be committed on the American prisoners of war sent to Great Britain, and this Mr. Madison states that he has done in consequence of "the retaliating resort imposed upon him"—but it is worthy of observation that he does not turn the attention of the Congress to the established laws of nations, nor venture to discuss the right of Great Britain to proceed as she has done against those persons, who after emigrating from her dominions, invaded them as enemies. This great question, upon which the whole merit of the case entirely rests, is passed by in silence, and we are hurried to the consideration of another, which has little connection with it; but even that little is against the American president.

The facts stated by him, and I will readily admit the whole of them, amount to this,

Great Britain naturalizes Aliens and employs them in her wars.

America does the same.

The British commander has found among the naturalized Aliens employed by America in her war against Great Britain, certain British subjects, whom he has confined and sent to England for trial, as criminals, in bearing arms against their native country.

Mr. Madison conceives that a *retaliating resort is imposed upon him* by this measure—and what is his retaliation?—he does not confine those Americans naturalized by Great Britain who have been taken in arms against America—though he admits that he has persons of that description in his possession—he does not offer a *fair trial* to those whom he has confined— which he confesses is the purpose for which the others are sent to Great Britain—he does not pretend that the punishment with which he threatens them shall be the regular sentence of the law, as must be the case with those sent to Great Britain for trial—but without daring to question the right of Great Britain to

proceed as she has done—he imprisons British subjects who have never been naturalized in America; without trial, without accusing them of any offence, he threatens to inflict upon men who have never borne arms against their country, the punishment which the law pronounces upon traitors who commit that crime—and this he has the unparalleled impudence to tell the Congress of the United States of America, is retaliation—confident indeed must he have felt, before he would venture to insult them thus, that the majority of that body were his servile creatures—that he was addressing an assembly in which the voice of reason was silenced—where faction had enthroned falsehood and where truth was treason.

It is most perfectly clear that the facts which the American president has stated, do not in the least justify the conduct he has pursued, nor the still more guilty course he has marked out for his future path—but as his statement may have produced that confusion at which he aimed, in the minds of those whose habits and occupations have not led them to a consideration of such subjects, and some well disposed people may ask—why, if Great Britain naturalizes Americans and employs them in her army, does she punish the natives of the British dominions who have been naturalized in America for serving that republic? I will endeavour briefly to point out the real state of the case.

A distinction between the political rights of natives and foreigners exists in every country, and I believe that this distinction is coeval with the state of society itself. A native British subject therefore can never be divested of the privileges to which he became entitled at his birth, by any act of others, nor can he divest himself of the allegiance which he owes in return, by any act of his own—he can no more chuse his country, than he can chuse his parents; both are provided for him by an over-ruling Providence, and he comes into the world under obligations to both, which are imposed upon him at his birth, without any previous consent on his part, and from which he can never release himself. The privilege and the duty are thus united in the native subject; but motives of policy have induced the different governments established in the civilized world to admit foreigners under certain circumstances, and upon certain terms, to a participation of those privileges, and while they continue to enjoy them, they owe allegiance in return to the government which bestows them; but this it must be remembered does not extinguish the claim which the country of the foreigner, so naturalized, has upon him—it is an obligation superinduced upon that which he originally owed to his native land, and can no more operate in discharge of it than a second mortgage upon a man's estate can relieve him from a prior incumbrance of the same nature. It is true, as Blackstone observes in the same volume and chapter to which I referred your readers in my last, that “The natural born subject of one Prince, may be *entangled* by subjecting himself absolutely, to another; but it is his own act that brings him into these straits and difficulties of owing service to two masters, and it is unreasonable that by such voluntary act of his own, he should be able at pleasure to unloose those bands, by which he is connected to

his natural Prince."—vol. i. page 370. Now let us apply these principles to the facts which Mr. Madison states.

Great Britain he says naturalizes foreigners in a shorter time than the United States.

I must contend that America has no right to interfere with the time nor the terms upon which Great Britain chuses to extend the privileges of British subjects to foreigners, for that is a point which rests altogether between the British government and the individual who seeks the benefit of naturalization.

The acts to which I suppose Mr. Madison alludes (the 13 & 20 Geo. 2d) were passed at a time when the fostering arm of Great Britain was extended over that country which his measures are now involving in ruin, those acts were intended to encourage the population of the Colonies, and by them it was enacted among other things, "that foreigners living seven years in any of the British Colonies, should be deemed natives on taking the oath, &c." with a proviso, however, that persons, so naturalized, going out of his Majesty's dominions for more than one year, should lose the benefit of the act.

If then after the United States of America became a foreign country to Great Britain, any of the natives of those states chose to remove into Canada, and there to reside for seven years, they might be naturalized upon taking the necessary oaths. And if in consequence of a war between Great Britain and America, they became entangled by their several obligations to the two countries, they must take the consequences of the difficulties in which they have involved themselves. To America, their natural allegiance is undoubtedly due; if, however, they continue to reside in the country in which they have been naturalized, and to enjoy the protection of its laws, that country, in return for that protection, will oblige them, in common with her other subjects, to arm in her defence, and resist invasion; but as it was never the intention of Great Britain to legislate for other nations, nor to interfere with the sovereign rights of independent governments, she does not dispute the right of America to assert her claim to the services of these individuals, and to punish them for any breach of their duty towards her; nor would she, in case that punishment should be inflicted upon them by the American government, ever think of singling out unoffending American prisoners of war, and obliging them to submit to a similar fate with that which had befallen traitors.

If British subjects who have been naturalized in America, will continue to reside there after America has declared war against Great Britain—America, I assert, has a right to oblige them to defend that country if it is invaded, and may accept of their services if they choose to offer them in her army or in her navy. I contend for the same right on the part of Great Britain; but neither country can exempt the individuals they naturalize from the punishment to which they are liable, for a breach of their prior obligations to their native land. If, then, Mr. Madison has found native citizens of America actively employed against her in the ranks of the British army, let him proceed against these men as he may think proper, and Great

Britain will never complain; but let him not subvert every principle of established law by his endeavours to destroy those obligations which every human being lies under to the country which gave him birth; let him not obliterate every notion of natural justice by thus confounding the innocent with the guilty, and inflicting upon the former that punishment which the latter so justly merit.

I have thus, Sir, performed the easy task which I have imposed upon myself, of proving the fallacy of Mr. Madison's arguments, without disputing a single fact that he has stated. I have addressed myself to the cool reason of your readers, and have not thought it necessary to excite their feeling by pointing out the great difference in the cases of the individuals of the two nations who are accused of a breach of allegiance to their respective countries.

Those who have been naturalized in the British colonies, were settled quietly by their fire sides, and left them only at the *command* of the laws, to resist an invading foe.

As it is notorious that neither the services of the natural nor of the naturalized citizens of America can be *commanded* beyond the limits of their own territories, her adopted sons, who were taken in arms against their native land, must have voluntarily left their newly-acquired homes, to raise their parricidal arms against the country which gave them birth, and to diffuse misery and destruction among their unoffending fellow-subjects—how widely do they differ in their degrees of guilt? Every man of feeling would regret the extension of the rigid rule to the former class, and every man of principle must concur in the justice of punishing the latter.

My task is now finished, and, if my sole object was to convince the public that Mr. Madison's arguments were fallacious, I should cease; but, Sir, my heart is in this subject. I cannot contemplate the approaching fate of so many brave and gallant men—I cannot see the hero, whose life has been generously devoted to his country, suffer the ignominious death of a felon—I cannot anticipate the prostration of those honourable sentiments, by which the high-minded men have mitigated the horrors of war, and have substituted that courtesy which lessens the evils of captivity for the ferocity which rendered them intolerable. I cannot reflect upon those events, Sir, without emotions that I wish had been never excited, but which I cannot desire to repress, while the melancholy causes of them remain.

If then an obscure individual may approach the president of the United States of America—If the voice of truth can penetrate into the recesses of the palace at Washington, I would thus address its inmate: For your own sake, Sir, for the credit of human nature—do not affix this indelible stain upon your character—do not inflict so deadly a wound upon the age in which you live. The lives of unresisting captives have, for centuries, been held sacred, even the lawless Corsican, if he had the barbarity to murder them, has not the boldness to avow it, but by his denial acknowledges the atrocity of such a deed.

Remember, Sir, that he to whose lordly commands you have long

yielded humble obedience—he, who has attained an eminence to which neither your talents nor your partisans can ever elevate you—now totters on his throne, and while you remember it, recollect also, that you yourself may fall—the voice of freedom may eventually silence the tumult of faction—talents and integrity may ultimately triumph—that peace which you have banished may return—that commerce which you have depressed may revive, and you may retire into obscurity—if then, Sir, you cannot carry with you that conscious innocence, which is the best support of declining age—if you have no prospect of solacing the hours of retirement, by pleasing reflections upon the good which you have done to your friends, to your Country, or to the world, do not add to that guilt of blood which already rests upon your head, for the carnage that you have spread over the field of battle, the harrowing recollections—the unceasing, torturing remorse which haunt the *deliberate murderer*.

Surrounded as you now are by servile faction, who implicitly receive your assertions for arguments—your dictates for law—perhaps you can neither find time nor inclination for such reflections, but consider, Sir, that the support of faction may fail you—that the instability of popular applause is proverbial, and that a time may come, when even the American people may indignantly demand why the best blood of their country has been split in the cause of men whose utmost claim upon them did not extend beyond a participation in their rights, while they resided among them—of men who were strangers to America and traitors to Great Britain—when the tide of popularity shall thus be turned against you, when you and your partisans shall be hurled from that power which you have exerted to drive the people that bestowed it upon you, to the brink of destruction; when the supreme authority shall be vested in the hands of men, who are unconscious of those sympathetic affections that naturally bind you to those who are enemies to their country—how then, Sir, will you bear the reflection upon those murders you now contemplate without emotion—you will not even find refuge in obscurity, your conscience will drive you from solitude, your contemporaries will view you with horror—and posterity will brand you with infamy.

Halifax, Nova Scotia, Jan. 7, 1814.

CLERICUS.

AN ADDRESS

To the principal Farmers, Churchwardens, and Overseers, of small Towns and Country Villages, on the subject of introducing Dr. Bell's System of Instruction into their respective Parishes.

GENTLEMEN,

In addition to the many useful and charitable institutions which do honor to our country, there has lately been formed in London one which promises to be productive of the greatest public benefit—I mean *The National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church*. Many other Societies have also been formed in various parts of the kingdom, connected and acting in unison with this *National Society*. The mode of instruction

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recommended to effect the desired object is new, and differs considerably from the manner of teaching hitherto practised. The design of those who wish to introduce generally this new plan of instruction, is not merely to teach the children of the poor to read, write, and cast accounts, but to bring them up in the principles of the Christian Religion; and there is every reason to hope, not only that children so educated will become useful, honest, industrious members of society, but that by understanding and practising the doctrines and precepts of the Gospel, they will secure their salvation in a future life.

Approving, as I do most sincerely, the proposed plan of instruction, and being convinced, that if duly encouraged, it will produce the most beneficial effects, I am sorry to find that many of you, who have the principal management of parish affairs in the country, are prejudiced against it: and, consequently, I am desirous of addressing a few words to you upon the subject, from a conviction, that if you would thoroughly consider its nature and beneficial tendency, you would rather be disposed to encourage and support, than to oppose and counteract it.

The observations which I wish to offer for your consideration, relate to two points: 1st. to the utility and expediency, in general, of giving a certain degree of education to the children of the poor, (without reference to any particular plan) and, 2dly, to the advantage and excellence of the particular mode of education now recommended, viz. that which is known by the name of "*Dr. Bell's System of Instruction.*"

I. The objections made by many of you to all proposals of establishing schools in your parishes, apply chiefly, if not entirely, to the idea of giving the children of the poor any education at all, by whatever method it may be conducted.

Learning to write and cast accounts, and even to read, it is sometimes observed, can be of no use to the children of the labouring poor.

Now to this it may be replied, that although the knowledge of writing and accounts may be of no service to them in the *early* part of life, it may be very useful at a *future* time, especially if they marry, and have families, and become housekeepers.

For although the poor *boys* who are instructed in village schools are usually employed for some years as day labourers or farmers' servants, yet it often happens that some of them, when further advanced in life, become servants in gentlemen's families, or keep little shops, public-houses, or turnpike-gates, in all of which situations (as well as in others which might be mentioned) a knowledge both of writing and accounts will be useful to them. Poor *girls* also who are put to village-schools, may experience, when grown up, the same advantages. Some of them may have occasion to write and understand accounts in a certain degree, even *while at service*. Several poor women are employed to *wash linen* for those who are in better circumstances; and these will find an advantage in being able to write and keep accounts, since they will be thus enabled accurately to copy the list of articles delivered to them, and to make out correct bills for their

customers. Others may keep little shops themselves, or being married to men employed in the occupations above mentioned, may, in consequence of the instruction which they have received, afford their husbands much assistance in their business. This knowledge, therefore, though certainly less requisite to the children of the labouring poor, than to many other young persons, is by no means so unnecessary as is sometimes supposed. But as to *learning to read*, it is certainly of the greatest use to *all* the children of the poor. If, indeed, they were *merely* to be taught to read, it might be doubtful whether such a degree of instruction would be an advantage to them or not; but it should always be recollected (though, unfortunately, it is always forgotten by objectors to the education of the poor!) that when we propose to teach the children of the poor to read, the great object is, to make use of this ability to read, when they have acquired it, for a *particular purpose*, viz. that of instructing them in the *Doctrines and Duties of the Christian Religion*; that, being brought up in the fear of God, and the faith of the Gospel of Christ, they may be useful, sober, and honest members of society in this world, and obtain eternal happiness in the next. This, I say, is the *great object*, and the art of *reading* is to be considered as only subservient to it. The extreme ignorance of those poor persons who have never been at school, as to the nature, history, and obligations of their religion, (notwithstanding all the pains taken to instruct them) is truly lamentable! Every parish minister who has been accustomed to prepare his young parishioners for confirmation, will attest this fact. Many of your servants employed in the field who cannot read, are almost as ignorant of the doctrines and duties of christianity, as the unenlightened heathen! And how is this evil to be remedied? Can your minister find time to give, or can they find time to receive, the necessary instruction by means of frequent and long conversations? And yet this is the only way in which elementary information can be imparted to persons of this description. Believe me, such a mode of instruction would be impracticable. The proper remedy is to teach all the children of the poor to read, and then by *reading* the Bible, the Common Prayer Book, and some short easy Tracts upon religious and moral subjects, by learning the Church catechism, and by being frequently examined in what they have read, they will at length acquire that degree of knowledge, which will enable them to comprehend the nature of their religion, and the duties to which it obliges them.

But besides the *general* good which may be effected by the instruction of the poor, there are some *particular* advantages resulting from such a measure, which deserve to be more especially noticed.

When persons who cannot read attend the performance of public worship in the church, and also when they appear at the font as sponsors for baptized children, they are unable to make the proper responses. Hence they become inattentive to the service, and are unconscious of the engagement they enter into, on the part of the infants for whom they are sureties.

Deaf persons also, who cannot read, and who therefore cannot be assisted in the time of public worship by the use of a Common Prayer Book, are not always able to follow the minister through the different parts of the service, and are consequently lost and bewildered in their devotions. In both these cases a knowledge of reading would be a beneficial acquisition.

Again, the want of this qualification prevents many well-disposed persons from receiving the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The uninstructed poor will tell you that they "do not attend this holy rite because they are no scholars." How desirable then is it that the poor should be taught to read in their youth, since such instruction would probably induce many to be frequently present at the Lord's table, who, if brought up in ignorance, may always be afraid to approach it.

Recollect farther, how useful the knowledge of reading is to the poor in the case of severe illness. It is proper that the minister of a parish should visit the sick; and his business then is not only to pray with them, but to enlighten their minds with religious instruction, and to excite in them true faith and repentance. Judge then how difficult it must be to inform the ignorant, or to awaken hardened and thoughtless sinners to a sense of their spiritual danger at such a moment, if they are unable to read! Bodily pain and disease distract and weaken the understanding; and hence it is found that ignorant persons, labouring under sickness, are slow in comprehending spiritual information and advice, and that their attention can be kept up only for a short time. Little therefore can be taught at each visit; and, except in lingering diseases, many visits can seldom be made before the sufferer is either insensible or deceased. On the other hand, when those persons are afflicted with sickness, who have been taught to read in their youth, and have been otherwise well instructed, the minister generally finds them not only acquainted with the Gospel truths, and consequently capable of understanding his observations, but he is enabled, by recommending certain parts of the Scripture to their perusal, and by leaving them some suitable sermons or religious books, to continue, as it were, his instructions to them even during his absence: and it is a fact, that instruction thus conveyed by reading at this awful season, generally makes a strong and lasting impression.

I wish you also to consider the blessing and comfort which an ability to read confers on the aged and infirm, who are no longer equal to bodily labour. In this state how cheerless are the unemployed hours of those who possess not this ability! how tedious the idle day! how irksome to those who in the season of youth and strength were ever active and industrious! To persons thus circumstanced the resource afforded by being able to read would be most acceptable. They might then employ their vacant hours in searching the Scriptures, in comparing their conduct with the revealed will of God, in acts of repentance, faith, and prayer, and in contemplating those future scenes of eternal joy which are promised to true Christians.

Surely when these things are considered, all candid objectors to the instruction of the poor must acknowledge the utility of *that degree of education* which the newly instituted societies propose to give them.

But it is farther objected by some, that

II. When the poor are thus instructed, they become *high-minded*, and *are above doing the work proper for their station*.

I must doubt the correctness of this remark. There may, perhaps, be some *few instances* of such an effect having been produced by education; but the *generality* of the children who have been brought up in Sunday and Weekly Schools will be found, upon enquiry, to have no such disposition. Those who have been instructed in the schools of this description with which I am acquainted, have, on the contrary, proved well behaved, humble, and industrious, in whatever way they have been employed. The fact is, that the instances of high-mindedness and discontent alluded to, have been occasioned by the *want of a more general system of instruction* for the poor. For when there are few schools for gratuitous education, and consequently a smaller number only of the children of the poor can be instructed in them, among those who are so taught, there may be some, who, on account of the education which they have received, will fancy themselves qualified for higher situations than those for which they are designed. But if *all* were taught *upon the same plan* (which is the object of the new Institutions, it is obvious that no one could pretend to higher qualifications (with respect to instruction) than the rest; and, consequently, the more you make the education of the poor *general*, the more effectually do you remove the ground of this objection. What is the case in *Scotland*, where *all* the children of the poor are regularly instructed in parish schools? Are *they* above their work in consequence of being taught? by no means. They are the most orderly and industrious class of people in the United Kingdom; and you may depend upon it, the poor people of this country, if properly and universally instructed in what is necessary for them in their rank of life, would be equally humble, orderly, and industrious.

“ III. Another observation sometimes made by those who disapprove of educating the poor, is, that they have generally found those of their servants *most active* and *attentive to their work*, who can *neither read nor write*.

“ This observation must apply chiefly to *domestic servants*, (for it is not easy to conceive how an ability to read and write, &c. can be any obstacle to works carried on in the field) and I suppose the meaning is, that domestic servants who have been at school, are apt to employ themselves in reading and writing, instead of attending to their proper occupations. But is this true in all cases? surely not. There is not a servant in my own house who cannot read and write, and yet I have never had the least cause to think that the work of any one of them was neglected upon this account, though most of them have lived with me for some years; and I will venture to say, that instances of the same attention to business in servants who can read

and write, may be easily found in other families. If indeed servants are so much employed that they are never allowed to have the least moment to themselves, *even on the Sabbath day*, (as it is to be feared is sometimes the case) no wonder if the more considerate and well-disposed among them should wish to snatch a little time now and then to read the Bible, or some other good book for their improvement; and I cannot think, under these circumstances, that the blame should fall on the *servants*. But even supposing that there may be some instances of a knowledge of reading and writing being a cause of idleness in servants, is not this inconvenience capable of a remedy from the attention of the master or mistress? and when we consider that the great object of teaching the poor to read, is to rescue the persons instructed from misery and perdition, and to promote their eternal welfare in a future state, should such trifling objections stand in the way of so great an advantage to their *souls*? Will any of you say, that provided your work be well done, you care not whether your servants are saved or lost in the world to come? and yet you must, it should seem, hold this sentiment, if, for the above reason, you object to their being instructed. You will not, you cannot, I am persuaded, hold such language or entertain such a sentiment. *Want of consideration* is the chief cause of your making this objection; for if you will reflect more upon the subject, you will see not only that the *children* will gain an advantage from the proposed instruction, but that *you* will gain an advantage *yourselves*; for if by the education proposed to be given them they will be taught to believe the Doctrines and to practice the duties of the Christian Religion, they will necessarily be taught to be faithful, honest, sober, and industrious, and consequently there is every hope, that when they go to service, so far from being worse, they will be much *better servants* than those who are entirely ignorant.

IV. There is one more objection frequently made to proposals of educating the poor, which I cannot omit to notice as being equally groundless with those already mentioned. It is this—"that if the poor be taught to read, they will read *bad* as well as *good* books, and that hence their instruction may be productive of as *much injury* as *advantage* to them."

This observation is founded upon the mistaken principle, that no knowledge, however useful, is to be cultivated, which is capable of being applied to a bad purpose. But if such a principle be adopted, you must object not only to the instruction of poor children in reading, writing, and accounts, but to their learning many other things. You must object to any young person's being taught the business of a *smith* for instance, because, however useful the knowledge of this business may be to the public and to himself, it will enable him to make *false keys*, and to *pick locks*, for the purpose of thieving. You must object to soldiers being exercised in the use of the musquet, the bayonet, or the sword, because however useful this knowledge may be when they march against an enemy, they may employ it in the destruction of their peaceable

follow subjects. Nay, I am afraid that if you are consistent, you must even object to teaching children the use of *knives and forks*; for though you are all, I believe, fully sensible how serviceable these instruments are, when you sit down to a good dinner, yet if they should be placed in the hands of those who are disposed to make an improper use of them, they may be employed by such persons in cutting and wounding each other. But who is there that does not see the fallacy of this objection? The truth is, if the children of the poor, while they are taught to read, &c. are also trained up carefully in the principles of religion and virtue, *those good principles*, instilled into them at an early age, will prevent any ill effects, which books of a bad tendency might otherwise produce on their minds.

So much for the objections which are commonly made by many of you to the instruction of the poor in general; and if upon consideration you are convinced, as I hope you now are, that a certain degree of education must be productive of benefit rather than of disadvantage, both to themselves and the public, allow me to say a few words upon the excellence of that new mode of education, which the Societies, before alluded to, most particularly recommend, viz, that which is called *Dr. Bell's System of Instruction*; or, sometimes, the *Madras System*, from its having been first practised by Dr. Bell at Madras, in the East Indies.

To give you a short view of this system (for it would take up too much of your time to enter into a full detail of all particulars) the arrangement of a *large school* is as follows.

1. The school is *divided into classes*, in which the children are placed according to their progress in learning. If any boys or girls are found not to be equal to the business of that class in which they are placed, they are put down into a lower one. If they are equal to the business of an higher class than their own, they are put up into it. By this plan no class is ever kept back in its learning by idle or dull boys.

2. In each class the children are *paired together as tutor and pupil*. Thus in a class of twelve, the six best are tutors to the six worst, and each tutor takes his seat by the side of his pupil, that he may teach the pupil his lesson while he learns his own. But when they stand up to say their lessons this order is of course altered.

3. To each class are appointed a *teacher* and an *assistant teacher* out of the children of the school who are most forward in their learning; and these are to attend the classes, to prevent idleness, to assist the children of their classes in their lessons, and to hear them read or say their lessons, when they are prepared to do so.

4. Over these teachers is an *Usher*, to act under, and to co-operate in all respects with

5. The *School-master* (or School mistress) whose charge it is to conduct the business of the school, and to see the various offices of usher, teacher, assistant teacher, and tutor, carried into effect. For which purpose he has a *high seat* at the end of the room from which he can overlook the whole school, and every person in it.

6. Lastly, there is a *Superintendent* (either a trustee of the school

or the parish minister, or other person) who inspects and regulates the system in general, and sees that it is rightly conducted.

The work of instruction in these schools is carried on thus :

1. The knowledge of the alphabet is taught, not as in the old method, by requiring the learner merely to look over the letters till the name of each is remembered, but by making him *form each of them with his finger in sand*, under the direction of one of the above mentioned teachers : and for this purpose little trays of sand are provided, in which the letters, when formed, are easily obliterated by a gentle shake. By this practice the form of each letter is speedily and effectually imprinted on the memory.

2. When the letters are perfectly known, the learner is taught to spell (and sometimes to *form in sand*) words of *one syllable* only : first spelling them in the book, then by memory. And here instead of the tedious and imperfect manner in which this part of instruction is frequently conducted in common parish schools, two very important rules are rigidly observed, viz. the lessons must be *very short*, (so that *several* are said in the course of an *hour*;) and the learner must be *quite perfect* in one lesson before he goes on to another. He is also required by the instructor to read his lesson *backwards* as well as forwards, and to go through them two or three times in spelling, before he is required to read them off without spelling. The object of all this is to make him *quite perfect* ; and before going through the lessons of one syllable the last time, he is taught the use of the various *stops*, as comma, semicolon, colon, period, mark of interrogation, mark of exclamation, &c. &c.

3. When the children are forward enough to attempt words of *many syllables*, they do not spell and read them in the old, tedious, awkward, drawling, indistinct way, but upon an improved plan. In spelling the word "*conducted*," for instance, according to the old plan, you would say, "c-o-n, con, d-u-c-t, duct, conduct, e-d, ed, conducted." But on the new plan it would be spelt, more expeditiously in the following manner. When the teacher proposes the word "*conducted*" to be spelt, the learner first repeats the word thus after him : con-duct-ed ; and then proceeds to spell it *straight through* without repetition, pausing an instant between each letter, and double that time at the end of each syllable, thus : c-o-n--d-u-c-t--e-d. And with respect to *reading* words of many syllables, the learner does not at first pronounce the words *complete* as they are usually spoken, but *divides them into syllables*, stopping a little between each syllable, thus : "he-hum-bled-him-self-and-be-came-o-be-di-ent-un-to-death." This is called *syllabic* reading, and when the learner is perfect in this mode of reading a lesson of many syllables, he is then required to read it *word by word*, separating the words and pausing between each, thus : "he-humbled-himself-and-became obedient-unto-death." Lastly, he is required to read it in the usual way. It is obvious, that by this method the advantage is gained of making the children *spell correctly*, and *pronounce their words clearly*, and *not with too much rapidity*, a fault which the old mode of teaching rather promoted than removed. — On all occasions

Indeed the children educated in the new plan are required to read *slowly* and *distinctly*, pronouncing every word *sufficiently loud*, and especially the last syllable of every word, and the last word of every sentence.

4. When a boy cannot spell or read any word required, or makes a gross mistake, or acquits himself in a way not to the satisfaction of the teacher, if any one below him in the class can set him right, or excel him, *he immediately takes the place* of the boy in fault, who is consequently more or less degraded. This practice (so unknown in the generality of Parish Schools heretofore established) is productive of the greatest advantages, for as *reward tickets* are given at weekly examinations to those who stand first in each class, it is an object with children to take places, that by getting up high in the class they may obtain these tickets.

5. Another circumstance which shows the superiority of this new system when compared with the old modes of education, is, that an accurate *register* of the *progress* made by all the children in their daily tasks is kept by the school-master (or school-mistress) or by the teachers of the classes, if they are qualified for such an office. There is also a *register* of the *offences* which have been committed by any of the children, both of which registers are inspected weekly by the superintendent. And finally—

6. A *jury* is formed of good boys, at the weekly examinations, to try those guilty of any misdemeanors which have been entered in the above-mentioned register of offences. Their judgment, however, is subject to the correction and alteration of the superintendent or school-master. By some persons this part of Dr. Bell's plan is not entirely approved; but whoever has been present at a trial before one of these juries, and has witnessed the strong effect which this public exposure of offences has had on the guilty, and the impression which a serious and public lecture on the nature of the offences committed appears to make on the whole school, will, I think, be convinced that it is one of the most useful and beneficial parts of the system.

7. With respect to *writing* and *arithmetic* it is sufficient to say, that the instruction given on these points is conducted with similar attention and care:—and, lastly,

8. *Religion* and *morality*, being the great objects of all, are most particularly attended to. In many of the old village Schools little more is done as to this part of education than teaching the children to *say* the Church Catechism and to *read* the Bible and Prayer book. Little or no *explanation* either of the doctrines of our religion or of any part of the Bible or Prayer book is ever given. But in this new system, from the time a child enters the School, he is made to repeat accurately, and to understand certain Prayers, Graces, &c. &c. which he is instructed to use daily. The Church Catechism is not only taught but *explained* to the more forward learners, in a simple and familiar manner; and to these sources of information are added select portions of the Scriptures, (particularly those containing the Parables, Miracles, Discourses, and History of our blessed Saviour;) together with other elementary religious books, calculated to give them that

knowledge of Christian faith and obedience, and those conscientious principles which will promote the public good, as well as their own present and future happiness.

Such is the outline of the new mode of education recommended and adopted by the Society lately formed for the *Education of the poor in the principles of the Established Church*.

But some of you will perhaps say, "this system of instruction is only calculated for Schools set on foot in large towns—it cannot be adopted in very small towns and country villages, for many reasons—we have no school rooms sufficiently large to receive any great number of children, especially if they are to be arranged in classes, and each class is to sit separately from another :—Again, we do not know what to do with the elderly school masters or mistresses now employed in our schools, most of whom will be unwilling to learn the new mode of teaching, and if they are deprived of their employments, they will come upon the parish.—And further, it does not appear practicable to introduce all the parts of your new plan into our little Country Schools."

But let me say a word to you on these objections also :—With respect to the difficulty of procuring school-rooms, it must be allowed to exist at present. If, however, you will turn your minds to the subject, this difficulty, like many others, may be overcome. Might not school-rooms, be built without any great expence, of *mud walls with thatched roofs*? Might not lords of manors grant portions of waste ground for such a purpose? Might not one or more *tenements belonging to a parish*, be in some instances converted to this use? Might not one or more tenements be rented of some *individual* for this purpose? Might not the principal proprietors of landed property in some parishes be disposed, if applied to, to *contribute* towards the building of plain school rooms? And as to the present aged school mistresses or masters who cannot be displaced without their suffering a loss, might not some be willing to learn the new system? Might not the school-masters and mistresses be disposed in some instances, to allow a portion of their salaries to the aged persons whom they succeed? At all events, when vacancies happen in these offices by death or voluntary resignation, the persons who are to succeed may be instructed in the system of Dr. Bell before they begin to teach. Whether indeed *every* part of the new system might be adopted in Village Schools with good success, is a question which admits of a doubt. But at all events, *many parts* of it might, I should think, be very advantageously introduced.

1. *Classing* the children according to their progress in learning, might, it should seem, be easily adopted, and would be very desirable.

2. The arrangement of *tutor* and *pupil* might be adopted or omitted according to its practicability.

3. *Teachers* might be selected from the more forward children to prevent idleness in the classes, to assist them if necessary, and to hear their lessons said in the presence of the school mistress or master.

4. *Ushers* would probably be unnecessary in such schools.

5. The *raised Seat* of the school mistress (or master) at the end of the school room, to enable her to see all the children, and how they were employed, at one view, would doubtless be of great use.

6. The *Minister of the Parish* alone might be the *Visitor* and *Superintendent*; or some of the *principal Gentry* or *Farmers* in the *Parish* might be joined with him in this office.

7. The forming of letters in *Sand* might be introduced, or not, as expediency may require.

8. The *whole plan of Spelling and Reading* might be easily observed, and would be highly advantageous, together with the practice of *taking places*, the *Reward Tickets*, the *Register of Lessons*, and the *Register of Offences*, usually called the *Black Book*.

9. If the *Jury* be not approved, or cannot be adopted, at least *Weekly Examinations* may be held, and a *Public Enquiry* may be made by the superintendants into the offences registered in the black book, so that due punishment or serious reprimand (according to the nature of the offence) may be *publicly* given by them to the guilty.

10. *Writing and Accounts* may, or may not, be taught, as shall be thought most expedient in different schools. But

11. The *Religious and Moral* part of Dr. Bell's System of instruction would not only be easily introduced, but ought to be considered as *indispensable*, and as the great object to be kept in view above all the rest.

12. Finally, this new plan, more or less complete, as here stated, may be followed in a *weekly school for six hours in the day*; or in a *Sunday School*, or in a school opened in the *evenings on week days*, and on *Sunday mornings and afternoons* also, as local circumstances shall require.

In offering to you the foregoing observations, my endeavour has been to remove your objections to the education of the poor in general, and to give you a short view of Dr. Bell's mode of instruction, so as to afford you some idea of its nature, and to convince you of its many advantages. If you wish for farther information, I would recommend you to read some or all of the following books, which the bookseller at any large town in your neighbourhood will soon procure for you :

1. Dr. Bell's Instructions for modelling Schools upon the Madras System, price 2s. last edition.
2. The Reports of the Gower's Walk School, White Chapel.
3. Hallingsworth's Address to the Public in Recommendation of the Madras (or Dr. Bell's) System of Education, price 3s.
4. Pool's Village School Improved, price 3s. 6d.
5. The Barrington School, by Sir Thomas Bernard, price 4s.
6. Suggestions to the Promoters of Dr. Bell's System of Instruction, by the Rev. Frederic Iremonger, price 8s.

Above all, I would recommend you to *go and see schools already established* on the new system of Dr. Bell; and I am mistaken if you will not be convinced that no method of education was ever yet proposed, so well calculated to save time, to excite in the children an attention

to their books, to correct bad habits and dispositions, and to infuse in the minds of all who are taught by it a lively and practical sense of their duties as Christians and as men.

With the hope that you will take the important subject of this address into your serious consideration, and that you will duly weigh the remarks which it contains, laying aside at the same time, all prejudice, and being influenced solely by principles of Christian brotherly love and public spirit,

I remain, Gentlemen,

Your sincere Friend,

A COUNTRY VICAR.

SPEECH OF TECHUMSEH,*

THE INDIAN CHIEF.

The following singular Document affords a striking illustration of the talents and sound judgment of some of our Indian Allies. It was contained in a letter from General Harrison to Governor Meigs, in which he says "nothing but infatuation could have governed General P.'s conduct in not fighting at Malden." "The Indians," he adds, "were extremely desirous of fighting there."

"In the name of the Indian Chiefs and Warriors, to General Proctor, as Representative of their Great Father the King.

"FATHER—Listen to your children; you see them now all before you. The war before this, our British father gave the hatchet to his red children, when our old chiefs were alive. They are now all dead. In that war our father was thrown on his back by the Americans, and our father took them by the hand without our knowledge, and we are afraid our father will do so again at this time.

"The summer before last, when I came forward with my red brethren, and was ready to take up the hatchet in favour of our British father, we were told not to be in a hurry—that he had not yet determined to fight the Americans.

"Listen!—When war was declared, our father stood up and gave us the tomahawk, and told us he was now ready to strike the Americans—that he wanted our assistance, and that he certainly would get us our lands back which the Americans had taken from us.

"Listen! You told us at that time to bring forward our families to this place—we did so, and you promised to take care of them, and that they should want for nothing, while the men would go to fight the enemy—that we were not to trouble ourselves with the enemy's garrisons—that we knew nothing about them, and that our father would attend to that part of the business. You also told your red

* The death of this Chieftain is stated in several of the Northern Papers, and that Commodore Perry and a British officer, recognized him among the slain, but Gen. Harrison does not mention the fact in any of his letters.

children that you would take good care of your garrison here, which made our hearts glad.

"Listen!—When we last went to the Rapids, it is true we gave you little assistance—It is hard to fight people who live like ground hogs.

"Father, Listen!—Our fleet has gone out; we know they have fought; we have heard the great guns; but know nothing of what has happened to our father with one arm. Our ships have gone one way, and we are much astonished to see our father tying up every thing and preparing to run away the other, without letting his red children know what his intentions are. You always told us to remain here and take care of our lands; it made our hearts glad to hear that was your wish. Our great father, the King, is the head, and you represent him. You always told us, that you would never draw your foot off British ground; but now, father, we see you are drawing back, and we are sorry to see our father doing so without seeing the enemy. We must compare our father's conduct to a fat animal, that carries its tail upon its back, but when affrighted, it drops it between its legs and runs off.

"Listen, Father!—The Americans have not yet defeated us by land; neither are we sure that they have done so by water; we, therefore, wish to remain here, and fight our enemy should they make their appearance. If they defeat us, we will then retreat with our father.

"At the battle of the Rapids, last war, the Americans certainly defeated us; and when we retreated to our father's fort at that place, the gates were shut against us. We were afraid that it would now be the case; but instead of that we see our British father preparing to march out of his garrison.

"Father!—You have got the arms and ammunition which our great father sent for his red children. If you have an idea of going away, give them to us, you may go in welcome for us. Our lives are in the hands of the Great Spirit. We are determined to defend our lands, and if it is his will, we wish to leave our bones upon them.

"Amherstburg, Sept. 18th, 1613."

AMERICA.

To the Editor of the Antijacobin Review.

The following remarks of the Editor of the Boston Gazette on the exposé of Mr. Madison, respecting Canada, not being generally known in Great Britain, you will oblige by inserting both in the next number of your Review.

WOLFE.

London, Feb. 1814.

From the Boston Gazette, November, 15.

THE CANADAS.

Exposé of the views of Government.

We have already expressed our ideas relative to the probability of an early acquisition to the United States, by conquest, of both the

Canadas. They may prove erroneous. We may not obtain possession of these territories in the next summer. But eventually they must be ours: and it is worth while to inquire into their value, and the means of holding them after they fall into our power.

The value of the acquisition has been questioned, and indeed vociferously denied on the floor of Congress, on election grounds, and elsewhere. Here is an ample field of observation to the statesman and philosopher, whom we invite to explore it; but, fortunately for us, it is equally open to the view of the common observer, in which capacity we will venture but a few remarks.

The two Canadas embrace and command the outlet and entrance, whilst they share the whole extent of one of the two great waters of North America—a water of itself equal in magnitude to the Rhine, the Volga, or the Danube, and in importance, when viewed in connection with the Mississippi, the Great Southern outlet, it is equal to all these mighty rivers of Europe put together. Our readers will realize our ideas of its importance, when they reflect, that the St. Lawrence and its waters alone, form the natural channel of export and import of a country, of sufficient extent and fertility to support a population of ten millions or more. Recently this majestic water bore, upon its bosom and upon our border, the exclusive power of Great Britain. All nations are liable to the storms of war, and particularly nations with each other whose territories are contiguous. Could we, then, in our right reason, expect long to remain in peace with a nation holding a sway on our border, which experience has proved to be vexatious, and commanding an outlet to the sea, the possession of which was so highly important to our northern territory? Canada must some time or other have belonged to the United States, or some of our Northern States at least, must have belonged to Canada.—The longer delayed, the more difficult would have been its acquisition. Since then our enemy forced us to war, and compelled us to territorial reprisals for her oceanic outrages, and still persists in refusing a recognition of our violated rights, we trust our readers will generally agree with us, that, the Canadas once ours, they shall be, as these states have been, forever divorced from British sovereignty. Their conquest was in vain attempted by the heroes of the revolution, when fighting in defence of their rights. Their descendants have now attempted it, and in the event of success, which we will not doubt, will have achieved the designs which their fathers had the will but not the power to carry into execution.

As to the means we have of holding these possessions in defiance of Great Britain, the advantages we possess are, in our view, peculiarly striking. Every enterprize on her part against us must at once be attended with no little hazard, great expence, and utter uncertainty as to the issue. Hazard, in the great distance and stormy seas to be encountered in every outfit either from Great Britain or any of her possessions; excessive expences from the same circumstances, as well as from the total ignorance to what extent she must go to produce any effect: and utter uncertainty as to the issue,

or rather an absolute certainty that every measure must be altogether inefficient and abortive, because it is impossible that any armament of sufficient magnitude to authorise the remotest hope of its efficacy, against Quebec, in our hands, can be sent thither without our government obtaining a knowledge of it in time to meet it with a greater. The measures of the enemy must be begun and finished within the space of five months in each year at a remote distance; whilst we have twelve months in which to counteract them in our immediate vicinity, and with the greatest facility. In short, we shall have possession, which in war, as well as the laws, throws the burthen of demonstration and attack upon our adversary, and places us literally on the vantage grounds.

From natural causes, perhaps, no single position in the known world so effectually guards the only entrance from the sea to a country of equal extent, as does Quebec the whole country drained by the St. Lawrence. Whilst from similar causes, there is probably no one point in any country at which the resources of all its parts may be so easily and speedily concentrated. And, when the distances to the various quarters whence they may be so collected are considered, there is nothing of the kind in any country to bear a comparison. We are informed by a correspondent, whose means of information are abundant, and intelligence and veracity unquestionable, that some few improvements of trifling magnitude, and no difficulty in French creek and the entrance of Presqu'île Bay are also necessary to the transportation of almost any quantity (say a thousand tons) from the river Ohio at Pittsburgh, to any point of the St. Lawrence, in twenty-five days, at one dollar or less per hundred weight. At Pittsburgh supplies are abundant and various at the lowest rates: flour, for instance, at three to four dollars per barrel, and generally of other articles in proportion, and in almost inexhaustible quantities—From the extensive and populous countries on both shores of Lake Ontario, we are informed a similar quantity may be transported in ten days at a third of a dollar per cwt.—but the first cost, though moderate, something higher than at Pittsburgh. From the North river, where may be collected more than one third of the produce of the United States, transportation to the St. Lawrence may be had for 50 cents per cwt. and the rout performed in from five to ten days.

From each of these great sections of country, troops may be moved with equal ease and celerity, and from Pittsburgh much more speedily, than heavy stores can be transported, these requiring, by a river navigation, from fifteen to twenty days, where troops would march by land only 136 miles. It must then, be evident, that 100,000 troops, if necessary, with such provident arrangements as are to be expected from our government, might on any emergency be collected on the St. Lawrence in a few weeks. By a state of preparation to resort to the use of means so abundant, the necessity for their use will be greatly diminished. The expence of holding Quebec, and this is to hold the Canadas, against foreign invasion, may be thus reduced to great system and a moderate scale.

We have already shewn that post to be within our grasp. Various chances and vast advantages unite in our favor, and against the enemy ; there is every excitement to the utmost exertion ; and on our own exertions and united effort alone depends the time (beyond the 10th June next) when it shall be ours.

REMARKS.

This is a grand picture, and not more grand than true, of the importance of the Canadas. We should rejoice at being assured that it has become the companion of every British Minister, as we are certain that it has long been of the Cabinet of Washington.

We have hitherto had occasion to detest the mean policy of that Cabinet, which has veiled its views under the false pretexts of this outrage and that outrage, and then another outrage and violation of the rights of the United States in Great Britain ; stunning our ears with an incessant outcry about " Free Trade and Seamen's Rights ;" and such like unmeaning gibberish. Here, at length, is something palpable ; an object worthy of contending for, announced with a manliness, which, in some measure, atones for past offences.

" Time and chance," however, " happen to all !" It was unfortunate that this declaration was not followed, as it was, no doubt, intended, by the Despatch of Gen. *Wilkinson*, announcing the capture of Montreal ! Then there would have been heard a shout of joy from one extremity of the Union to the other : flushed with success, all would have united for the accomplishment of an object, so ably, and so opportunely announced. " The Hero of Erie," followed by the whole " Common Council of Albany," would have drawn his sword, " given under a pledge never to be drawn but in support of the rights, honor, and independence of the United States ;" and the wily citizens of New England, would have left off *calculating the cost*, and thought only of future establishments for their offspring, among the " ten millions or more" of population, so pleasantly wafting their produce to a *market* upon the waters of the St. Lawrence or the Mississippi, and returning loaded with the riches of the world. A more enchanting, a more captivating prospect, to an American understanding, was never opened to the public eye, since the days of *THOMAS* of Salt Mountain memory.

Citizen Fauchet was an " Observer," at least, if not a " Statesman and a Philosopher." He had good opportunities for observing, for he resided in quality of an Ambassador from " our sister Republic," at the grand focus of American intrigue and ambition. He exclaimed, on an important occasion, something resembling the present : " What will be the old age of this Government, if such is its infancy !" Alas ! that the British Government should have been so far surpassed in penetration by this little Frenchman. That we should have heard so much of " common origin" and the libellous assertions of " similarity of manners, religion and language !" That there should have been men weak enough to make these the foundation of inter-national policy !

It is not, however, too late for the British government to retrace its steps, to fix upon a new line of direction, founded upon better observation. "Wars, as well as the Laws," are subject to delay. We presume, that the "taking of Quebec" is *put off*, to a later day than the 10th of June; for though we admire, and agree with the present production, in many respects, we cannot allow that its elder brother, to whom it refers, has "shewn that post to be within the grasp" of the United States.

Even this article is false as it regards the means, and relative facility, on the part of England and the United States of carrying on war in the Canadas, particularly in Lower Canada. The writer has relieved this part, naturally the *sombre* part of the picture, by leaving out altogether, or turning to his advantage, 400,000 "desperate" Canadians, and a *Canadian Winter*. After what has happened, we, perhaps, owe some apology for supposing the taking of *Quebec* in the class of things possible. But we will proceed:—His calculations are evidently founded on the facilities afforded by the navigation of the waters of the St. Lawrence. We will admit, that owing to some cause, similar to that which proved so unfortunate to us on Lake Erie, the enemy may be enabled, early in the Spring, to obtain a decided superiority on Lake Ontario: Can the writer imagine, that the Naval means of England will not, at last, be put into operation, to ensure to us the *exclusive* navigation of the St. Lawrence; the facility of transporting on its surface armies, and supplies, to any extent? Will the flotillas that can come down the Rapids from Lake Ontario, be able to contend with those that can come from the Ocean, or be formed at Quebec? The writer does not suppose, that the American armies can penetrate to Quebec *by land*. Indeed, no man "in his right reason," could suppose it: particularly after the affair of *Chateaugay*, and what experience has shewn of American armies. If 300 Canadian Militia prevented half the present disposable force of the United States from penetrating more than twelve miles into the Province, how and when are the United States to have a force sufficient to penetrate to Quebec, a distance of 200 miles, across unfordable Rivers, through alternate woods and plains, innumerable ravines, an army and an armed population in front, and acting at pleasure, and with safety, by the river, on their rear and communications? Winter would still leave advantages nearly as decisive in the hands of the defenders of Canada. In fact, *in the possession of a Naval Power, commanding the St. Lawrence, and having the good will of its inhabitants*, Lower Canada is unconquerable.

The facility with which the means of Great Britain can be brought into operation, are very generally miscalculated. Provisions, munitions of war and men, from the maritime *depots* of Great Britain, can be landed at Quebec, at *less expence*, in almost as short a time, and with *greater certainty*, than they can be brought to the frontiers, from any place of consequence in the United States. Of the numerous reinforcements, which reached Quebec this year, from the Medi-

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terreanean, from England, from Ireland, from the West Indies, from Halifax, not one man was lost by capture or shipwreck, not one, of course, by desertion, and hardly one by sickness! The army which the Americans have been two years in collecting, might have been defeated by men who, *three months before*, were in Spain, in Sicily, in England, in the Baltic, at the Cape of Good Hope, the West Indies, the Chesapeake or Halifax, all fresh and trained for victory. This is the power of the ocean! Every year, for twenty years past, vessels have arrived, fleets have, or might have, arrived, at Quebec, in the first week in May; sometimes in April, and have sailed after the 20th of November, and even in December. The *five months* of this writer are nearer seven. In the five months that the navigation is shut, we venture to assert, that an American army will never see Quebec.

Means fairly pitted against means, facilities against facilities, Canada *must* remain to Great Britain. We admit, that it can be preserved with one-tenth part of the effort which it would require to recover it; the greatest impediment to which, might be the *disgust* which its loss would occasion among the inhabitants.

Upon this view of the subject, which, we venture to assert, will stand the closest inspection, it is impossible sufficiently to admire the madness which has seized the people of the United States, in thus early embarking in schemes of conquest; schemes, too, as unnecessary as hopeless. Of what value to them would be, even Quebec? How long do they expect that the war would last, before Britain would cede Canada and her maritime rights. Or do they suppose, that the navy of England would fall with the walls of Quebec? They must have Halifax, they must have Newfoundland, they must have Hudson's Bay, before the "bosom of the St. Lawrence shall cease to bear the power of England," before she shall cease to hold a pretended "vexatious sway" on their borders. If they had all these, and the proud navy of England were to fall; would *they* gather the inheritance? Would they extirpate, or reduce to the rank of Virginia negroes, the original stock of the inhabitants of the St. Lawrence? How long, in any event, would "ten millions or more" of a population, occupying the country watered by that majestic flood, having Quebec for their only outlet, and no community, but rather an opposition of interest with the other sections of the union; how long would they submit to be governed by them? Verily, "some of our northern states would eventually belong to Canada:" which, in spite of the restless and grasping ambition of the United States, has before it high destinies, always in connexion with a nation to which she is joined, by duty and mutual interest.

Mr. Canning's visit to Liverpool, during 1814.

In honour of this event, nearly 400 gentlemen, the friends of the Right Hon. George Canning, our distinguished representative, assembled at the Liverpool Arms Hotel, on Monday, and partook of

an excellent dinner. The large room was fitted up for the occasion with much taste and elegance, being ornamented with festoons of laurel, and appropriate devices, consisting of figures, mottoes, the names of illustrious characters, &c.

JOHN BOLTON, Esq. in the chair.

In the course of the evening the following toasts were given :—

His Majesty the King, Duke of Lancaster—*three times three*

SONG,—“ *God save the King.*”

His Royal Highness the Prince Regent—*three times three.*

Prince Regent's March.

Her Majesty the Queen, and the Royal Family.

Our Glorious Constitution, the Pride of Britons, and the Admiration of the World—*three times three.*

GLEE,—“ *Good Subjects.*”

Duke of York and the Army.

Duke of York's March.

Lord Melville and the Navy.

SONG,—“ *Rule Britannia.*”

His Majesty's Ministers—*three times three—rapturous applause.*

On the President proposing the following toast, he said, “ Gentlemen, the toast I have the honour to give you, is such a one that any thing I could possibly say, would not add to its effect, I shall therefore, Gentlemen, content myself with giving you.

“ Our distinguished representative, the Right Hon. Geo. Canning, with our best thanks to him for his able and indefatigable attention to the interests of the town.”—*Three times three, with repeated bursts of applause.*

Mr. Canning then rose and expressed himself nearly as follows :—

Gentlemen, as your guest, I thank you from my heart for the honourable and affectionate reception which you have given me. As the representative of Liverpool, I am most happy in this opportunity of meeting my constituents again after a year's experience of each other, and a year's separation :—a year, the most eventful in the annals of the world, and comprising within itself such a series of important transactions and of stupendous changes, as might have filled the history of an age.

Gentlemen, in the sentiment which has been coupled with my name, you are so good as to express your acknowledgments for the attention which I have paid to your business, and to the interests of your town. You, Gentlemen, I have no doubt, recollect the terms upon which I entered into your service : and you are aware, therefore, that I claim no particular acknowledgment at your hands for attention to the interests of Liverpool, so far as they are implicated with the general interests of the country. I trust at the same time that collectively and individually, I have not been wanting to all or to any of you, in matters of local or individual concern. But I should not do fairly by you if I were not to take this opportunity of saying, that a service (certainly I will not pretend to say without difficulty, or without some burden in itself) has been made light to me beyond all exam-

ple, by that institution which your munificence and provident care has established—I mean that office in London, through which you correspondence with your Members is now carried on. I had no pretension to stipulate for this singular mark of attention, and neither will it, I hope, be thought presumptuous in me to say that it might have been impossible for me to discharge the service which I owe you in a way which would have satisfied every man's feelings; that I might, in spite of all my endeavours, have given offence, in some instance, by unintentional delay or omission, if I had not been provided with some such medium of communication between us. Of an individual, absent and meritorious, it is as pleasing as it is just to speak well; and I should not do justice to the gentleman whom you have appointed to conduct the office in question, (with whom I had no previous acquaintance) if I were not to bear public testimony to his merit; and to assure you that it would be difficult to find any one who would surpass him in zeal, intelligence, and industry.

Having dispatched what it was necessary for me to try on points of local interest, I know, Gentlemen, that it is your wish, and I feel it to be my duty, that I should now proceed to communicate to you my sentiments on the state of public affairs, with the same frankness which has hitherto distinguished all our intercourse with each other. Gentlemen, that duty is one which it does not now require any effort of courage to perform. To exhort to sacrifices, to stimulate exertion, to shame despondency, to divert from untimely concession, is a duty of a sterner sort, which you found me not backward to discharge, at a period, when, from the short period of our acquaintance, I was uncertain whether my freedom might not offend you. My task of to-day is one at which no man can take offence. It is to mingle my congratulations with your rejoicings on the events which have passed and are passing in the world.

Gentlemen, if in contemplating events so widely (I had almost said so tremendously) important, it were possible and pardonable to turn one's view for a moment to considerations merely local or individual, I should say, that, while to Great Britain, while to all Europe, while to the world and to posterity, the events which have recently taken place are matter of joy and congratulation, there is perhaps no collection of individuals who are more entitled than the company now assembled in this room, in great part I presume identically the same, and altogether representing the same interests and feelings, as that of which I took leave in this room about fourteen months ago, to exult in those events, and to derive from them, in addition to their share of the general joy, a special and selfish satisfaction.

We cannot forget, Gentlemen, the appalling omens, and the awful predictions under which I separated from you at that time. I remember that I was taught to believe that when I returned to renew my acquaintance with my constituents, I should find the grass growing in your streets. Probably you must recollect that the penalty denounced upon you for your election of me was famine to the poor, and difficulties to the rich. In spite of that warning you did me the

honour to elect me; in spite of the other warning, I ventured to meet you here again. I do not perceive that my election, as was intimated at that time, has arrested the bounty of providence, and turned back the course of the seasons. On the other hand, it is fair to admit that this is not the season of the year at which it would be possible for me to estimate correctly the amount of superfluous and unprofitable vegetation with which your streets may be teeming. But without presuming to limit the energy of productive nature, of this, at least, one may rest satisfied, that the fields have not been starved to clothe your quays with verdure; that it is not by economizing in the scantiness of the harvest that nature has reserved her vigour for the pastures of your Exchange.

But, Gentlemen, I am sure you feel with me that these are topics which I treat with levity, only because they are not, nor were at the time when they were seriously urged, capable of a serious argument: they did not furnish grounds on which any man would rest his appeal to your favour, or on which your choice of any man could be justified. If I have condescended to revert to them at all, it is because I would leave none of those recollections untouched which the comparison of our last meeting with the present I know suggests to your minds as well as to my own; and because I would, as far as in me lies, endeavour to banish from all future use, by exposing their absurdity, topics which are calculated only to mislead and to inflame. That the seasons would have course, that the sun would have shone, and the showers have fallen as favourably, if you had not chosen me for your representative, is an admission which I make without much apprehension of the consequences. Nor do I wish you to believe, that your choice of any other than me would have delayed the return of your prosperity, or prevented the revival of your commerce.

I make these admissions, Gentlemen, without fear, so far as concerns the choice between individuals. But I do not equally admit the same indifference as to the principles upon which that election turned. I do not admit that if the principles which it was then recommended to you to countenance had unfortunately prevailed in parliament, and through the authority of parliament had been introduced into the counsels of the country, they would not have interfered with fatal operation, not indeed to check the course of nature and blast the fertility of the earth, but to stop that current of political events, which taken at the flood, has placed England at the head of the world!—(*Applause.*)

Gentlemen, if I had met you here again in the same doubtful state of public affairs in which we took leave of each other, if the forces of confederated nations had still been arrayed in nearly equal division, and the balance of Europe still trembling in the scale, I should not hesitate now, as I did not hesitate then, to state my distinct and unalterable opinion, that perseverance, under whatever difficulties, under whatever privations, afforded the only chance of prosperity to you, because the only chance of deliverance to Europe.—(*Applause.*) Gentlemen, I should be ashamed to address you now in the tone of

exultation if I had not addressed you then in that of encouragement under distress. I should be ashamed to appear before you shouting in the train of success, if I had not looked you in the face and exhorted you to patience under difficulties.—(*Applause.*) It is because my acquaintance with you commenced in times of danger and embarrassment, and because I then neither flattered nor deceived you, that I now not only offer to you my congratulations, but put in my claim to yours on the cessation of that danger, on the termination of that embarrassment, and on the glorious issue to which exertion and endurance have brought that great struggle in which our honour and our happiness were involved.—(*Great applause.*)

Gentlemen, during the course of a political life, nearly co-eval with the commencement of this war, I have never uttered one sentiment, I have never given one vote, that had not for its object the consummation which is now happily within our view.

I am not ashamed, and it is not unpleasing or unprofitable, to look back upon the perils which we have passed, and to compare them with the result before us. And, Gentlemen, what is that result? We see a country inferior in population to most of her Continental neighbours, but multiplying her energies and resources by her own activity, enterprize, and intelligence, by the vigour of her constitution, and by the good sense of her people, we see her standing up against a formidable foe, throughout a contest in the course of which every one of her allies, and at times all of them together, have fainted and failed—nay, have been driven to combine with her enemy against her—we see her at this moment rallying the nations of Europe to one point, and leading them to decisive victory.—(*Rapturous applause.*)

If this picture were merely in the contemplation of speculative philosophy, if it were presented to us in the page of the history of ancient times, it would warm the heart.—But, Gentlemen, this country is our own; and what must be the feelings which arise on such an occasion in the bosom of every son of that country? What must be the feelings of a community such as I am now addressing, which constitutes no insignificant part of the strength of the nation so described? What (I may be permitted to add) the feeling of one who is chosen to represent that community, and who finds himself in that station at the moment of triumph, only because he discountenanced despair in the moment of despondency?

Gentlemen, in the view of a subject so mighty and magnificent as this, I should disdain to be turned aside to partial or individual considerations. It was impossible, however, not to say something of principles, because our triumph would be incomplete, and its blessings might be transitory, if we could be led astray by any sophistry, or could consent in a sort of compromise of common joy to forget, or to misstate the causes by which that triumph has been produced. All of one mind, I trust and believe we are, in exulting at the success of our country; all of one mind I trust we now are, throughout this land in determining to persevere, if need be, in strenuous exertion to

complete, and I hope to perfect, the great work so happily in progress. But we know that there are some of those who share most heartily in the public exultation, who yet in tenderness for disappointed prophecies, endeavour to disconnect effect and cause, in a manner which I humbly think erroneous—and it is an error which I also think might be dangerous, if unwarily adopted, and generally received. We have heard, for instance, that the war has at length been successful, because the principles on which the war was undertaken had been changed; that we are at length blessed with victory, because we have thrown away the banner under which we commenced the contest; that the contest was commenced with one set of principles, that the issue has been happily brought about by the adoption of another. Gentlemen, I know of no such change. If we have succeeded, it has not been by the abandonment, but by the prosecution of our principles, if we have succeeded, it has not been by adopting new maxims of policy, but by upholding, under all varieties of difficulty and discouragement—old established, inviolable principles of conduct. We are told now, forsooth, that this war has become a war of the people; and that, therefore, by the operation of that change alone the power of imperial France has been baffled and overcome. Nations, it is said, have at length joined their sovereigns in a contest which heretofore had been a contest of sovereigns only. Gentlemen, the fact of the change might be admitted without therefore admitting the argument. It does not follow that the people were not at all times equally interested in the war, (as those, who think as I do, have always contended that they were,) because it may be and must be admitted that the people in many countries were for a time deluded. Our antagonists say that jarring interests have been reconciled. We say that gross delusions have been removed. We both admit the fact that sovereigns and their people are identified. But they who say that this has been effected by change of principles, let them specify the change. What change has taken place among the nations of Europe? We are the best judges of ourselves: what change has taken place here. Is the constitution other than it was when we were told, as we often were in the bad times, that it was a doubt if it were worth defending? Is the constitution other than it was, when it was supposed that peace on any terms must be made as the only hope of saving it from popular indignation and popular reform?

Gentlemen, there is another question to be asked. By what power, in what part of the world has that final blow been struck which has smitten the tyrant to the ground? I suppose by some enlightened *republic*, I suppose by some nation which, in the excess of popular freedom, considers even a representative system as defective, unless each individual interferes directly in the government of the national concerns. I suppose by some nation of enlightened patriots, every man of whom is a politician in the coffee-house as well as in the senate. I suppose it is from such government as this that the conqueror of despots, the enemy of monarchical England, has met his doom. I look through the European world, Gentlemen, in vain; I

find there no such government : but in another hemisphere I do find such a one, which no doubt must be the political David by whom the Goliath of Europe has been brought down. What is the name of that glorious republic to which the gratitude of Europe is eternally due ; which from its hatred to tyranny, has so perseveringly exerted itself to liberate the world, and at last has successfully closed the contest ? Alas ! Gentlemen, such a republic I do indeed find, but I find it enlisted, and God be thanked, enlisted alone, under the banner of the despot.—(*Applause*) But where was the blow struck ? where ? Alas, for theory ! The blow was given in the wilds of despotic Russia. It was followed up on the plains of Leipzig—by Russian, Prussian, and Austrian arms. But let me not be mistaken. Do I therefore argue,—do I therefore give to our antagonists the advantage of arguing—that an absolute monarchy is better than a free government ? God forbid ! What I mean is this—that in appreciating the comparative excellence of political institutions, it is idle—it is mere pedantry—to overlook the feelings of nature.

The order of nature could not subsist among mankind, if there were not an instinctive patriotism ; a love of national independence ; I do not say unconnected with, but prior and paramount to the desire of political melioration. It may be very wrong that this should be so. I cannot help it. Our business is with the fact. And surely it is not to be regretted that tyrants and conquerors should have learned from experience, that the first consideration suggested to the inhabitants of any country by a foreign invasion, is not whether the political constitution of the state is perfect, but whether the altar at which he has worshipped, and the home in which he has dwelt from his infancy ; whether his wife and his children, whether the tombs of his forefathers, whether the palace of the sovereign under whom he was born, and to whom he may owe, or fancy that he owes allegiance,—should be abandoned to violence and profanation ?

That in the infancy of the French Revolution many nations in Europe were unfortunately led to believe, and to act, upon a different persuasion, is undoubtedly true ;—that whole countries were over-run by reforming conquerors, and flattered themselves with being proselytes, till they found themselves victims. Even in this country, as I have already said, there have been times, when we have been called upon to consider whether there was not something at home which must be mended before we could hope to repel a foreign invader with success.

Gentlemen, it is happy for the world that this sort of question should have been tried, if I may so say, to a disadvantage ; that it should have been tried in countries where no man in his senses will say that the frame of political society is such, as according to the most moderate principles of regulated freedom it ought to be, where I will venture to say, without hazarding the imputation of being myself a visionary reformer, political society is not such, as after the success of this war, and from the happy contagion of the example of Great Britain, it is sure gradually to become. It is happy for the world that this question, as to the value of national independence, should thus

have been tried on its own merits ; that after twenty years of controversy we should be authorised by undoubted results to revert to truth and nature, and to disentangle the genuine feelings of the heart from the obstructions which a generalising philosophy had wound around them.

One of the most delightful poets of this country, in describing the differences of soil and climate, and the various proportions of natural blessings and advantages dispensed by Providence to the various nations of Europe, turns from the beautiful vallies and cloudless skies of Italy to the rugged mountains of Switzerland, and inquiries whether there also in those severe and unkindly regions the patriot passion is found equally to prevail ; he decides the question truly in the affirmative, and he says of the inhabitants of those hard climes

“ Dear is that shed to which his soul conforms,
And dear that hill which lifts him to the storms ;
And as a child, when scaring sounds molest,
Clings close and closer to the mother’s breast,
So the loud torrent, and the whirlwind’s roar,
But bind him to his native mountains more.”

What Goldsmith has thus beautifully applied to the physical varieties and disadvantages of a country, has been found to be not less true with respect to political institutions. The sober desire of improvement, the rational endeavour to redress wrong, or correct imperfection in the political frame of a government, are not only natural but laudable in man ; but it is well that it should have been shown by irrefragable proof, that these sentiments, where they exist, supersede not that devotion to native soil which is the foundation of national independence. And it is right that it should be understood and remembered, that this sentiment of national independence alone—aroused where it had slumbered—enlightened where it had been deluded—and kindled into enthusiasm by the insults and provocations of the enemy, has been found sufficient, without internal changes, or compromises, of sovereigns and governments with their people, without relaxations of allegiance or abjurations of authority, to connect the nations of the continent in one common cause, to lead them against their tyrant, and to shake and (may we not hope to overthrow) the Babel of his power ?

Gentlemen, so much for the sophistry by which it was for twenty years attempted to persuade mankind, that it might in some cases be a question whether to acquiesce under the infliction of foreign dominion might not be preferable to the vindicating imperfect institutions against it. That sophistry, I trust, is laid at rest for our time. Another topic more peculiar to our own country has at times been interposed to discourage the prosecution of the war, and draws the more attention, as many well meaning persons have been occasionally ranked among its supporters. That this country alone was sufficient to its own defence,—sufficient to its own happiness,—sufficient to its own independence, and that the complicated combinations of continental policy were always hazardous to our interests, as well as

burthensome to our means, has been at several periods of this war a favourite doctrine, not only with those who for other reasons wished to obstruct the conduct of the war, and to embarrass the measures of the government, but with men of the most enlightened minds, of the most benevolent views, and the most unsuspected devotion to the interest and constitution of their country.

Can any man now look back upon the trial which we have gone through and point out any period during the last twenty years in which the plan of insulated policy could have been adopted without, in the event, at this day having prostrated England at the foot of a conqueror? Great, indeed, has been the call upon our exertions; great, indeed, has been the drain upon our treasures; long and wearisome has the struggle been, and late is the moment at which peace is brought within our reach; but even though the difficulties may have been enhanced, and its duration protracted by it, yet is there any man who seriously doubts whether the having associated our destinies with the destinies of other nations, be not that which, under the blessing of Providence, has eventually secured the safety of all? It is at the moment when such a trial has come to its issue that it is fair to ask of those who have suffered under the pressure of protracted exertion, (and of whom rather than of those whom I now address,—for by whom have such privations been felt more sensibly?) it is now, I say, the time to ask, whether upon a review of the whole contest, any man can point out the period at which such a peace could have been made, as should at once have guarded the national interests, and corresponded with the national character? I am addressing myself now to those, and to those only, who think the character of a nation an essential part of its strength, and consequently of its safety.

Is it when the continent was at peace; when looking upon the map of Europe you saw but one mighty and connected system, one great luminary with a number of attendant satellites circulating around him—was it at that period that England could have made peace, and have remained at peace for a twelvemonth? What is the answer?—Why, that the experiment was tried. The result was the renewal of the war. Was it at a later period when the continental system had been established? when two thirds of the ports of the Continent were shut against you; when but one link as it were was wanting to bind that Continent in a circling chain of iron, which should exclude you from intercourse with the other nations of Europe. At that moment peace was most earnestly recommended to you. At that moment, Gentlemen, I first came among you. At that moment I ventured to recommend to you perseverance, passive perseverance; and to express a hope that by a mere strain of an unnatural effort the massive bonds forged for your restraint might at no distant period burst asunder. I was heard, Gentlemen, by you with indulgence; I know not whether with conviction. But is it now to be regretted that we did not at that moment yield to the pressure of our wants, or of our fears? What has been the issue? The continental system was completed with the sole exception of Russia, in the year 1812. In that year the pressure upon

this country was undoubtedly painful. Had we yielded, the system would have been immortal: we persevered, and before the conclusion of that year the system was at an end: at an end as all schemes of violence are sure to terminate, not by a mild and gradual decay, such as waits upon a regular and well-spent life, but by sudden dissolution. At an end like the breaking up of a winter's frost. But yesterday the whole Continent was bound up, as it were, in chains of ice, and presented to the view one drear expanse of barren uniformity:—to day the breath of Heaven unbinds the soil; the streams begin to flow again; and human intercourse revives.

Can we regret that we did not lie down and die under the sufferings of the inclement season? or did we not more wisely to bear up, and wait the change?

Gentlemen, I have said that I should be ashamed, and in truth I should be so, to use the language of exultation, if it were the language of exultation only; but those who have suffered great privations have a right to know that they have not suffered them in vain; they have earned a claim not merely to consolation, but to something more. They are justly to be compensated for what they have undergone, or lost, or hazarded, by a contemplation of what they have gained. We have gained then a rank and authority in Europe which for the life of the longest liver of those who now hear me, must place this country upon an eminence which no probable reverses can shake.—We have gained, or rather we have recovered, a splendour of military glory which places us by the side of the greatest military nations in the world. Twenty, nay ten years ago, while there was not a British heart that did not beat with rapture at the exploits of our navy, there were few who would not have been content to compromise for that reputation alone; to claim the sea as exclusively our province, and to allow France and the other Continental Powers to contend for superiority by land.

Let Portugal, now led to the pursuit of her flying conquerors, let liberated Spain, let France herself, invaded in her turn by those whom she had over-run or menaced with invasion, attest the triumphs of the British army, and the equality of her military with her naval fame.

I do not say that these are considerations with a view to which the contest if otherwise terminable, ought to have been purposely protracted; but I say, that upon the retrospect, we have good reason to rejoice that the contest was not closed ingloriously, and insecurely:—when the latter events of it have been such as have established our security by our glory. I say we have reason to rejoice:—that during the period when the continent was prostrate before France, that especially during the period when the continental system was in force, we did not shrink from the struggle, that we did not make peace for present and momentary ease, unmindful of the permanent safety and greatness of this country, that we did not leave unsolved the momentous questions whether this country could maintain itself unaided and alone; or with the continent divided; or with the continent combined against it, whether when the wrath of the tyrant of the European world was kindled

against us with seven fold fury, we could or could not walk unarmed and unfettered through the flames.

These questions, Gentlemen, therefore, have been solved by our perseverance under difficulties and discouragements which, when related in history, will appal our posterity more than the actual suffering of them has appalled ourselves.

Gentlemen, for twenty years that I have sat in Parliament, I have been an advocate of the war. You knew this, when you did me the honour to choose me as your Representative. I then told you, that I was the advocate of the war because I was a lover of peace; but of a peace that should be the fruit of honourable exertion—a peace that should have a character of dignity,—a peace that should be worth preserving and should be likely to endure. I confess I was not sanguine enough at that time to hope that I should so soon have an opportunity of proving and justifying my professions. But I know not why six weeks hence such a peace should not be made as England may not only be glad but proud to ratify. Not such a peace, Gentlemen, as that of Amiens, a short and feverish interval of unrefreshing repose. During that peace which of you went or sent a son to Paris, who did not feel or learn that an Englishman appeared in France, shorn of the dignity of his country, with the mien of a suppliant, and the conscious prostration of a man who had consented to purchase his gain or his ease by submission? Let peace be made to-morrow, such as the allies have now the power to make it; and the meanest of the subjects of this kingdom shall not walk the streets of Paris without being pointed out as the compatriot of Wellington; as a member of the community which has humbled France and rescued Europe.

Can any man have a heart in his bosom and not feel in the contemplation of this contrast alone a compensation for the struggles and sufferings of years?

But, Gentlemen, as I before said, the doing right is not only the most honourable course of action; it is also the most profitable in its result. At any former period of the war, the independence of other countries, our allies, would have been to be purchased with sacrifices purposely made by Great Britain. Not a state to be restored—not a throne to be re-established—not a province to be evacuated—not a garrison to be withdrawn—but this country would have had to make compensation, out of her conquests for the concessions obtained from the enemy. How happily this work is already done, either by our efforts, or to our hands, The Peninsula free; the States of the Continent already re-established; the ancient order of Europe restored, Great Britain appears in the Congress of the world rich in conquests, nobly and rightfully won, and with no claim upon her faith or her justice, whatever there may be on the dictates of her generosity or forbearance.

Such, Gentlemen, is the situation and prospect of affairs at the moment at which I have the honour to address you. That you, Gentlemen, may have your full share in the prosperity of your country is my sincere and earliest wish. The courage with which you bore up in adverse circumstances eminently entitles you to this reward.

For myself, Gentlemen, while I rejoice in your returning prosperity, I rejoice no less that our connection began under auspices so much less favourable; that we had an opportunity of knowing each other's minds in times when men's minds are brought to the proof—times of trial and difficulty. I had the satisfaction of avowing to you, and you the candour and magnanimity to approve the principles and opinions by which my public conduct has always been guided, at a period when the soundness of those opinions, and the application of those principles was matter of question and controversy. We cannot doubt, therefore, of our cordial concurrence with each other, if any new occasion of distress or embarrassment should unhappily arise. In the mean time I am sure we shall be willing to bury the recollection of all our difference with others, in that general feeling of exultation in which all opinions happily combine. I now propose to you.

"The health of the worthy President of this Assembly."

The president then rose, and said, Allow me, gentlemen, to return you my best thanks for the honour you have done me in drinking my health. I believe, gentlemen, my political sentiments are well known to you all. I have ever been a strenuous supporter of Mr. Pitt's principles, and consequently a strenuous supporter of the king and the constitution; and, gentlemen, I do not think it possible for us to have done ourselves greater credit, or to have served the good old loyal town of Liverpool more essentially, than we have done by electing the worthy Representative who has honoured us with his company this day.

The 1631 loyal and independent Freemen who placed the Right Honourable Representative at the head of the poll---*three times three, with great animation.*

GLEE--- "*Great Apollo.*"

Lieutenant-general Gascoyne, the Colleague of our Right Honourable friend, and thanks to him for his services---*three times three.*

The Lord Lieutenant of the county.

Ralph Benson, Esq. Member for Stafford---*three times three.*

Mr. Benson then spoke nearly as follows: For the very high honour you have just conferred upon me, I beg to express my sincere acknowledgments. It is a distinction which, I must confess, is doubly gratifying to me; for I conceive it a mark of your approbation of my political conduct, and as conveying the assurance of your firm and steady adherence to those loyal and constitutional principles which have uniformly characterized the good old town of Liverpool. Such principles, whilst it is my pride to boast, I shall ever hold it my duty to maintain. They are principles which ought to vegetate and grow in every English heart. They are those of my Right Honourable friend, your highly esteemed Representative, whose eloquence this night has at once electrified and delighted you. They were the principles of that illustrious statesman, who guided the vessel of the State through the storms and tempests which assailed her on every side. Had it pleased a wise Providence to have spared his valued life unto the present hour, what would have been his honest exulta-

tion of soul to behold this country, for which he prayed with his expiring breath, not only not crushed by the colossal power which threatened it, but sounding its victorious thunders at the very doors of the proud Usurper, not only not crippled and destroyed, but with resources unexhausted, and vigour unimpaired—stepping forth to vindicate the cause of injured nations, and unclasping the fetters which had been forged by cruelty and oppression.

‘ Like a great seamark, standing every flow,

‘ And saving those that eye it.’

While I congratulate you, gentlemen, on the proud achievements of our countrymen—while I hail with animated rapture the successful energies of our allies, and the glorious struggle of injured Europe for long lost liberty, permit me to rejoice with you, that, while the sun of British glory is seen to shine with additional lustre abroad, commerce at home raises her drooping head; our manufactures revive, and the cottages of the poor now smile with plenty. In no place, perhaps, within these realms, has the scourge of war been felt with more severity than among yourselves. And how shall I find language, adequate in compliment, to the dignified and meritorious conduct you have uniformly evinced through the whole of your severe and protracted trials. In the midst of your privations, the exigencies of the State met from you a due consideration, and its demands were answered with cheerful compliance. In the bitterest of times, the needy and the indigent around you blessed you as their liberal benefactors; and distant nations, trodden under foot by the merciless invader, are grateful to you for your balm of sympathy and relief. None are there of you, who have not been contributors to these great ends—and few, indeed, are there of us, who have not, during this long and glorious conflict, had to lament the fall of some near and dear friend or relation. Here, indeed, I might particularize those who, nurtured in the principles of their sires, and prompted by feelings of devoted patriotism, rising to the high honours of their respective professions, have fought in the great fight, were ever forward in victory, and now lie numbered with the dead! But, far be it from my will to dwell upon a theme which might throw a gloom upon this hour, designed for festivity—‘ Peace to the souls of the heroes!’ The services of our brave countrymen will long remain impressed upon our minds, and their glorious deeds in arms will for ever blazon the page of history. To the multiplied marks of kindness I have so often received at your hands, permit me to express my obligations on the present occasion, and to assure you, that whenever my humble abilities can be at all serviceable, they shall be exercised to the promotion of whatever I may consider to be conducive to the honour, welfare, and prosperity of this great and populous town.

The Mayor and Corporation of Liverpool (proposed by Mr. Benson).

Our Lady Canvassers, whose active services secured the success of our Right Honourable Representative.

GLEE—“ *Here's a Health to all good Lasses.*”

Field Marshal the Marquis of Wellington, the glory of our country, and the champion of Europe---three times three---drank with repeated plaudits.

MARCH---" *See the Conquering Hero comes.*"

Our gallant countrymen in arms, and the brave allies who have fought and conquered on the banks of the Adour.

DUEL--" *Britons, strike home.*"

The president then observed, with every sentiment of gratitude and respect, I have the honour to propose to you,

"The immortal memory of the Right Honourable William Pitt, whose system and principles are leading the contest to so glorious an issue."

Song---" *The Pilot that weather'd the storm.*"

Mr. Canning then rose, and said,

Gentlemen, in the enjoyment of social or domestic life, there is no man who has not felt, when any particular gratification is set before him, a sensation of regret for the absence of some dear friend with whom he would have been delighted to have shared it. This feeling, gentlemen, which we have all experienced in the circle of our families, I am sure we all feel on public grounds at the present time, in reference to the great name which has just been brought before us. Gentlemen, we know, that up to the period at which, by the blessings of Providence, the late auspicious change has taken place in the affairs of the world, in every moment of distress and difficulty the name of that great man has been brought forward by his enemies as the source of all the sufferings, and the origin of all the difficulties, which we have undergone.

'The evil that men do lives after them ;

The good is oft interred with their bones :'

so let it not be of Mr. Pitt. If enmity is still alive, and active against him, let those who admired him when living, acknowledge, in the events of this time, the fruits of his long and anxious labours ; and, whilst reposing under the safety to which his councils have ultimately led, let them mingle with the enjoyment of that repose, a grateful recollection of him to whom they are indebted for it. Gentlemen, it seldom happens, that great men reap, during their lives, the full harvest of all their toils. Contentions, passions, enterprize, and the full operation of a system is not always seen, and is seldom acknowledged, while the author of it is an object of rivalry or of envy : but, gentlemen, when the history of these times comes to be read hereafter ; when events are traced to their causes, posterity will acknowledge, with one voice, that the stand made by Mr. Pitt, in the early period of the French revolution, and to the uniform firmness of his counsel, Great Britain is indebted for her present elevation, and Europe for the security which she is now about to enjoy. Gentleman, I am desired to give the following toast,

May the principles of Mr. Pitt ever animate the counsels of Great Britain.

Mr. Benson then gave, The Vice-Presidents and Stewards---three times three.

Mr. GLADSTONE then rose and said—Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, on the part of the Vice-Presidents and the Stewards, permit me to return to you their best thanks, together with their sincere acknowledgments for the honour you have done them. In such a service, Gentlemen, we may well say that light indeed is our burthen, and delightful the labour. After so rich and so splendid a repast as that with which our Right Hon. Representative has indulged us;—After listening with such gratifying and overpowering delight to a speech so pre-eminent for patriotic feeling, for the most comprehensive views of the best interests of our country, for those statesman-like sentiments on which only true greatness can rest, for that purity of taste and elegance of expression which I will venture to say in the present day cannot be equalled, and which I am satisfied we cannot sufficiently appreciate;—vain indeed would be any attempt of mine to detain you for a moment, were it not that the little I have to say relates to our Right Hon. Friend—I therefore trust you will for a short period indulge me, and give me credit for zeal where talent is so much wanting—(*Applause.*)

Gentlemen, the experience of many, and the feelings of all present, must satisfy them that great have been the advantages which this town has derived from the unceasing zeal, the unwearied application, the new but excellent arrangements under which the public business of Liverpool has been conducted from the time that we were so fortunate as to make choice of Mr. Canning to represent us; were my testimony necessary, I could willingly give vent to my feelings on this occasion, for, Gentlemen, I have been more fortunate than many in having had repeated opportunities, when deputed to protect your commercial interests in London, to witness personally how much we are indebted to Mr. Canning.—And you have seen that when our applications were passed through him and favoured with his approbation and support, immediate attention to your interest has been the consequence. (*Applause.*) Great as these services are to us, collectively and individually, and extended as they are far beyond the ordinary range or obligation of Parliamentary duty, yet I think you will agree with me that they sink in the scale of importance when compared with the public services for which our country is indebted—I well recollect the period when the oppression of France first roused the indignation of Spain, when the flame of Patriotism burst forth in that kingdom, when this country was called on to stretch forth her helping hand, at that period, Gentlemen, our Right Hon. Friend filled a high situation in the Councils as well as in the confidence of his Sovereign; he directed those energetic measures which brought the power of this country into action, he poured our armies on her shores, he told us that it was on the fields of Spain that the foundation of the deliverance of Europe was to be laid, that the safety and the glory of our country were intimately connected with such efforts.

There were periods in the contest in which some have desponded, and others despaired, but at no moment did Mr. Canning ever cease

to encourage us--at no period did he ever cease to enjoin us to rely on the justness of our cause, on the great abilities of our commander, and on the resources of our country;---now the results of these counsels are consummated in the fields of France!--it is there that the arms and the councils of our country are covered with glory---and it is reserved for us to congratulate each other upon events so gratifying.---(*Great Applause.*)

Gentlemen, you also know, that it was by the measures adopted in Spain, that the first link of the Continental System of France was broken, almost as soon as it was formed;---that System which could only give effect to its object by acts of the grossest injustice and oppression practised on weak, though neutral and unoffending countries; thus foiled almost in its origin, the French Government next presumed to say, 'that this country was placed in a state of blockade,' whilst not an enemy's ship of war dare approach our coast---it was then that the same councils, in which our Right Hon. Friend bore so conspicuous a part, advised the issuing of those Orders in Council, which were productive of so much advantage to the interests and commerce of the country. When they were first promulgated, many well informed men were alarmed, and feared that injurious consequences might result from them: I was one of that short-sighted number. But, Gentlemen, a little experience satisfied me, that they were the fruits of the most profound political wisdom, most honourable to those with whom they originated, and fatal to France in their consequences; that had they not been issued, we must have sunk under the pressure of exclusion; that the commerce we enjoyed must have passed to France in neutral bottoms, or in such as assumed that title; but, Gentlemen, those judicious measures not only prevented such consequences, but under their operation we saw the efforts of France thrown back upon herself; and when she presumed to say, 'that neutral nations should not trade with us,' we hermetically sealed her ports and the ports of those who yielded themselves up to her influence. In these measures, the energy of Mr. Canning was pre-eminent, though these orders were assailed from many quarters, though they were loudly exclaimed against as injurious to the country---still he firmly supported them; and we not only retained our own commerce, but that also which was intended for France flowed into our ports, and she could only obtain supplies with our previous consent.---(*Applause.*)

Gentlemen, at this period those countries which felt this injustice of France, but possessed not the means of protecting their neutral rights, were protected by us, but those who suffered and submitted to national indignity, injury, and degradation from France, while possessing the means of protecting themselves, could not be dealt with in this manner; of this number the United States of America was most conspicuous: this famous republic, this ally of despotism, to whom Mr. Canning's happy and well-timed irony has this evening been so justly applied; they, feeling the pressure which their conduct had brought down upon their commerce, acquainted with

and confiding in the continental successes of France, contemplating the fall of this great empire, willing to partake in the spoils our divided commerce was to furnish, she joined in the contest against us—she that ought to have consulted her own interests by uniting herself with us, unfurled her banners against us. When this period arrived, and war with America became unavoidable, our right honourable friend stood forth in the senate the active advocate for decisive and vigorous measures on our part, and had they been adopted, I am firmly persuaded that early peace would have been the result. Unfortunately they were not, and a sort of a sickly pacific warfare was all that we for sometime witnessed; when late, but I hope not too late, other more energetic measures have been resorted to. Many months, I trust, will not elapse before America will feel their serious effects, in the annihilation of her extensive commerce, in the stagnation of her cultivation, in the embarrassment of her revenue, in the dissension of her citizens, and in the hopeless prospect of her unreasonable desires, she already reads and receives her punishment. When conviction comes home to her government, when they are reclaimed from their errors, when they open their eyes to the true interests of their country, and abandon those pretensions founded in error, and cease to suppose that this kingdom is dependent on them, either for the supply of raw materials, or a market for her manufactures; then and not till then, I trust, shall we open our arms to receive them back into our friendship and our confidence.—*(Applause.)*

Gentlemen, do not suppose that whilst I blame the tardy measures of war adopted towards America, that I do not, at the same time, give them credit in common with you for the goodness of their intention. I have the most profound respect for his majesty's present ministers: I feel great confidence in the principles on which they act, and I congratulate you on the success that has attended their measures; but, gentlemen, there is a great and momentous period approaching, when the conditions of peace will be to settle and arrange, when our interests will be found mixed and blended with those of the allies; at such a period, the best and first talents that the country afford will be wanted—that energy, comprehension, wisdom, and decision, which would give liberally, but reserve prudently, will be doubly required. Gentlemen, what I am about to say, I speak in the hearing, yet without the knowledge of Mr. Canning, and in the most perfect ignorance of his sentiments on this subject, as well as of all circumstances connected with it; but I do say, that I should be most happy, (and I believe the country at large would be gratified,) and I do know it is the anxious wish and desire of you all, that at this interesting period, the councils of the Prince Regent should have the aid and advantage which they would derive from the great talents, and inexhaustible powers, of our right honourable friend; I therefore, as the friend of my country, do earnestly hope, that this event may not be far distant. *(Great and unbounded applause.)*

The immortal Memory of Lord Nelson.

GLEE—"Peace to the Souls."

Our magnanimous Ally Alexander, the emperor of all the

Russias, who has rescued Northern Europe from French tyranny—
three times three.

Holt Leigh, Esq. member for Wigan.

Upon which, Mr. BASSON addressed the meeting to this effect.—
“ I beg to be permitted, gentlemen, in the name of my honourable friend, to thank you for the compliment you have been pleased to confer upon him. I can assure you that he is anxiously alive at all times to the interests of this country ; and ever prompt with his aid in whatever concerns the welfare of Liverpool. Residing in your neighbourhood, he has long viewed with admiration the loyalty of the inhabitants of Liverpool ; but from the period that it had to boast of a representative in the person of his valued friend, Mr. Canning, he has felt a tenfold attachment to its interests. The indisposition which Mr. Leigh has experienced for some days past, I must needs assign as the cause of his retiring from you at a much earlier hour than otherwise he would have done ; but I must beg you to consider him as present with you in heart and sentiment.”—Mr. B. concluded by proposing the health of the committee, who had so admirably conducted the festivities of the day.

JOHN ASHTON CASE, Esq. then returned thanks in the name of the committee, in a very handsome and appropriate address.

The king of Prussia, who has so gallantly seconded the efforts of the emperor Alexander.

The emperor of Austria, who at a most important crisis united himself with the good cause.

The sovereign prince of the free Netherlands : may he merit and preserve the confidence of his country.

GLEE.—“ *Life's a Bumper.*”

Ferdinand the VIIth, and may he soon be restored to the throne of his ancestors.

The Prince Regent of Portugal, and may he ever remember that the best interests of his country are inseparably blended with those of Great Britain.

The Crown Prince of Sweden, and the brave army under his command.

Sir Thomas Graham, and our brave army in Holland.

GLEE.—“ *How merrily we live.*”

Sir G. Prevost, and the invincible defenders of Canada,

MARCH.—“ *Yankee Doodle.*”

Major-general Dirom and the staff of the North West District.

Captain M^rLeod, of the royal navy.

The Prince Schwartzzenburgh and his gallant companions-in-arms:

Field-marshal Blucher and the glorious army of Silesia.

GLEE.—“ *Merrily every Bosom boundeth.*”

May this necessary and glorious war soon terminate in an honourable and lasting peace.

The manes of our brave countrymen who have fallen in the cause of Europe.

The Wooden Walls of Old England.

GLEE.—“ *Britains best Bulwarks.*”

The mayor and corporation of Liverpool.

May the Rose, the Shamrock, and the Thistle, be so invigorated by union, that neither foreign nor domestic blasts may ever wither them.

GRACE, — *When Arthur first.*

The Lancashire witches.

British valour and British beauty.

Ship, colonies, and commerce.

Britain's glory — the British bayonet.

Plenty in the land, and loyalty in the people.

The good old loyal town of Liverpool, and the trade thereof.

The land we live in.

The worthy chairman and Mr. Canning left the room amidst the plaudits of the company, about half past ten, when JOHN GLADSTONE, esq., was called to the chair. — In the course of the evening, his health was proposed and drank with loud and repeated cheers; upon which he returned thanks, and addressed the meeting in a luminous speech, which we are sorry our limits will not permit us to give. — After Mr. GLADSTONE had retired, W. MOLYNEUX, esq., took the chair until the conclusion of the meeting.

Thus was spent a most interesting evening, Mr. Canning's presence was the more welcome, as his visit to Liverpool was of a social kind. Representatives are but seldom seen amongst their constituents, but when their political interests require their presence. Mr. Canning, in this instance, has given his friends proof of the amiable qualities of his heart, and by his friendly intercourse with his constituents, has established new claims upon their regard, and to the union of political feelings, and the charms of his eloquence, has given the additional strength of personal attachment. The circumstances of the times gave an increase of interest to the meeting. The admirers of the principles of Mr. Pitt stand upon high ground, and none higher than Mr. Canning, by whom they are so well understood, and have been so ably and so eloquently advocated. The public events which have taken place since his election have proved the soundness of those principles, and the wisdom of the choice of the freemen of Liverpool: and it is to Mr. Canning, and other senators, (though not themselves in office) that the present happy prospects, are to be largely attributed. Instead of thwarting the ministry in the conduct of the affairs of the nation, to all the great principles of their policy, they have given their firmest support. Assured of the aid of such auxiliaries, they wisely ventured upon a vigorous prosecution of the war in Spain, the great lover of all the movements which have taken place in Europe, and the praise is therefore not among the possessors of power exclusively, but among the advocates at large of those enlightened principles which have at length brought Europe back to the point of peace and security. This happy union of social and public feeling was conspicuously displayed in the uninterrupted hilarity of the evening, the company separating at a late hour, with a common sentiment of increased respect for their representative, and with animated expressions of mutual gratification.

ORIGINAL POETRY.

A CANADIAN PARODY.

A Knight of renown, to whom few would say so,
 Once his suit to a Lady would make,—
 The name of the Knight was Sir J—s—L—c—s Y—o,
 And as for the Lady, suffice it to know,
 'Twas she so far fam'd, of the Lake.
 And oh! says the Knight, though from England I came,
 To work o'er wide waters my way,
 To regions of glory, and folios of fame;
 You'll shun my embraces, eluding my aim;
 To all that I ask you'll say nay.
 Ah! hush says the maiden, these tones of despair,
 Unworthy of me and of you—
 Believe me, Sir Knight, in your passion I share;
 And am willing to try, by my faith, I declare,
 Whether you, Sir, or I be most true.
 Should e'er, gallant Knight, my fidelity fail,
 Or my honour a stain ever know,
 I hope that grim Boreas, who rides on a gale,
 And Neptune, astride on the back of a whale,
 May hurl me to Pluto below.
 The Knight then to cruise on Ontario's long lake,
 Betook him, when—list, and deplore!
 He found that the Lady who vows could so make,
 Though to honour and shame she had ne'er been awake,
 Had eloped with an old Commodore!
 With stars, and with eagles, and colours to gay,
 He her pride and her vanity fed—
 But from our bold Knight would they both fly away,
 Who pursued them by night, and pursued them by day,
 Till around the whole space they had fled—
 He followed, nor feared either tempests or squalls,
 For danger to him was a hum,—
 She looked at him coyly, returned just his calls;
 But rejected his presents, was shy of his balls,
 And refused to an union to come.
 And now to Niagara hastened the pair,
 The revelry there had begun—
 The tables they groined under true yankee fare,
 Of Pumpkin and Pork, every man eat his share,
 When the bells on board ship tinkled one.
 Then first with amazement the Lady observed,
 An Indian stood up on the deck;
 He looked as if long in bad weather he'd served;

His soul seemed all gloom, and his body unnerved,
He squinted, and bent was his neck.

With feathers and scalps was his person bedeck'd :
His hands, they were clay cold and damp ;
At this sight was all pleasure and gaiety check'd
All the ships in the port were already half wreck'd,
And blue burnt each binnacle lamp.

The Lady, though trembling, then banded a chair,
Begg'd he'd sit, just his strength to renew,
But ah ! who can judge how profound her despair,
When the feathers flew off, and all present declare,
'Twas the *Prophet's* grim ghost stood in view !

The sailors and soldiers that dwelt in the place,
With fear, and with horror all shake ;
Worms slipt to the earth and snails mended their pace,
While fleas and muskitoes stood fixed on his face,
As he cried—List thou Lass of the Lake ! !

Behold me thou false one ; and hear my dread tale—
To the Knight oh ! remember thy vows,
Since thou to preserve thy bright honour didst fail,
Grim Boreas is come on his charger the Gale,
And old daddy Neptune astride on a whale !
To take thee to Pluto below.

Thus saying he look'd all around him aghast !
While vainly her face she would screen—
Then Boreas so bluff, blew a terrible blast
While Neptune his net for the fair lady cast—
And she sunk never more to be seen !

So, 'tis said too, sunk HARRISON, MADDY's spoilt pet,
And none since his army commands,
And the newspapers—*Herald* as well as *Gazette*—
Declare that the ghost of the Lady mourns yet
O'er his sabre and sash on the sands.

ELEGY.

You urge me, Damon, truly to reveal
Why to the earth mine eyes dejected bend ;
I will not strive mine anguish to conceal,
For thou canst feel the sorrows of a friend.
To thee my soul hath told her deepest grief,
Whene'er she sought a soft and healing balm ;
And, like to Heaven, thou gavest sweet relief,
And through the breast diffus'd an holy calm.
And griefs she could reveal, if she was prone,
But they in mental bondage shall remain ;
For those are sorrows keener than her own,
Which swell her sighs, and yield her bosom pain.

Know, then, Eugenius was my early friend,
And truth illum'd him with her purest ray ;
At Hymen's shrine I saw him joyous bend,
And lead Clarinda as his bride away.

Nor were the sacred vows exchang'd in vain,
One mutual flame their placid bosoms knew ;
From love like theirs' without a selfish stain,
What lasting bliss, what mental joys accrue.

Contentment led revolving years along,
No clouds arose to dark connubial skies ;
And when encirc'd by an infant throng,
I read a parent's raptures in his eyes.

But lo ! how transient are the joys of man,
Though deck'd with radiance like the vap'rous bow ;
They reign at most a short contracted span,
The bright precursors to a flood of woe.

Full oft will men's imaginations tower,
Built on the base of human frailties ;
Which, like the visions of the midnight hour,
Will fade away as Reason opes her eyes.

Ah ! thus Eugenius saw his prospects fade, !
Saw lov'd Clarinda laid within the tomb ;
There saw his children in succession laid,
Yea, all save one, a flower of fairest bloom.

And she, sweet maid, with filial love inspir'd,
Wept o'er his sufferings and beguil'd his cares ;
Was all a father's fondness had desired,
A faithful prop in life's declining years.

And still had been but for a faithless man,
Who, like a Judas, own'd a demon's flame ;
Who work'd her ruin by a subtle plan,
And then consign'd her to the pangs of shame.

Degraded to herself, each comfort riven,
Her spirits sunk to peace, no more to rise ;
She claim'd forgiveness of offended heaven,
And fell to death an early sacrifice.

These are the sorrows of a zealous friend,
Which I have strove to soothe as well as share ;
But consolation has a fruitless end,
His star of hope seems clouded by despair.

Thus can I see his days in woe depart,
Without a pang, without a throbbing sigh :
An human being with a bleeding heart,
Ah ! can I mark and own a tearless eye ?

It cannot be—nor yet shall friendship cease,
To lure his mind from life's intruding cares ;
By painting heaven, and that eternal peace,
The free'd, the hope-confiding, spirit shares.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

An Essay on Medical Economy, comprising a sketch of the state of the profession in England, and the outline of a plan, calculated to give to the medical body in general, an increase of usefulness and respectability.

A new Novel, called "Moratan," by Miss Cullen, the Author of "Home," is in the Press.

Mr. Mac Henry, Author of an improved Spanish Grammar, has in the press a volume of Exercises on the Etymology, Syntax, Idioms, and Synonyms of the Spanish Language.

Mr. Hodgson's Treatise on Aneurisms and wounded Arteries will appear early in March. It will form one volume 8vo. and a volume of highly-finished engravings in royal 4to. which will be sold separately.

A third edition of Dr. Hooper's Examinations in Anatomy, practice of Physic, Surgery, &c. for the use of Students, greatly enlarged and improved, is ready for publication.

A new and greatly improved edition of the Surgeon's Vade Mecum, by Dr. Hooper, is in the press, and will be speedily published.

A new edition of Mr. Anthony Todd Thomson's Conspectus of the London, Edinburgh, and Dublin, Pharmacopæia, corrected and improved, is in the Press.

Mr. Stewart, Lecturer on the Theory and Practice of Midwifery, has in the press a Treatise on Uterine Hemorrhage in one volume 8vo.

A third edition of Mr. Warr's observations on the Ophthalmy, Protopthalmy, and purulent eyes of new-born Children, &c. &c. with many additions, is ready for publication.

Edinburgh in the nineteenth Century. Speedily will be published, Letters from Edinburgh by ***** This work will contain a detailed account of the present state of society and manners in the northern metropolis, sketches of its most eminent living characters, a view of the different parties in Religion, Politics, and Literature. Strictures upon the Public Institutions, &c. &c.

A new Literary and Political Review is immediately to be commenced in Edinburgh, under the title of the North British Review, or Constitutional Journal, to be published every two months. It is to be conducted on the broad and liberal principle of bestowing impartial consideration on every production of merit, without being guided in its selection by any party or interested motives; and will uniformly maintain a firm adherence to the constitution of the country in all its parts, and to the administration of the government, so long as conducted with the same wisdom and energy, which, in times of unexampled difficulty, have raised higher than ever the dignity and prosperity of Britain, and prepared the way for the return of liberty and peace to the world.

THE
ANTI-JACOBIN REVIEW,
AND TRUE
Churchman's Magazine,

&c. &c. &c.

For MARCH, 1814.

Il y a des reproches qui louent, et les louanges qui medicent.

ROCHESQUICAULT.

The Bride of Abydos. A Turkish Tale. By Lord Byron.
Seventh Edition, 8vo. Pp. 72. Murray, 1814.

The Corsair, a Tale. By Lord Byron, 8vo. Pp. 108. Murray,
1814.

THE muse of Lord Byron is so extremely prolific, that if she do not actually bring forth *Twins*, her offspring succeed each other with such wonderful rapidity, that it becomes almost impracticable to complete the examination of the beauties and deformities of one, before another bursts upon us. As his lordship, however, appears now to have completely filled his literary nursery, by the exhaustion of his stock, he may possibly afford the public some respite from the labour of perusing the gloomy effusions of his brain, and, for once, fulfil his intention to tempt no further the award of "Gods, men, nor columns."* But as, before his excursion to the East, he announced a similar intention, which he assuredly has not kept, we are not warranted in building very strong hopes on his present declaration.

Before we shall proceed to examine the poems on our table, we shall take notice of the two dedications, and, in our comments upon them, we shall avail ourselves of the assistance of a contemporary writer, who has animadverted, with appropriate strength, on the gross and glaring inconsistency into

* Dedication to the *Corsair*.

which this poetical peer has been betrayed ; an inconsistency which cannot, indeed, be said to amount to a dereliction of *principle*, because *principle* has not the smallest concern with any of the productions of the noble bard, but which, nevertheless, reduces the value of his praise, and the force of his censures, to the lowest of all possible standards. "The Bride of Abydos"* is inscribed "To the Right Honourable LORD HOLLAND, with every sentiment of regard and respect, by his gratefully obliged and sincere Friend, BYRON."

"Grateful and sincere !" Alas ! alas ; 'tis not even so good as what Shakespeare, in contempt, calls "the sincerity of a cold heart." "*Regard and respect* !" Hear, with what regard, and how much respect, he treats this identical Lord Holland. In a tirade against literary assassins (a class of men which Lord Byron may well feel entitled to describe), we have these lines addressed to the Chief of the Critical Banditti ;

"Known be thy name, unbounded be thy sway,
Thy Holland's banquets shall each toil repay,
While grateful Britain yields the praise she owes,
To Holland's hirelings, and to learning's foes !"

By which it appears, that

"—— These wolves that still in darkness prowl ;
This coward brood, which mangle, as their prey,
By hellish instinct, all that cross their way ;"

are hired by Lord Holland, and it follows, very naturally, that the "*hirelings*," of Lord Holland must be the "*foes of learning*."

This seems sufficiently caustic ; but hear how our dedicat^r proceeds—

"Illustrious Holland ! hard would be his lot,
His *hirelings* mention'd, and himself forgot !
Blest be the banquets spread at Holland House,
Where Scotchmen feed, and Critics may carouse !
Long, long, beneath that hospitable roof
Shall *Grub-street* dine, while duns are kept aloof,
And grateful to the founder of the feast
Declare the Landlord can *translate*, at least !

Lord Byron has, it seems, very accurate notions of *grati-*

* As the fashionable world have entertained great doubts about the proper pronunciation of this word, they are informed, that the ancients, as far as classical authority goes, pronounced the second syllable *long* ; but that the modern Greeks pronounce it *short*. R&V.

tude; and the word "*grateful*" in these lines, and in his dedication of the *Bride of Abydos*, has a delightful similarity of meaning. His Lordship is pleased to add, in an explanatory note to this passage, that Lord Holland's life of Lopez de Vega, and his translated specimens of that author, are much "*BEPRaised by these disinterested guests.*" Lord Byron well knows that *bepraise* and *bespatter* are almost synonymous. There was but one point on which he could have any hope of touching Lord Holland more nearly; and of course he avails himself, in the most gentlemanly and generous manner, of the golden opportunity.

When his club of literary assassins is assembled at Lord Holland's table, Lord Byron informs us,

That lest when heated with th' unusual grape,
Some *glowing* thoughts should to the press escape,
And tinge with red the *female* readers' cheek,
My LADY skims the *cream* of each critique?
Breathes o'er each page *her purity* of soul,
Reforms each error, and refines the whole."

Our readers will, no doubt, duly appreciate the manliness and generosity of these lines; but to increase their admiration, we beg to remind them, that the next time Lord Byron addresses Lord Holland, it is to dedicate to him, in all friendship, *sincerity*, and gratitude, the story of a young, a pure, an amiable, and an affectionate bride!

The verses were bad enough, but what shall be said, after such verses, of the insult of *such* a dedication!

We forbear to extract any further specimens of this peculiar vein of Lord Byron's satire; our "gorge rises at it;" and we regret to have been obliged to say so much. And yet Lord Byron is, "with all regard and *respect*, Lord Holland's sincere and grateful friend!" It reminds us of the *respect* which Lear's daughters shewed their father, and which the poor old king felt to be "worse than murder."

But Lord Holland being merely a *friend*, and a friend of yesterday withal, has no right of complaint in comparison with the EARL OF CARLISLE, who was "his guardian and relation," and to whom he dedicated his first poem. Even so late as the year 1808, LORD BYRON was the "most affectionate kinsman, &c." of the noble Earl.

Mark how dutifully and affectionately this ingenuous young man celebrates, in a few months after (1809), the praises of his friend:

" No Muse will cheer with renovating smile,
 The *paralytic puling* of CARLISLE;
 What heterogeneous honours deck the Peer,
 Lord, rhymster, petit-maitre, pamphleteer !
 So *dull* in youth, so *drivelling* in age,
 His scenes alone has damn'd our sinking stage.
 But managers for once, cried " hold, enough,"
 Nor drugg'd their audience with tragic stuff.
 Yet at their judgment let his Lordship laugh,
 And case his volumes in *congenial calf*;
 Yes ! doff that covering where Morocco shines,
 And hang a calf-skin on those recreant lines."

And, in explanation of this affectionate effusion, our lordly dedicator subjoins a note to inform us that Lord CARLISLE's works are splendidly bound, but that " the rest is all but leather and prunella." and a little after, in a very laborious note, in which he endeavours to defend his consistency, he out-Herods Herod, or to speak more forcibly, he out-Byrons Byron, in the virulence of his invective against " his guardian and relative, to whom he dedicated his volume of puerile poems." Lord CARLISLE has, it seems, if we are to believe his word, for a series of years beguiled " the public with reams of most orthodox, imperial *nonsense*" and Lord Byron concludes by asking,

" What can ennoble knaves, or fools, or cowards ?

" Alas ! not all the blood of all the Howards."

" So says Pope," adds Lord BYRON. But Pope does not say so; the words "*knaves and fools*," are not in Pope, but interpolated by Lord BYRON, in favour of " his guardian and relative." Now all this might have slept in oblivion with Lord CARLISLE's Dramas, and Lord Byron's poems; but if this young gentleman chooses to erect himself into a spokesman of the public opinion, it becomes worth while to consider to what notice he is entitled; when he affects a tone of criticism and an air of candour, he obliges us to enquire whether he has any just pretensions to either; and when he arrogates the high functions of public praise and public censure; we may fairly enquire what the praise or censure of such a being is worth—

" Thus bad begins, but worse remains behind."

We have seen Lord Byron's past and present opinions of two Noble Persons whom he has honoured with his satire, and vilified by his dedications; let us now compare the evidence

which he has given at different and yet not distant times, on the merits of his third *Dedicatee*, Mr. Thomas Moore. To him Lord Byron has inscribed his last poem, "The Corsair," as a person "of unshaken public principle, and the most undoubted and various talents; as the firmest of the Irish patriots, and the first of Irish bards."

Before we proceed to give Lord Byron's own judgment of this "firmest of patriots," and this "best of poets," we must be allowed to say, that though we consider Mr. Moore as a very good writer of songs, we can by no means assent to the poetical supremacy assigned to him, even in the way in which Lord Byron has qualified it, by calling him the first only of Irish poets; and, as we suppose, his Lordship must mean, of Irish poets of the *present* day; the fact is not so. We cannot conceive how Mr. Moore comes by the high-sounding title of "*patriot*;" what pretence there is for such an appellation, by what effort of intellect or of courage he has placed his name above those idols of Irish worship, Messrs. Scully, Connell, and Dromgoole? Mr. Moore has written words to Irish tunes; so did Burns for his national airs; but whoever called Burns the "firmest of patriots" on the score of his contributions to the Scots Magazine?

Mr. Moore, we are aware, has been accused of tuning his harpichord to the key-note of a faction, and of substituting, wherever he could, a party spirit for the spirit of poetry; this, in the opinion of most persons, would derogate even from his poetical character, but we hope that Lord Byron stands alone in considering that such a prostitution of the muse entitles him to the name of patriot. Mr. Moore, it seems, is an Irishman, and, we believe, a Roman Catholic; he appears to be, at least in his poetry, no great friend to the connexion of Ireland with England. One or two of his ditties are quoted in Ireland as *laments* upon certain worthy persons whose lives were terminated by the hand of the law, in some of the unfortunate disturbances which have afflicted that country; and one of his most admired songs begins with a stanza, which we hope the Attorney-General will pardon us for quoting:

"Let Erin remember the days of old,
Ere her faithless sons betrayed her,
When Malachy wore the collar of gold,
Which he won from her proud Invader;
When her Kings, with standard of green unfurl'd,
Led the Red Branch Knights to danger,
Ere the emerald gem of the western world,
Was set in the crown of a Stranger."

This will pretty well satisfy an English reader, that, if it be any ingredient of patriotism to promote the affectionate connexion of the English isles under the constitutional settlement made at the revolution and at the union; and if the foregoing verses speak Mr. Moore's sentiments, he has the same claims to the name of "*patriot*" that Lord Byron has to the title of "trustworthy;" but if these and similar verses do *not* speak Mr. Moore's political sentiments, then undoubtedly he has never written, or at least published any thing relating to public affairs; and Lord Byron has no kind of pretence for talking of the political character and public principles of an humble individual who is only known as the translator of Anacreon, and the writer, composer, and singer of certain songs, which songs do not (*ex-hypothesi*) speak the sentiments even of the writer himself.

But, hold—we had forgot one circumstance: Mr. Moore has been said to be one of the authors of certain verses on the highest characters of the state, which appeared from time to time, in the *Morning Chronicle*, and which were afterwards collected into a little volume, of which our readers will find some notice in a subsequent article; this may, probably be in Lord Byron's opinion, a clear title to the name of *patriot*, in which case, his Lordship has also his claim to the same honour; and indeed that sagacious and loyal person, the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, seems to be of this notion; for when some one ventured to express some, we think, not unnatural, indignation at Lord Byron's having been the author of some impudent doggrels, of the same vein which appeared anonymously in that paper reflecting on his Royal Highness the Prince Regent and her Royal Highness his daughter, the Editor before-mentioned exclaimed—"What! and is not a Peer, an hereditary councillor of the Crown, to be permitted to give his constitutional advice? !!!"

If writing such vile and anonymous stuff as is sometimes read in the *Morning Chronicle* be the duty of a good subject, or the privilege of a Peer of Parliament, then indeed we have nothing to object to Mr. Moore's title of Patriot, or to Lord Byron's open, honourable, manly, and constitutional method of advising the Crown.

To return, however, to our main object, Lord Byron's *consistency, truth, and trust-worthiness*,

His Lordship is pleased to call Mr. Moore not only Patriot and Poet, but he acquaints us also, that "he is the delight alike of his readers and his friends; the poet of all circles, and the idol of his own."

Let us now turn to Lord Byron's thrice-recorded opinion of "*this poet of all circles.*" We shall quote from a Poem which was re-published, improved, amended, and re-considered, not more than *three* years ago ; since which time Mr. Moore has published no Poem whatsoever : therefore, Lord Byron's former and his present opinions are founded upon the same data, and if they do not agree, it really is no fault of Mr. Moore's, who has published nothing to alter them.

" Now look around and turn each *trifling* page,
Survey the *precious* works that please the age,
While Little's lyrics shine in hot pressed twelves."

Here, by no great length of induction, we find that Little's, i. e. Mr. Thomas Moore's, lyrics, are *trifling*, "*precious* works," his Lordship ironically adds, that " please times from which," as his Lordship says, " taste and reason are passed away !"

Bye and by his Lordship delivers a still more plain opinion on Mr. Moore's fitness to be the "*Poet of ALL circles.*"

" Who in soft guise surrounded by a quire
Of virgins *melting*, not to *Vesta's* fire.
" With sparkling eyes, and cheek by *passion* flush'd,
Strikes his wild lyre, while listening dames are hush'd ;
'Tis Little, young Catullus of his day,
As sweet, but as immoral, in his lay ;
Griev'd to condemn, the Muse must yet be just,
Nor spare melodious *advocates of lust* !"

O cælum et terra ! as *Lingo* says : what ? this purest of Patriots is *immoral* ? What, " the Poet of *all circles*," is " the advocate of *lust* !" Monstrous ! but who can doubt Byron ? and his Lordship, in a subsequent passage, does not hesitate to speak still more plainly, and to declare, in plain round terms (we shudder while we copy) that Moore, the Poet, the Patriot "*Moore, is lewd !*"

After this, we humbly apprehend that if we were to " trust Byron," Mr. Moore, however he may be the idol of his own circle, would find some little difficulty in obtaining admittance into any other.

Lord Byron having thus disposed, as far as depended upon him, of the moral character of the first of Patriots and Poets, takes an early opportunity of doing justice to the personal honour of this dear " friend ;" one, as his Lordship expresses it, of " the magnificent and fiery spirited" sons of Erin.

" In 1806," says Lord Byron, " Messrs. Jeffery and Moore met at Chalk Farm—the duel was prevented by the interfe-

rence of the Magistracy, and on examination, the balls of the pistols, *like the courage of the combatants, were found to have evaporated.*"

"Magnificent and fiery spirit," with a vengeance!

We are far from thinking of Mr. Moore as Lord Byron either did or does; not so degradingly as his Lordship did in 1810; not so extravagantly as he does in 1813. But we think that Mr. Moore has grave reason, of complaint, and almost just cause, to exert "his fiery spirit" against Lord Byron, who has the effrontery to drag him twice before the public, and overwhelm him, one day with odium, and another with ridicule.

We regret that Lord Byron, by obliging us to examine the value of his censures, has forced us to contrast his past with his present judgments, and to bring again before the public the objects of his lampoons and his flatteries. We have, however, much less remorse in quoting his satire than his dedications; for, by this time, we believe, the whole world is inclined to admit, that his Lordship can pay no compliment so valuable as his censure; nor offer any insult so intolerable as his praise.

Before we state one other flagrant instance of Lord Byron's tergiversation, we have a remark or two to make on a personage whom his Lordship, for a wonder, uniformly praises; and if we had any respect or regard for that small poet and very disagreeable person, Mr. Sam Rogers, we should heartily pity him for being "damned" to such "fame" as Lord Byron's uninterrupted praise can give.

But Mr. Sam Rogers has another cause of complaint against Lord Byron, and which he is of a taste to resent more—His Lordship has not deigned to call him "the firmest of patriots," though we have heard that his claims to that title are not much inferior to Mr. Moore's. Mr. Sam Rogers is reported to have clubb'd with the Irish Anacreon in that scurrilous collection of verses, which we have before mentioned, and which were published under the title of the "Twopenny Post-bag," and the assumed name of "Thomas Brown." The rumour may be unfounded; if it be, Messrs. Rogers and Moore will easily forgive us for saying, that, much as we are astonished at the effrontery with which Lord Byron has acknowledged his lampoon, we infinitely prefer it to the cowardly prudence of the author or authors of the "Twopenny Post-bag," lurking behind a fictitious name, and "devising impossible slanders," which he or they have not the spirit to avow.

But, to return to the more immediate subject of our lucubra-

tions: It seems almost like a fatality, that Lord Byron had hardly ever praised any thing that he has not at some other period censured, or censured any thing that he has not, by and bye, praised or practised.

It does not often happen that booksellers are assailed for their too great liberality to Authors, yet, in Lord Byron's satire, while Mr. Scott is abused, his publisher, Mr. Murray, is sneered at, in the following lines :

" And think'st thou, Scott, by vain conceit perchance,
On public taste to foist thy stale romance :
Though Murray with his Miller may combine,
To yield thy Muse just HALF A-CROWN A LINE ?
No ! when the sons of song descend to trade,
Their bays are scar, their former laurels fade.
Let such forego the poet's sacred name,
Who rack their brains for lucre, not for fame :
Low may they sink to merited contempt,
And scorn remunerate the mean attempt."

Now, is it not almost incredible, that this very Murray (the only remaining one of the booksellers whom his Lordship had attacked ; Miller has left the trade ;) is it not, we say, almost incredible, that this very Murray should have been soon after selected by this very Lord Byron, to be his own publisher ? But what will our readers say, when we assure them, that not only was Murray so selected, but that this magnanimous young Lord has actually sold his works to this same Murray ; and, what is a yet more singular circumstance, has received, we will not say pocketted (because he is said to have given the whole produce of two of his poems to a literary character, who is distantly related to him) for one of his own poems, a sum amounting not only to ' half a crown a line ' (Mr. Scott, by the bye, is reported to have received fourteen shillings a line for his last and worst poem, Rokeby) but to a whole crown a line.

" The faded laurel," then, " the brains rack'd for lucre," the " merited contempt," " the scorn," and " the meanness," which this querulous and consequential young man has ascribed to Mr. Scott, appear to have been a mere anticipation of his own future proceedings, for, if the poems are written for sale, and are sold, it matters little, in this view of the case, into whose hands the money ultimately fall ; and thus,

————— Even-handed Justice
Commends the ingredients of his poison'd chalice
To his own lips.

But, it is curious to observe, how Lord Byron's tone is

changed, in respect of Mr. Scott. In his dedication to "the Corsair," he says, "Scott alone, of the present generation, has hitherto completely triumphed over the fatal facility of the octo-syllabic verse; and this is not the least victory of *his fertile and mighty genius*." This is blowing hot and cold with a vengeance! Nor have we, even yet, quite done with his lordship's inconsistent vagaries.

It must be amusing to those who know any thing of Lord Byron in the circles of London, to find him magnanimously defying, in very stout heroics,

"——all the din of *Mellourn House*

"And *Lambes'* resentment——"

and adding, that he is "*unscared*" even by "*Holland's spouse*."

To those who may be in the habit of hearing his Lordship's political decants, the following extract will appear equally curious:—

"Mr. Brougham, in No. 25 of the *Edinburgh Review*, throughout the article concerning Don Pedro Cevallos, has displayed more politics than policy; many of the worthy burghesses of Edinburgh being so *incensed at the infamous principles it evinces*, as to have withdrawn their subscriptions;" and in the text of this poem, to which the foregoing is a note, he advises the Editor of the Review to

"Beware, lest *blundering Brougham* destroy the sale;

Turn beef to bannacks, cauliflower to 'kail."

Those who have attended to his lordship's progress as an author and observed that he has published *four* poems, in little more than two years, will start at the following lines.

"——— O cease thy song!

A bard may chaunt too often and too long;

As thou art strong in verse, in mercy spare;

A *FOURTH*, alas, were more than we could bear."

And as the scene of each of these *four* Poems is laid in the Levant, it is curious to recollect, that when his Lordship informed the world that he was about to visit "*Afric's coast*," and "*Calpe's height*," and "*Stamboul's minarets*," and "*Beauty's native clime*," he enters into a voluntary and solemn engagement with the public,

"That should he back return, no letter'd rage

Shall drag *his* common-place book on the stage;

Of Dardan tours let Dilettanti tell,

He'll leave topography to classic Gell,
And, *quite content*, no more shall interpose,
To *stun* mankind with *poetry or prose*."

And yet we have already had, growing out of this "Tour," four volumes of *poetry*, enriched with copious notes in *prose* selected from his "*common place book*." The whole interspersed every here and there with the most convincing proofs that instead of being "*quite content*," his Lordship has returned, as he went out, the most discontented and peevish thing that breathes.

But the passage of all others which gives us the most delight is, that in which his Lordship attacks his critics, and declares that

"Our men in Buckram shall have blows enough,
And feel they too are penetrable stuff."

And adds,

—————"I have——
"Learn'd to deride the Critic's stern decree,
And *break him on the wheel he meant for me*."

We should now with all humility ask his Lordship whether he yet feels that "he too is penetrable stuff," and we should further wish to know how he likes being "*broken on the wheel he meant for*" others?

When his Lordship shall have sufficiently pondered on these questions, we may possibly have one or two more to propound to him.

We shall dismiss his lordship's prose, before we take cognizance of his poetry. In his dedication to the "*Corsair*," the adulation of Mr. Moore is fulsome even to disgust; he adverts to a project of that gentleman for "the composition of a poem *whose scene will be laid in the East*;" and he tells him, "Your imagination will create a warmer sun, and less clouded sky; but wildness, tenderness, and originality, are part of your national claim of oriental descent, to which you have already thus proved your title more clearly than the most zealous of your country's *antiquarians*.*

In allusion to his former publications, which have been re-

* In a sentence which has neither sense nor meaning to recommend it, it would be too much, perhaps, to expect a rigid attention to grammatical accuracy; but surely it were not unreasonable to expect, that a writer who quotes Greek incessantly should know the distinction between an *adjective* and a *substantive*.

ferred to above, in order to mark his inconsistency, he speaks of them as "compositions, *whose former circulation is part of my present, and will be of my future, regret.*" But he does not condescend to state to the public one single reason for the revolution which has taken place in his sentiments; nor even to note to what extent that revolution has proceeded, nor to what persons it applies. This is treating the public rather cavalierly; and is a very ungrateful return for the protection and countenance which that public has afforded to his works. There may, indeed, be policy in it; for certainly the attempt to reconcile contradictions would have been too much even for Lord Byron's assurance to support. But our readers must be reminded, that the opinions, the promulgation of which he thus professes to regret, were not the hasty ebullitions of passion, but the deliberate decisions of judgment. Time, ample time, was afforded for re-consideration and correction, by the successive editions through which the publication which contained them passed. But so far was the author from finding any thing which required correction, and so firmly did he adhere to the opinions which he had advanced, that, though the first edition had appeared anonymously, he thought proper to prefix his name to the second; and we gave him due praise for his manliness in so doing. Who then will give him credit for the assertion, that the circulation of those compositions forms a subject of present, and will be the subject of future, regret, to him? He who spares no one must bear to be told, that a tone and spirit of dogmatism very ill become a man, whose opinions and whose principles are as unsettled as the wind; and who seems to take delight only in venting the splematic effusions of a restless, wayward, and perturbed imagination.

"With regard to my story, and stories in general," pursued his Lordship, "I should have been glad to have rendered (to render) my personages *perfect and more amiable, if possible, inasmuch as I have been sometimes criticised, and considered no less responsible for their deeds and qualities than if all had been personal.*"

As these personages were the creatures of his own imagination, we should have conceived it perfectly possible to render them more amiable, unless, indeed, nothing amiable is ever allowed to enter his lordship's imagination. And we shall still continue to think, that where an author has his choice of subjects, and always chooses one which is neither grateful to the feelings, profitable to the understanding, nor beneficial to the morals, of his readers, such choice can only be the result of a perfect approbation, by the author of the principles, opinions,

and feelings, for which his book is made the channel. Lord Byron, therefore, must not be surprized at the reflections cast upon him, on this account. Nor, indeed, does he seem to care much about them; for he adds, cavalierly enough;

"Be it so—if I have deviated into the gloomy vanity of 'drawing from self,' the pictures are probably like, since they are unfavourable; and if not, those who know me are undeceived, and those who do not, I have little interest in undeceiving. I have no particular desire that any but my acquaintance should think the author better than the beings of his *imagining*; but I cannot *help a little surprise*" (we wish he would condescend to write a *little* better English) "and perhaps amusement, at some odd critical exceptions in the present instance, when I see several hard (far more deserving, I allow) in very reputable plight, and quite exempted from all participation in the faults of those heroes, who, nevertheless, might be found with little more morality than 'the Giaour,' and perhaps—but no—I must admit Childe Harold to be a very repulsive personage; and as to his identity, those who like it must give him whatever 'alias' they please."

There is an affectation of indifference displayed here, which is any thing but commendable. We hope it is *affectation*, for if such indifference were really felt, we should have a most contemptible opinion, indeed, of the author. What is the imputation for which he thus professes his contempt? An imputation of resembling characters, destitute of all religious and moral principle, devoid of every humane feeling, of every social virtue,—a profligate infidel, and a gloomy misanthropist! Such are the characters which his lordship has delighted to pourtray. But perhaps he thinks that the very extravagance of the imputation exempts him from the necessity of a formal disavowal! If so, he should have passed it wholly without notice; having noticed it, his language on the subject should have been any thing but equivocal. It ill becomes a man, who so frequently addresses himself to the public, to affect a contempt for public opinion—for that opinion, in short, to which he must be indebted for the circulation of his works. Besides, it peculiarly became his lordship to examine maturely what ground his writings had afforded for the unfavourable opinion which some of his readers, it appears, have expressed? The examination would have been of service to him, in more respects than one. It might have led him to re-consider many of the obnoxious sentiments, and pernicious opinions, which have been put into the mouths of his different personages; and it might have convinced him that the individuals who had been led, from his productions, to think unfavourably of him, were

not so much in the wrong as he is now willing to believe them to be. Other advantages, too, might have resulted from such an investigation, which we forbear to particularize.

The "surprise" and 'amusement' which he professes to have felt, at the imputed prejudice of those who had censured him, while they had suffered other poets who had pourtrayed odious and immoral characters to pass with impunity, sprang from a very delusive source. He must, we should think, have been aware, that the ground of objection was not the having pourtrayed, in a single poem, or even in more, a character of this description, but of having invariably, in all his poems, introduced such characters, as his leading, and most interesting, personages. It was the pomp and ostentation of infidelity, profligacy, and misanthropy; the mind constantly fixed on such objects, and apparently delighting to pourtray them; that raised the exceptions which his lordship seems disposed to treat thus lightly, but which, nevertheless, the soundest and best part of the British community, though neither "the poets of all circles," nor "the idols" of any, will, we are persuaded, regard as serious and well-founded exceptions. And we are not aware, that any other modern poet has exposed himself to similar exceptions; his lordship's triumph, therefore, over the critics, on this ground, is merely imaginary. We shall have a few words at parting to say to the author, which, of course, we shall reserve for the close of this article; and shall now direct our attention to the poems before us.

The first circumstance worthy of remark in "*The Bride of Abydos*," is that for any information conveyed by the book before us, the scene of action may as well be in any other part of the Turkish dominions as at Abydos, for not a word is said of Abydos any where but in the title page; and there is no bride, for assuredly Zuleika, though destined by her-father to marry one man, and by herself to marry another, is killed before she can become the bride of either. It was reserved for the ingenuity of Lord Byron to produce a bride without a marriage.

The scene opens with Giaffir, a Pacha, in his Divan.

"His pensive cheek and pond'ring brow
Did more than he was wont avow."

The train are dismissed, and Giaffir remains alone with his son, Selim, whom he taunts with his youth, his effeminacy, and his unfitness for deeds of arms. But though Selim's tongue was silent, his eyes spoke the indignation which fired his bosom.

" As sneeringly these accents fell
On Selim's eye he fiercely gazed—
That eye returned him glance for glance,
And proudly to his sire's was rais'd,
Till Giaffir's *quailed* and shrunk askance."

As Lord Byron has, at last, become pleased with Walter Scott, he seems also to have taken a liking to some of his obsolete words, all uncouth, as these words are to an English ear. Zuleika, the Pacha's daughter, is now introduced, to whom the Pacha announces, in a kind of doggerel verse, unworthy of Lord Byron, his resolution of giving her in marriage to a " kinsman of the Bey Oglou." He then departs and leaves Zuleika and Selim together. Selim is sulky, and Zuleika fond. She exerts every kind artifice which sisterly affection can suggest, to soothe his melancholy, and to dispel his gloom. She gives him a flower, which he rejects; she then addresses him in these soft strains.

" What—not receive my foolish flower?
Nay, then, I am indeed unblest:
On me can thus thy forehead lower?
And know'st thou not who loves thee best?
Oh, Selim dear! Oh! more than dearest!
Say, *is it I* thou hat'st or fearest?
Come, lay thy head upon my breast
And I will kiss thee into rest,
Since words of mine—and songs must fail,
Even from my fabled nightingale."

These soothing words, and corresponding acts, of course, roused, as well they might, Selim from his lethargy, and he became as warm as she. He declares his affection for her, vows never to be separated from her, and concludes by telling her, that he is not what he appears to be. This hint has a singular effect on the virgin Zuleika, for it induces her to make the strongest love to Selim, to proceed to a kind of practical illustration of her passion, and to use language, which would be indecent even in the mouth of her lover—for know, good reader, Selim was not her brother. But Lord Byron, having become attached to Mr. Moore, has probably thought it necessary to prove his attachment to his poetry also, by imitating some of the most objectionable points in Mr. Moore's compositions. At length the lovers part, after making an assignation for the ensuing night, in the gardens of the Harem.

At the appointed hour, Selim meets Zuleika, and conducts her to a grotto in the garden, where he unfolds the secret of his birth, informing her that he is the son of Abdallah, Giaffir's

brother, who had been poisoned by Giaffir; and that, after his death, Giaffir had, either through fear, or through remorse, adopted him (Selim) for his own son. Selim, however, has long meditated revenge; and he takes a singular mode of inflicting it, by becoming the leader of a band of pirates. He then persuades Zuleika to fly with him, and to become his wife.

“ Thou, my Zuleika, share and bless my bark—
The dove of peace, and promise to mine ark.”

These scriptural allusions, bordering on impiety, are peculiarly misplaced in a poem like the present; nor does the lame excuse in a note offer the least sanction to their introduction in such a place. While the lovers are engaged in conversation, Zuleika is missed from her apartment, and search is made for her in the garden, by the Pacha and his guards, who approach the grotto. Selim, who is in momentary expectation of the arrival of his friends, with their vessel, fires his pistol, as a signal to them, then rushes on the guards, cuts his way through them, jumps down on the beach, and is just going to enter his boat, when he is shot by Giaffir, the murderer of his father. Zuleika had uttered a loud shriek, when her lover rushed from the grotto, and instant death ensued,

“ Peace to thy broken heart—and virgin grave.
Ah! happy! but of life to lose the worst,
That grief, though deep, though fatal, was thy first.
Thrice happy! ne’er to feel nor fear the force,
Of absence, shame, pride, hate, revenge, remorse!
And, oh! that pang where more than madness lies—
The worm that will not sleep—and never dies—
Thought of the gloomy day and ghastly night,
That dreads the darkness, and yet loathes the light—
That winds around, and tears the quiv’ring heart—
Ah! wherefore not consume it—and depart!”

We have not extracted this passage for any peculiar beauty which it possesses, but as a proof of the gloomy cast of the author’s mind. This horrid picture, this “worm that will not sleep, and never dies,” was not called for by his subject. It is one of the “imaginings” of his own mind, obtruded, without cause, and without reason; and, therefore, we have a right to regard it as a description of the state of that mind; and, if we be right in our conclusions, what a wretched state must it be! At all events, it is a picture, calculated to excite nothing but horror and disgust.

“The Corsair” is a more regular, a better constructed, and

a more interesting tale, than the "*Bride of Abydos*," though marked by many of the same features, and disfigured by many of the same defects. The hero of the piece, Lord Conrad, is introduced to the reader, as a stern misanthropist, who wages war against all mankind; he has taken up his abode in one of the *Ægean* isles, where, as the leader of a formidable band of pirates, he lives on the fruits of general plunder. In his castle on this isle, resides also Medora, whether his wife or concubine, we are long left to conjecture. His companions have Spanish names, and, *therefore*, we suppose, he is a Spaniard himself. He is represented as a man, ferocious in disposition, without a single virtue, despairing of forgiveness from heaven, and yet careless of life. Austere in his manners, commanding in his port, and undaunted in courage, he exercises an absolute sway over his followers, who look on him with a mixture of admiration and love, and who repose in him the most implicit confidence. He loves Medora with a tenderness which appears to us wholly uncongenial with the other qualities ascribed to him; yet has she not the smallest influence on his actions, nor the least power to deter him from the execution of any favourite enterprize. But for this, and for some other incongruities, which will be noticed by and bye, the character of Conrad would do credit to the author's talents, for it is, for the most part, ably and consistently drawn. But, here, we have another instance of the strange propensity of this young man's mind to delight in scenes of horror, and to familiarize itself with the most odious characters that a depraved imagination can present, or a distorted fancy pourtray.

The poem opens with the assembled pirates chanting the charms of their life, and the honours of their profession. Here, too, are strong marks of the newly-acquired attachment to Mr. Scott's poetry, or rather to the most affected and worst portions of it; "*cravens*" is used as a substitute for cowards, and "*brand*" for sword.

" In scatter'd groupes upon the golden sand,
They game—carouse—converse—or whet the *brand*;
Select the arms—to each his blade assign,
And careless eye the blood that dims *its shine*."

What will "the poet of all circles" say to such balderdash as this? A sail is now seen moving towards the harbour, and proves to be Conrad's vessel, returning from a cruise. He lands, and gives orders for a fresh enterprize that very night. The poet then draws the character of his hero, of which a few features will suffice, we suspect, to satisfy our readers.

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" There was a lurking devil in his sneer,
That rais'd emotions both of rage and fear ;
And where his frown of hatred darkly fell,
Hope withering fled—and mercy sighed farewell !"

" Slight are the outward signs of evil thought
Within—within—'twas there the spirit wrought !
Love shows all changes—hate, ambition, guile,
Betray no farther than the bitter smile, &c."

" Mark—how *that love and blighted bosom sears*
The scathing thought of execrated years !"

" He knew himself a villain—but he deem'd
The rest no better than the thing he seem'd."

By this time, no doubt, our readers know enough of the disposition of the hero, who next appears in the character of a lover, all softness and tenderness. He approaches the abode of his mistress, who is singing the following melancholy ditty.

1.

" Deep in my soul that tender accent dwells,
Lonely and lost to light for evermore,
Save when to thine my heart responsive swells,
Then trembles into silence as before.

2.

" There in its centre—a sepulchral lamp
Burns the slow flame eternal—but unseen,
Which not the darkness of despair can damp,
Though vain its ray as it had never been.

3.

" Remember me—oh ! pass not thou my grave
Without one thought whose relics there recline :
The only pang my bosom dare not brave,
Must be to find forgetfulness in thine.

4.

" My fondest—faintest—latest—accents bear :
Grief for the dead not virtue can reprove ;*
Then give me all I ever asked—a tear,
The first—last—sole reward of so much love !"

* This is rather a hasty assumption of his lordship ;—would not virtue, for instance, reprove the grief of a Briton, who should shed tears over the grave of Buonaparte, or of any other butcher of the human race ?

Just as she has finished her ditty, Conrad breaks in upon her, and reproves her for her melancholy. A dialogue ensues, in which the lady endeavours to persuade her lover to quit the life of danger which he leads, and to retire to some place of safety, and of honour. Instead, however, of meeting her wishes, this soft, this tender, lover tells her that he must quit her directly on another expedition. She intreats, and supplicates, but in vain; for though her heart, we are assured, was 'so full' as to produce the most extraordinary effect—"that *feeling* seem'd almost *unfelt*," he disregarded alike her distress, and her prayer, and bore her, whom we are now told, is his "bride," to a couch, and rushed out of the house. Lord Byron's notions of love and tenderness appear to be as singular as his idea of *feeling*.

Conrad now embarks, with his trusty followers, with the design of repairing to *Coron*, where Seyd, the Turkish pacha, had fitted out an armament destined to attack the pirates in their isle, and to make them disgorge their plunder. Conrad's object was to anticipate them, and to burn their fleet in the harbour of *Coron*. He accordingly arrived off that harbour in the evening, and stationed his ship behind a neighbouring promontory. Conrad, however, seems to have had less judgment than courage; for he disguises himself, for no apparent reason, as a dervise, and presents himself at the pacha's palace, where he is introduced to, and questioned by, Seyd. He represents himself as having been taken prisoner by the pirates, and conveyed to their isle, whence he had just made his escape. Before the pacha has finished his questions, the pirates have begun their work of destruction, and the flames from the fleet are seen by the pacha, whose suspicions, most naturally, fall upon the dervise, whom he orders to be instantly put to death.

Conrad now throws off his disguise, and appearing 'clad in complete steel' brandishes his sword, and deals destruction on his foes, as if resolved to sell most dearly that life which he had so needlessly, and so foolishly, exposed. Finding what weak foes he has to deal with, he alters his purpose, and sounds his bugle, as a signal to his companions, who soon cut their way to their chief, delighted to find that he has displayed his usual prowess, with its usual effect.

" But short their greeting—shorter his reply—
 'Tis well—but Seyd escapes—and he must die.
 Much has been done—but more remains to do—
 Their galleys blaze—why not their city too?"

The followers of Conrad were not slow to obey the com-

mands of their leader; they instantly applied their torches to the palace, and set it in flames. But as the flames reached the harem, this sanguinary and ferocious chieftain felt the compunctious visitings of conscience; and he instantly ordered his men to rush through the flames and save the women. He set them the example, and, at the hazard of his life, rescued the queen of the harem, the favourite of the Seyd, from impending destruction. His followers saved the rest. But the time lost in this service of humanity, enabled the pacha to rally his men, and, as they now perceived the real strength of their assailants, who, though bold in deed, were few in numbers, to lead them on to the attack. The pirates, animated by the presence and example of their chief, fight with desperation, but are soon overpowered by numbers; most of them are slain, and Conrad himself, after performing prodigies of valour, is wounded and taken. Seyd reserves him for impalement on the following day, and, in the mean time, orders him to be heavily ironed, and immured in a dungeon.

Conrad is now left to his reflections, "fetter'd and alone.

" 'Twere vain to paint to what his feelings grew—
It even were doubtful if their victim knew.
There is a war, a chaos of the mind,
When all its elements convuls'd—combin'd—
Lie dark and jarring with perturbed force,
And gnashing with *impenitent remorse*;
That juggling fiend—who never spake before—
But cries, 'I warned thee!' when the deed is o'er.
Vain voice! the spirit burning but unbent,
May writhe—rebel—the *weak alone repent*!"

A more hideous assemblage of detestable qualities were never surely compressed before within so small a space. The juggling fiend, whom his lordship treats so cavalierly, we *apprehend*, is *conscience*—for he is not very intelligible; if so, he appears to have no very familiar acquaintance with her,—for, it may with safety be asserted, that conscience is never silent, when a man is about to commit a bad act. He may, indeed, disregard her admonitions; but he must hear and feel them; and, however the bard's gloomy mind and querulous muse may be disposed to disbelieve the fact, conscience will always be found to do *her* duty, though man will often neglect *his*. Lord Byron, therefore, has libelled conscience, as he has human nature, as will be seen by and bye; what he means by *impenitent remorse*, we do not profess to understand. We are unable to disjoin remorse from penitence. But, the strange, the daring, the false, the foolish, the licentious, assertion, that "the *weak alone repent*," is sufficiently intelligible to rouse the

indignation of every serious christian, and to call forth the most unequivocal contradiction, from every rational and accountable being. If he had put this sentiment into the mouth of the 'villain' whom he has chosen to portray, it might have been appropriate, though it would have been reprehensible; but to present it as the naked assertion of the poet himself,—as a kind of axiom offered to the public in the alluring guise of poetry—like so many poetical axioms, not so bad, indeed, but still bad enough, which are in the mouth of every school-boy; it calls for the most pointed—the most marked—the most severe, reproof. We may congratulate the public, that this is the last poem which they are likely to be disgusted with, if there be any truth in Lord Byron, for some years, from a man who writes so loosely, so objectionably.

Nor does the *salutary* lesson which this noble bard seeks to impress upon the world end here. Conrad, the guilty Conrad, stained with every crime, despairing of forgiveness from heaven, and yet certain of appearing, in a few hours, before his offended judge, is represented, as not only daring to meet every thought but *one*,

“ One thought *alone* he could not—dared not meet—
‘ Oh, how these tidings will Medora greet ? ’ ”

But as calmly laying his head on the pillow, and enjoying a sweet and sound sleep—

“ He slept in calmest seeming—for his breath
Was hush'd so deep——”

History presents us with many instances of men, consigned to death, enjoying the completest serenity of mind, and tranquillity of body, during the last night which they were permitted to pass upon the earth. But this state of mental and bodily repose has been the effect of a satisfied conscience, of an internal and rooted conviction of a well-spent life, of a reconciliation with their Maker; some cases of this nature, indeed, have occurred, where the lives of the individuals have fallen a sacrifice to the offended laws of their country; but they have occurred in one of these two alternatives, either in times of public commotions, where the nation has been divided between two opposite parties, and where both may have acted with a full impression that justice and right were on their side; or, where criminals, of a different description, have been led, by spiritual advice and assistance, sincerely to repent of their crimes, and to entertain a humble hope of forgiveness. But never, in our recollection, in the case of a man who believed himself to have offended beyond the hope of forgiveness, from the father of all mercies; of one who felt only *impenitent re-*

morse; of one too *bold to repent*. To assign, therefore, to a wretch like this, that calmness and tranquillity, on the eve of expected dissolution, which are alone the lot of the virtuous, or of the sincere penitent and steady believer, resting on the merits of his Redeemer, is not only to violate all natural propriety, but to inculcate a lesson, as false in principle, as pernicious in effect. Lord Byron had his choice of characters, they are all his own offspring, he bestows on them what qualities he pleases; he, therefore, is responsible for the examples which they hold forth, and for the impressions which they are calculated to convey. However he may be disposed to treat these reflections with the smile of derision, or the sneer of contempt, they are well worth his serious consideration.

Lord Byron professes great feeling and great regard for the female sex; but the ladies will not feel any great obligations to him, for the parts which he has assigned them in these poems. His principal female characters, Zuleika, Medora, and Gulnare (the favourite of Seyd), make strong love to the men, which is not very decorous, nor yet very natural; (however the force of his lordship's personal and mental attractions may have led him to form a contrary opinion.) Conrad's repose is now interrupted by Gulnare, who, by means of the pacha's signet-ring, had obtained admission to his chamber. This grateful lady, whom he had rescued from the flames, and who had witnessed his subsequent valour in the fight, had conceived a violent affection for him, and had resolved to procure his liberty. When she had reached his bed-side, she asks herself this pertinent question, which, 'tis rather strange, she should not have asked before,

“What sudden spell hath made this man so dear?”

She awakes him, and tells him that her influence with the pacha shall procure the postponement of his destined punishment for a day, all that she dares attempt as yet. He communicates to her his love for another, which shocks her, but does not shake her resolution. He then expresses his surprize that she does not love Seyd, for no other purpose, it would seem, than to draw from her the indelicate and disgusting picture of a woman consigned to the embraces of a man whom she loathes. She presses his hand to her heart, drops a tear on it, and departs, which affords the poet an opportunity of depicting the mighty dangers of a woman's tear, which, he tells us, lost Mark Antony the world, and has lost many a man, not only earth—"but Heaven." On this topic he appears to dwell with unusual feeling.

The third and last canto opens with a poetical description of the setting sun;

" Slow sinks, more lovely ere his race be run,
 Along Morea's hills the setting sun ;
 Not as in northern climes obscurely bright,
 But one unclouded blaze of living light !
 O'er the hush'd deep the yellow beam he throws,
 Gilds the green* wave, that trembles as it glows.
 On old Ægina's rock, and Idra's isle,
 The god of gladness sheds his parting smile ;
 O'er his own regions lingering loves to shine,
 Though there his altars are no more divine.
 Descending fast the mountain shadows kiss,
 Thy glorious gulph, unconquer'd Salamis !
 Their azure arches through the long expanse,
 More deeply purpled, meet his mellowing glance,
 And tenderest tints, along their summits driven,
 Mark his gay course, and own the hues of heaven,
 Till, darkly shaded from the land and deep,
 Behind his Delphian cliff he sinks to sleep."

The bard then adverts to the death of Socrates,

" The soul of him who scorn'd to fear or fly—
 Who liv'd and died, as none can live or die !"

This assertion, like many of the poetical flights of Lord Byron's wandering muse, must be received *cum grano salis*. We shall not, however, stop to *analyze* it. We are now transported to Conrad's isle. Medora is watching by the sea side for the return of her lover. At last, a shattered boat appears, with a few of his wretched followers, most of them wounded. Of these she enquires his fate ; but though assured that he was not dead when he was taken, her fears conclude the worst ; she becomes delirious, and is carried to her chamber. A council of the pirates assembles.

" In that wild council words wax'd warm and strange,
 With thoughts of ransom, rescue, and revenge ;
 All, save repose or flight,—still ling'ring there
 Breathed Conrad's spirit, and forbade despair ;
 Whate'er his fate—the breasts he form'd and led,
 Will save him living, or appease him dead.
 Woe to his foes ! there yet survive a few,
 Whose deeds are daring, as their hearts are true."

The poet again waves his magic wand, and we are once more conveyed to the tower, which is now the only part remaining of

* By the bye, the sea is extremely complaisant to the muse, for, at her bidding, she assumes either a *green*, a *purple*, or a *dark blue*, tint.

Seyd's palace, and the seat of Conrad's captivity. Gulnare is with the pacha, and endeavours to persuade him, most artfully, to ransom his prisoner for all the plunder hoarded in his isle. But Seyd, like Shylock, will have blood; and, finding Gulnare persevere in her suit, he becomes jealous, taxes her with inconstancy, and bursts from her in a rage. She so far, however, accomplishes her purpose, that Conrad remains unmolested in his dungeon, till the fourth night of his captivity, when, soon after midnight, again Gulnare appears before him, and informs him that a painful death awaits him on the following day, unless he avails himself of the present moment to kill Seyd, who is now buried in sleep. She offers him a poignard, and tells him to follow her. A strange unnatural conflict ensues. The Corsair shudders at killing his enemy in his sleep, and refuses to commit the deed, to the commission of which, Gulnare exerts all the powers of her eloquence to incite him. Finding him resolute, and resolved rather to suffer death, than to comply with her request, she leaves him to perform the bloody business herself.

He follows her, and, after wandering about the tower, reaches a gallery where, at length, he meets Gulnare, and, on seeing a drop of blood which her hand has left on her forehead, he betrays as much horror as Lady Macbeth with her "out, damned spot!" In short, the most pure, the most virtuous, the most innocent, heart, would not manifest more symptoms of abhorrence at a deed of blood, than does this pirate, whose life has been devoted to acts of violence, rapine, plunder, and death, at the spot of blood on Gulnare's forehead.

To us, we confess, the fastidiousness, the reluctance, the scruple, displayed by Conrad, to take the life of a man who has doomed him to the most cruel death; and his subsequent horror at Gulnare's conduct, appear inconsistent with his general character. The man who could harbour such feelings as are assigned to Conrad on this occasion, could not, we think, lead the life which Conrad has led, or act as Conrad has acted.

Gulnare, however, having gained the guards, releases Conrad from his chains, and accompanies him to a vessel, which she has prepared for them. They set sail, but have not gone far, when the eyes of the Corsair are regaled with the sight of his own ship.

" 'Tis mine—my blood-red flag—again—again—
' I am not all deserted on the main !'
They own the signal, answer to the hail,
Hoist out the boat at once, and slacken sail.

' 'Tis Conrad !—Conrad !' shouting from the deck,
 Command nor duty could their transport check !
 With light alacrity and gaze of pride,
 They view him mount once more his vessel's side ;
 A smile relaxing in each rugged face,
 Their arms can scarce forbear a rough embrace.
 He—half forgetting danger and defeat,
 Returns their greeting as a chief may greet,
 Wrings with a cordial grasp Amselmo's hand,
 And feels he yet can conquer and command."

In fact, this ship bore his hardy followers, who had, in council, determined to rescue their chief, or to perish in the attempt, and were now on their way to accomplish this object. On their arrival at their own island, Conrad hastens to his castle, where a deadly silence reigns ; he sees nobody ; he hears no sound ; he hastens to Medora's chamber, and there finds her—a corpse !

" He ask'd no questions—all were answer'd now
 By the first glance on that still—marble brow.
 It was enough—he died—what reck'd it how ?
 The love of youth, the hope of better years,
 The source of softest joy and tenderest fears,
 The only living thing he could not hate,
 Was reft at once—and he deserv'd his fate,
 But did not feel it less ;—*the good explore,*
For peace, those realms where guilt can never soar.
 The proud—the wayward—who have fix'd below
 Their joy—and find this earth enough for woe,
 Lose in that one their all—perchance a mite—
 But who in patience parts with all delight ?
 Full many a stoic eye and aspect stern
 Hide hearts where grief hath little left to learn ;
 And many a withering thought lies hid—not lost—
 In smiles that least befit who wear them most."

We have marked *a line and a half* of this extract in italics, because it contains almost, if not absolutely, the only religious sentiment we have noticed in the two poems before us. And even here, the assertion requires a qualification, for, although it be true, in the abstract, that guilt, as guilt, can never soar to heaven, yet the guilty man, if he truly repent him of his sins, is taught to hope for forgiveness, through the mercy and mediation of him who came into the world to save sinners. 'Tis only the hardened, impenitent, sinner, that is excluded from hope.

Conrad sheds a few tears over the corpse of his beloved, and then departs.

" In helpless—hopeless—brokenness of heart."

" 'Tis morn—to venture on his lonely hour
 Few dare—though now Amselmo sought his tow'r ;
 He was not there—nor seen along the shore :
 Ere night, alarmed, their isle is traversed o'er ;
 Another morn—another bids them seek,
 And shout his name till echo waxeth weak ;
 Mount—grotto—cavern—valley—search'd in vain,
 They find on shore a sea-boat's broken chain—
 Their hope revives—they follow o'er the main.
 'Tis idle all—moons roll on moons away,
 And Conrad comes not—came not since that day—
 Nor trace, nor tidings, of his doom declare
 Where lives his grief, or perish'd his despair.
 Long mourn'd his band whom none could mourn beside ;
 And fair the monument they gave his bride :
 For him they raise not the recording stone—
 His death yet dubious, deeds too widely known ;
 He left a Corsair's name to other times,
 Link'd with one virtue, and a thousand crimes."

The denouement of this poem is by no means satisfactory ; the bard has cut the knot which he could not untie, in his easy mode of disposing of his hero. Of Gulnare, and of her fate, though an object of interest in the tale, not a word is said. This is a defect in the poem.

That both these poems contain occasional marks of genius ; that they have some beautiful passages ; and exhibit not a little fine painting ; it were the height of injustice to deny. But we are decidedly of opinion, that they contain fewer beauties, and more defects, than any of the former productions of the same pen. There are more bad lines, more ordinary prosaic verses, more violations of grammar, and more loose and objectionable passages, than in any of his earlier publications.

Subjoined to the Corsair are some " Poems," consisting of lines ; 1. "*To a Lady weeping ;*" lines "*from the Turkish.*" Two sonnets "*To Geneva.*" "*Inscription on the monument of a Newfoundland dog,*" and "*Farewell.*" Some of these require particular notice. The first of these poems contains a scandalous reflection on an exalted personage ; and a calumny on the nation.

" Woe, daughter of a royal line,
 A Sire's disgrace, a realm's decay ;
 Ah, happy ! if each tear of thine
 Could wash a father's fault away !"

" Weep, for thy tears are virtue's tears,
Auspicious to these suffering isles ;
And be each drop in future years,
Repaid thee by thy people's smiles !"

" March, 1812.

To affect to misunderstand these allusions would be vile hypocrisy. It was reserved for this discontented, querulous, young man, to discover that a country, raised to a pinnacle of greatness on the scale of empires, without an example in history, and raised, too, by the best, the noblest, means, by resistance to tyranny, and by the disinterested support of oppressed nations, is in actual decay ! Gloomy and desponding himself, he seeks to impart gloom and despondency to his readers ; he seems to have some worm cankering in his own bosom, and to envy the tranquillity which reigns in others ; he sees his native country, the pride of Britons, and the envy of the world ; and he labours to degrade it in the eyes of all ; he fixes on a period, when the conduct of the Regent endeared him to all classes of people, for his firm and manly support of the principles which placed his family on the throne, to attach to him the badge of disgrace !!! Is it not natural to conclude, from these circumstances, that a conduct so perverse and so unnatural, must spring from a disordered imagination, or from a depraved heart ? We will not draw this conclusion, because we know nothing of the author, but from his works ; we are prepared to contend, however, that his works would justify such a conclusion.* We now turn to his extraordinary epitaph on a dog.

" When some proud son of man returns to earth,
Unknown to glory, but upheld by birth,
The sculptor's art exhausts the pomp of woe,
And storied urns record who rests below ;
When all is done, upon the tomb is seen,
Not what he was, but what he should have been :
But the poor dog, in life the firmest friend,
The first to welcome, foremost to defend,
Whose honest heart is still his master's own,
Who labours, fights, lives, breathes, for him alone,
Unhonour'd falls, unnoticed all his worth,
Denied in heaven the soul he held on earth :

* We have heard some lines attributed to the author of these poems, which we should shudder to repeat ; and, in comparison with which, those here commented upon, are mild, inoffensive, and loyal. He will understand us when we refer him to a late transaction at Windsor. *Verbum sat.*

While man, vain insect! hopes to be forgiven,
 And claims himself a sole exclusive heaven.
 Oh! man, thou feeble tenant of an hour,
 Debas'd by slavery, or corrupt by power,
 Who knows thee well must quit thee with disgust,
 Degraded mass of animated dust!
 Thy love is lust, thy friendship all a cheat,
 Thy smiles hypocrisy, thy words deceit!
 By nature vile, *ennobled but by name*,
 Each kindred brute might bid thee blush for shame.
 Ye! who perchance behold this simple urn,
 Pass on—it honours none you wish to mourn:
 To mark a friend's remains these stones arise,
 I never knew but one, and here he lies.

" *Newstead Abbey, Oct. 20, 1808.*"

We have no objection to any praise bestowed on the fidelity of an animal, who certainly sets an example of attachment and gratitude worthy to be followed by man. To assert, however, that a dog *holds a soul on earth*, is to assert what is almost unintelligible, and therefore approaching to nonsense; and the addition, that he is *denied a soul in Heaven* is presumptuous, if not impious, as it seems to arraign the Deity for not giving immortality to beasts. Perhaps the bard may have read the French treatise on "*Les Ames de Betes!*" At all events, it could not be necessary to write a libel on human nature for the sake of bestowing a compliment on a Newfoundland dog. A more gloomy character of man was never delineated by the pen of a misanthropist! If his lordship sate for the picture himself (as many of his readers will be tempted to conclude) the likeness may, for aught we know, be correct; and, in that case, whatever merit can attach to a faithful historian of his own depravities will, unquestionably, be his. If, on the other hand, the character be meant for the species, and not for the individual, on behalf of that species, we venture to say, that it reflects more dishonour on the head that conceived it, and the heart that gave it birth, than disgrace on the objects it was intended to calumniate.

One word at parting, and we have done. Lord Byron has declared his intention of not obtruding any more of his effusions on the public "for some years to come." The intention is so good, that we sincerely hope he may carry it into full execution. The season of inactivity is the best for reflection; and we earnestly conjure his lordship to cast a retrospective eye on the works which he has published since his return from his excursion into Greece. Let him examine, impartially, whether he has written one single sentence worthy to be impressed on

the mind of youth ; whether he has composed a single line serviceable to the cause of religion, morality, or virtue. When he has done this, let him recollect that genius and talents are gifts of Providence to be used not for individual benefit, but for public good ; that for the due employment of them, the possessor is held responsible to the judge who bestowed them ; that, precious as these gifts are, when properly applied, the mere possession of them confers neither honour nor credit ; they derive their value and importance solely, and exclusively, from their application ; and, lastly, that a day must come when a serious account will be exacted from all who have experienced the bounty of Providence, in whatever way ;—*to whom much is given of him much shall be required.* Our closing advice to the bard is, to adopt a slight transposition of the words of his family motto ; instead of CREDE BYRON, we say, BYRON !—CREDE !

The Ecclesiastical Supremacy of the Crown proved to be the Common Law of England. With Preliminary Observations and an Appendix. By Basilicus. 8vo. Pp. 82. 3s. 6d. J. J. Stockdale. 1814.

IN his preliminary observations, the very intelligent and able author of this most useful tract applies himself to the exposure and eradication of three prevalent errors in the discussion of the Popish claims. These errors, or rather these impositions on the credulity of the people, were first promulgated by the Roman Catholic committees and boards in Ireland ; and adopted, ignorantly by some, designedly by others, by the whole of their brethren, and by the greater part of their Protestant advocates, as well in England as in Ireland. In the first place, the Papists assume to their religion the exclusive appellation of *Catholic* ;—secondly, they denominate the laws which they wish to have repealed *penal* ;—and thirdly, they style the relief which they claim, *emancipation*. No man of common sense and of common knowledge can be ignorant that the word *Catholic* is applicable only to Papists in common with all other members of the Catholic, or Universal, church of Christ. The Papists, then, as forming a portion of that church, are Catholics, but *Roman Catholics*, as we Protestants also are Catholics, but, as the author observes, *Anglo-Catholics*. Bishop Saunderson's last will is quoted in support of this position, which, however, will scarcely be *disputed* by any but Papists, in the 19th century. “ And here I do profess, that as I have lived, so I desire and (by the grace of God) resolve to die, *in the commu-*

tion of the Catholic church of Christ, and a true member of the church of England." As Bishop Saunderson held the see of Lincoln, the author embraces the opportunity for paying a tribute of justice to his worthy successors in that diocese.

"The See of LINCOLN possesses peculiar claims on the Protestant regard. Among its many worthy prelates, we reckon that early and intrepid opposer of Popery, Robert GROSSTETE; the pious *Doctor Saunderson*, whom I have above cited; *Doctor Barlow*, the author of 'Popish principles pernicious to Protestant princes;' another Bishop, whose name I unfortunately cannot recall to memory, but who published an admirable sermon against Popery towards the beginning of the 18th century; and last, though not least, the highly learned and excellent *Doctor Tomline*. The following pages will amuse the reader with a curious anti-climax in the history of a certain other see," *Norwich* to wit.

As the author was engaged in the consideration of this part of his subject, the speech of Dr. Dromgoole (inserted in one of our late numbers) met his eye; and he stops short to bestow a few animadversions upon that Popish manifesto, which we shall extract for the gratification of our readers.

"To answer this man would require a volume; but as his intolrances furnish the best possible confirmation of our present argument, I shall not refuse him my passing animadversion. In truth, he deserves our gratitude: he has done more for the Protestant cause than all its friends, or all its enemies could accomplish. He has torn off the mask which priests and pontiffs had fastened on the visage of popery: he has exposed her in her true colours, in her pride, her ambition, her ascendant tyranny. Thanks to his rude friendship, hypocrisy can no longer veil her pretences; he has rattled the chain in our ears, and flashed the faggot before our eyes. The *Catholicon* of Doctor Dromgoole, better than a 'Euphrosy or Rue,' hath purged our visual nerve; and now, if we can neither discern the violence of his faction, nor detect its treachery, we deserve to be punished for our wilful blindness. The fate which he threatens must fall on our heads; the destruction which he anticipates, must pursue our devoted "NOVELTY,* the ruin which we encourage, must fall on our deserted

* "Already the marks of approaching ruin are upon it," (the Protestant church) "it has had its time upon the earth—a date nearly as long as any other novelty; and when the time arrives, shall *Catholics* be called, by the sacred bond of an oath, to uphold a system which they believe will be one day rejected by the whole earth? Can they be induced to swear, that they would oppose even the present Protestants of England, if, *ceasing to be truants*, they thought fit to return to their ancient worship, and to have a CATHOLIC KING, AND A CATHOLIC PARLIAMENT!!!" Dromgoole's Speech, Dec. 8, 1813,

establishment; we are the traitors, and posterity must suffer for our treason!

QUOS DEUS VULT PERDERE, PRIUS DEMENTAT.

"Yes, Dr. Dromgoole has saved us from this calamity: his repellant kindness has snatched us back from the precipice. Our less unwary enemies would have prevented him; they would have pretended a liberal affection for our church; but his impatient candour rejected their pretence. What! exclaims the honest Doctor,—all this agitation, all this anxiety in a Catholic, for the Protestant Church! all 'this for Hecuba!' (Speech, Dec. 24.) Oh most true! 'What's Hecuba to him, or he to Hecuba?' What need has he to care for Hecuba's lamentations over burnings and blood? Yes, Doctor Dromgoole has instructed us, that 'the Church of England stands in great need of securities;' that her 'Cossack Methodists are marauding against her; that her republican Presbyterians' are ready for the attack; and that 'the columns of Catholicity are collecting to challenge the possession of the ark.' He has instructed us, that Popery has 'no securities to give,' that the Church of England must 'seek her safety elsewhere.' And where shall those securities, where shall that safety, be sought? In the principles of Doctor Dromgoole, in the acclamations of the Board, in the acknowledged antipathies of Popery. These trumpet-tongued proofs inform us that SUBMISSION IS OUR CERTAIN RUIN, AND RESISTANCE OUR ONLY PROTECTION; that the Protestant Church must be defended, and that the Popish Sect must be disabled; that, if the Romish Hierarchy may exist at all in our empire, it must be shorn of its arrogance and reduced to its proper humility; that its talons must be pared and its fangs must be drawn; that the recusants whose *conscience** has vowed the subver-

We shall see presently whether it is not also the speech of the board. They have said it, and shall abide by it.

* "Gratitude for his signal services requires us to apprise the good Doctor of a point of law, which the Counsellors of the Board are not very likely to communicate to him. These obligations of a Popish conscience are prohibited by a most intolerant statute passed in the reign of King James, not the enlightened James the Second, but the bigot James the First—which enacts, that whosoever 'shall put in practice to absolve, persuade, or withdraw any of the subjects of the King, his heirs, and successors, from their natural obedience to the King, or to reconcile them to the Pope or See of Rome, or to move them to promise obedience to any pretended authority of the See of Rome, they and their abettors shall be adjudged TRAITORS, and being convicted, shall suffer and forfeit as in cases of HIGH TREASON, 3 Jac. 1. c. 4. This inconvenient statute, I trust, will be included in the repealing clauses of the next Emancipation bill.

"Translated out of Irish, the Doctor's argument is this. We will not be 'so lost and abandoned,' as to swear 'not to seek directly or indirectly, the subversion of the Protestant Church,' because such an oath would be contrary to our REASONABLE conscience, which commands us to seek that subversion by every means."

sion of our religion and our state, and whose *conscience*, therefore, will not swear to our security, must be divested of their political power, and disarmed of their *military means*."

We should have extended these comments on the invaluable speech of Doctor Droomgoole, had we not just received from our correspondent in Dublin some admirable observations on this very speech, which he informs us is the production of that able and indefatigable labourer in the vineyard of loyalty and sound religion, the historian of the Irish Rebellion, Sir Richard Musgrave. These observations will be inserted in the Miscellaneous part of the present number, and it is, therefore, unnecessary for us to dilate further upon this subject. The note, however, to the last passage quoted, demands a few words. Our readers will there have seen, that by a statute still in force, the attempt to convert persons to the Romish religion is made subject to the penalties of high treason. Now we state it as a fact, that the English Papists are at this time busily employed in their favourite work of conversion. Very recently a deserving woman, in the neighbourhood of London, left with three young children, and reduced to distress by inability to let her lodgings, which constituted almost her only means of subsistence, was offered relief, not merely temporary but permanent, if she would renounce her religion, become a Roman Catholic, and bring up her children in the same persuasion. She resisted, for some time, these *treasonable* persuasions; but distressed, at length, subdued principle; she accepted the conditions; and is now placed in a situation of ease and comfort. This is not a solitary instance; nor can it surprise any one who has read history with attention, and who, consequently, knows and appreciates, the unchanged and unchangeable nature, genius, and spirit, of Popery. The man whose zeal could so far overpower his fear of danger, as to expose himself to the vengeance of the law, for the sake of converting a *heretic* to *Popery*, may command applause for his boldness, though he deserve reprobation for his ingratitude. He has presumed, indeed, on the too-liberal spirit of the times, a spirit more mischievous in its effects, if possible, than the encroachments of Popery, and the silent workings of enthusiasm, because more inspiring in its appearance, and more difficult to guard against. If neither the fear of the law, denouncing the severest of all punishments, nor gratitude for a toleration exceeding all bounds, can deter a Papist from thus promoting the interests of his church, imbecility alone can deny that the spirit of Popery has not undergone the smallest improvement, since the

day, when the dread of it induced the parliament of this country, or rather a convention assuming more than parliamentary powers, to dethrone their lawful sovereign, and to interrupt the regular order of succession to the throne.

There are two descriptions of persons in this country of different opinions, but both of whom tend to increase the danger which unquestionably threatens the Established Church. By one description, it is contended, that the fanatics, enthusiasts, and schismatics, all formidable as they are, not only in numbers, but in principle, are not objects of reasonable apprehension, because, though differing from the establishment, they are still Protestants, and will cordially unite with the members of the establishment, in defending the Protestant church against the enmity of the Papists, from whom *alone* danger is to be apprehended. The other description of persons maintain, on the contrary, that, in the present improved æra of knowledge and science, there can be no danger from the admission of Papists to a participation of political power, the only danger to the church arising from the increased prevalence of enthusiasm, which overruns the country, and threatens to sweep down all before it; and to which the Papists are as great enemies as churchmen can be. It appears to us, that a radical error pervades the opinions of both these parties. Those who dread no danger, from the increase of Methodism, and of Sectarism, and Schism of every description, (and among them are evidently many members of the present government,) must suffer their dread of Popery to blind their judgment, and to render them deaf to the warning voice of history; surely, surely, the usurpation of Cromwell should impress on every mind the dreadful consequences of fanaticism operating on the weak, ignorant, and misguided, multitude; or even on minds half-informed, but unimbued with right principles, and ungifted with natural strength. This leading error, too, has led to the adoption of another; viz. a belief, that all Protestant sectaries will unite against the church of Rome. Here again such belief is wholly unjustified by experience, and forbidden by history. For, certain it is, that, though the Methodists and Presbyterians are more remote, in their tenets and discipline, from the church of Rome, than are the members of the establishment, they entertain a community of sentiment, and even an unity of action, with the Papists, in hostility to the established church.

On the other hand, they who think that the enthusiasts and fanatics are *alone* to be dreaded, and that the Papists would join the members of the church, in opposing their efforts, and in resisting their principles, seem to us equally insensible to

the lessons which history teaches, and to the facts which experience inculcates. They argue, not only against the strength of such evidence, but in direct contradiction to the recorded testimony of the highest living authorities in the Roman Catholic church. For they assume, as a fact, that a great change has been produced in the disposition and principles of Papists, since the revolution, by the general diffusion of knowledge; whereas the leading Papists themselves assure us, that their tenets are not only unchanged, but unchangeable.

While, then, we differ from both these parties, and think that both, by cherishing a dangerous error, are, without intending it, doing essential injury to the established church, there is one point upon which we perfectly concur with each of them. We agree, with the one, in their estimate of the danger to be incurred by any further concessions to the Papists; and we agree with the other, in considering the spread of enthusiasm as a serious evil, and one that ought to be strongly and diligently guarded against. We cannot shut our eyes against one danger, because we are assailed by another. On the contrary, we are sensibly alive to both, and would fain have the government armed at all points, and fully determined to resist every attack on the venerable fabric of our constitution, from whatever quarter it may proceed.

"A second imposture," observes our author, "and of almost equal mischief, is the practice of styling the laws which affect popery *penal*, while they are merely *restrictive*. I shall, of course, be understood to speak of those laws only which the Papists themselves have denounced as grievances, and not of those from which Mr. Canning volunteered to relieve the uncomplaining sufferer. When a Popish orator harangues against "*Penal Laws*," I fancy that he intends the laws of treason and sedition; which certainly do bear somewhat grievously on our modern demagogues: but their lawyers should have taught their doctors better than to describe prohibitory restraints as mandatory inflictions. Exclusion is not privation; still less is it compulsion; least of all is it persecution. The Papist is not punished for his opinions;—no, nor for the expression of his opinions. It was reserved for this age, to behold a body of recusants, protected in their sectarian worship, enabled to acquire property, *and even power*, yet complaining of chains and degradation. It was reserved for this age to behold the still more strange anomaly of slaves, running wild in licentiousness, while clamouring of their slavery, vaunting their energy, while lamenting their depression, and triumphing in their strength while mourning over their weakness. Is not *this*, however, the slavery of Irish Papists? Have they not arrogated to themselves the exclusive liberty of our state? And seem not as legislators to have taken of the insane root

Which makes the reason prisoner?

" Every office in the empire, excepts its *royalty*—and I know not of any other unconditionally excluding statute but the act of settlement—is open to the Papist who will take that common test to which we are all subject. The law enquires not into the religion of any man; it searches not, it issues no proclamation to discover the non-juror. The law compels not any man into the church, or into the state: but, when any man presents himself for employment, and obtrudes his claim upon the law, then, and not till then, the law propounds to him a certain test, which he may receive or reject at his choice. If this be slavery, it is the slavery of his own conscience,* which commands him to exclude himself, and not the slavery of the law, which excludes none, while admitting all upon equal conditions.

" Thus, the Papist refuses to be emancipated on the same terms with the Protestant, who, if he made the like refusal, would incur the like disability. The Popish conscience kecks at supporting the Protestant succession, or the Protestant establishment:—a *schismatical* government, which priest Milner† has enjoined his bishops to reprobate, and which, therefore, his bishops have commanded all good Papists to reject."

This point, which we have frequently enforced, is clearly and ably put, and, if men were guided by reason solely, we should have no more of the senseless clamour, and factious disturbance, about violated rights, penal laws, and ferocious bigotry. But, unhappily, the great mass of mankind, the great vulgar as well as the little, are led more by sound than by

* " Causes of conscience lose their nature when they extend their bounds, and grow matters of *faction*." *Queen Elizabeth's Letter to Sir Francis Walsingham.*

" This is corroborated by the opinion of Elizabeth's other minister, the illustrious Burleigh. We find it in his life, as narrated in Peck's *Desiderata curiosa*.

" He held there could be no government where there was division. And that state could never be in safety, where there was toleration of two religions. For there is no enmity so great as that for religion. And they that differ in the service of God, can never agree in the service of their Country."

† " This man has not been ashamed publicly to assert, that the most which can be expected from a '*Catholic*,' is to 'submit' to the Hanoverian succession, instead of swearing to support it. We shall notice hereafter his aversion to an '*anti-catholic king*:' but, after his obstinate tenaciousness of the *ecclesiastical* supremacy, it is pleasant to see what little repugnance Dr. Milner feels to the *laical* supremacy, so that it be vested in a *Papist*. Instead of objecting to the supremacy of any king, he denies only that of an *Anti-Catholic king*. No matter, however, until the good old times shall come round, the pope has a ready servant in his worthy Vicar-General."

sense. The magnetic power of watch-words was always acknowledged by attentive observers of human actions, but never, till the French revolution, was their practical efficacy fully established. The Papists of Ireland are well versed in revolutionary tactics, and are firmly resolved to make the best use of them.

The author, in like manner, descants on the cant-word *emancipation*, which, in no legitimate sense, can be applied to the state of the Irish Papists, by *Papists*; Protestants, indeed, may express a wish that they were *emancipated* from the state of thralldom and of slavery in which they are holden by their priests, and by the pope; but, in no other respect, as it is well known, are they in a state to be *emancipated*. They enjoy as much freedom, as great security of persons and of property, as Protestants, and may have an equal capacity for political power, if they choose, because that power is open to them on precisely the same terms on which it is open to Protestants.

The shuffling conduct of that Protean body, ycleped the Catholic board, is here ably exposed, and as the facts stated are little known to Englishmen, we shall lay the passage before our readers.

“ So many shapes have been assumed by the board, that it is equally as impossible to enumerate their impostures as to fix their character. An honest cause had needed not the changes, the shufflings, the equivocations, which have marked this motley assemblage; and to an unworthy cause these can contribute no support. In 1810, the board was a committee; and, in 1811, became a board. The delegation resolved itself into an aggregate; and its delegators declared, that the aggregate *possessed their confidence*. At one time, delegation was not representation; at another, confidence was not delegation. Thus constituted, this heterogeneous body—*every thing by fits, and nothing long*—commissioned by those who did not appoint them, and personating those whom they did not represent, professed to act only for themselves while managing for the nation, and to manage for the nation while acting only for themselves.

“ The machinery being thus arranged, it was easy for the chief juggler to shift the strings and dance the puppets. The tricks were played to the moment, at the regulation of the committee clock;* and the honour of the figures was calculated by the dial.

* “ A piece of secret history, which the English people ought to be instructed in. On the 23d of Feb. 1811, (Irish Popery has a strange affection for *twenty-thirds*:—witness the *twenty-third* of October, 1641, the *twenty-third* of May, 1798, the *twenty-third* of July, 1803) the Popish committee was to assemble at Dublin at *two o'clock*. The magistrates entered the room, to disperse this illegal meeting, at

" All this was as it ought to be : but should some unlucky automaton, no matter whether covered with the wig of a lawyer, or of a physician, say more than was set down for it, and should that more happen to be inconvenient, the string was checked, and the inspiration was withdrawn from its mouth-piece. So fared it with poor Dromgoole, who has been imprudent enough to *speck before his time* ; for, with reverence be it said, it is often a less offence to utter a falsehood *in season*, than a truth *out of season*. What ! still keeping his eye on my Lord's clock, was the doctor hypothetically *prospective* when describing the fate of our church ? ' The mischiefs it has created ! The marks of approaching ruin are upon it ! It has had its time upon the earth ! ' Or did he prophecy *in presenti* when foretelling the triumph of popery—' EN TOTTA MIKA,' ' in this thou shalt conquer ! ' "

In a note upon this passage, the author justly observes,

" The insinuation is evident. Doctor Dromgoole intends that, as these words were said to be Christ's signal of promised victory to Constantine over the Pagans, so are they now of his promised ascendancy to Popery over the Protestants. Thus, the Papists are the exclusive Christians ; while we, the devoted heretics, are the Pagans only.

But, forsooth ! no sooner do the Papists perceive the electric effect of his honest avowal of their champion, on the Protestants of the united empire, than every jesuitical artifice is excited to make it appear the act of the individual, and not the sense of the body. But the board, be it remembered, recommended the speech, applauded the speech, and vindicated the speech !

" The board is not bound by the opinion of Doctor Dromgoole ; and if it were, the Irish Papists are not bound by the opinion of the board ! Not even those Popish electors, whose ' confidence ' he has been voted to possess—even they are not committed with their confi-

half-past one ; when, after a discussion which occupied nearly twenty-eight minutes, the Right Honourable Lord Ffrench, *who had taken the chair*, assured the magistrates that the meeting was *not* a committee. On this assurance the magistrates retired ; the clock struck *two*,—and then—the meeting *was* a committee. This was a terrible stroke at honour ! *But the clock struck first !*

" Set danger from the east unto the west,
So honour cross it from the north to south,
And let them grapple."

Surely this Lord Ffrench was never destined, by nature or by education, for a *banker* ! He should have taken the cowl ; an admirable follower of Ignatius, he would have been qualified to preside at a college of Jesuits !—Ray.

dential doctor! In the name of common sense and common honesty, will these palterers tell us what they would be at?—Will they justify their blunders by their pope's bull? Why have they not expelled Doctor Dromgoole for his bigotry, as they expelled Mr. Kennedy for his moderation? *Shall we ever definitively understand them?* Had the doctor terrified us into submission, his speech would never have been disclaimed by the board, which waited for the effect, before its first sudden approbation was retracted. But, when his speech only roused our indignant resistance—*then*, the board began to disclaim it;* and one counsellor, and another counsellor, were put forward to fritter away its unseasonable doctrines, and to parade the indulgent and affectionate disposition of popery. In good time did they make their 'holiday avowal' of toleration! In evil time did the doctor avow his bigotry before their *working day*.

"Once before it has been said of the Irish rebels, that if you *go to law* with them while they *go to war* with us, the issue of the contest is evident. What would Lord Clare have said at this day, to see us, not merely *not going to law* with them, but laying courtesies at their feet which they rightly kick back into our faces?"

We know very well what Lord Clare would have said upon that subject, by what he did say whenever the question of Popish claims came under discussion in his presence. But unless report speak falsely, the eyes of the Irish government are at length opened to the danger of suffering a Popish Parliament to insult the legal authorities of the country, and to bid defiance to the law. It is said, that the Irish secretary means to propose a convention bill to meet the growing evil. But it is beyond all endurance to be told of the *loyalty* of the Irish Papists! Of men who dare to talk of the *obstinacy* of our venerable sovereign, and of the *bigotry* of a minister, than whom a more mild, humane, and benevolent, christian, never adorned the country; of men, too, who have the presumption to libel Providence, by imputing the murder of Mr. Perceval, and the illness of the King, to the interposition of the Almighty, for the express purpose of favouring the Popish claims! There is, in this, such a mixture of superstition, of impiety, of audacity, and of malignity, as at once to excite surprize and disgust;

"* A Counsellor Finlay, who is at present a Protestant, in an oration delivered at one of these meetings, thus expressed himself—'Your emancipation had but two obstacles, **THE OBSTINACY OF THE KING**, and the stupid bigotry of his minister (Mr. Perceval). **PROVIDENCE HAS INTERFERED TO REMOVE THESE.** *The king no longer ranks among the rational, nor his minister among the living.*' This precious *morceau* of piety, loyalty, and humanity, was **LOUDLY CHEERED AND NEVER DISCLAIMED.**"

and none, surely, but an assemblage of fiends, could have received with applause, a declaration so truly diabolical !

In this able tract, the Ecclesiastical Supremacy of the Crown is traced to the earliest periods of our history, as well before the establishment of Popery, as during its existence. And the documents and proofs by which it is supported, neither the arch-dissembler Milner, the honest bigot Dromgoole, nor the whole conclave of Cardinals, with his holiness at their head, could, by the exercise of the utmost ingenuity, and by the employment of their customary artifices, possibly invalidate. The author shows that this supremacy was even acknowledged to exist, in the first stage of christianity in Britain. Pope Eleutherius addressed the first of our christian kings, Lucius, as " God's vicar within his own kingdom." This fact, it is true, depends on *tradition* ; an authority, however, on which Papists place a special reliance ; but it is most certain, that the supremacy over all ecclesiastical concerns was enjoyed and exercised, by our earliest British, Saxon, Danish, and Norman, sovereigns.

In the embarrassed reign of our first Henry, the pope sent his residentiary legate to England ; the two chief objects of whose mission was to deprive the crown of the right of investiture, and to compel the clergy to lead a life of celibacy !

" This anti-conjugal measure was entrusted to the Cardinal John de Crema, a young and vigorous Italian ; who came over to England by the pope's authority. On the day of his arrival, he made a fine oration in praise of sacerdotal chastity ; and on the same night, as the best gloss upon his text, he was caught in bed with a convenient damsel. For this unlucky anecdote, the Papists must quarrel, not with me, but with the contemporary historians, Roger Hoveden and Henry of Huntingdon.

Modern Papists, by an improved consistency, contrive to evade a reproach of this nature, by reconciling the clerical vow of celibacy with the practice of incontinence. They contend that their clergy swear only to lead *single*, and not *chaste*, lives ; that celibacy by no means implies continence ; and that, therefore, an act of incontinence is no breach of the vow. This casuistry we have heard with our own ears ; and from a very intelligent Papist.

The legate, however, succeeded, with the assistance of the turbulent primate of that period, Anselm, in the accomplishment of both his objects. The *fornicating* cardinal excommunicated the *married* clergy ; and, after a long struggle, the right of investiture was, for the first time, wrested from the feeble hands of Henry.

"Thus," says our intelligent author, "in the tenth century of our christianity, the pope, *for the first time*, obtained in England, a privilege, not only inconsistent with her primitive religion, and contrary to her common law, but in its substance utterly invalid; as being conceded only by the assent of the sovereign in Synod, and un-sanctioned by the Parliament, which alone could alter the constitution of the realm. In fact, it was nullified by the saving clause of Henry himself—'*suis tantum juribus regalibus sepositis et exceptis*'—a clause perhaps, almost emulating in its offence the nullifying clauses of Mr. Canning. Indeed, the historian Matthew Paris informs us, that this void compact was speedily avoided: the pope sending over his legates, and the King resuming his right of investiture.

The author goes on to shew the recognition and assertion of the supremacy, by the nobles, as vested in their sovereigns by the common law of the land, and he, very pertinently, asks, if the Romanists of the nineteenth century cherish in their *never-changing* church the principles and the pretensions of the darkest ages, shall the Protestants remove the acquirements, and nullify the courage of *their* ancestors? If the Romanists will not relax the arrogations of their pope, shall the Protestants relax the obligations of their king? Again, he justly observes,

"The ecclesiastical authority, which was recognized by Catholic legislatures, and acknowledged by Catholic bishops, as inherent in Catholic sovereigns, cannot now be asserted as inherent in the pope. If that supremacy were then contrary to law, it cannot now be asserted as a legal right: if it were then the possession of the state, it cannot now be the patrimony of the church: if it were then the prerogative of the king, it cannot now be the privilege of the pope: if it were then a matter of law, it cannot now be a point of faith: in a word, if the maintenance of the Papal supremacy in England or Ireland were then an offence, its prohibition cannot now be a grievance. The power, which from our earliest christianity had been exercised by laics, was not at any period of a spiritual nature; and that which was never inherently spiritual, cannot now be a necessarily component part of creeds or doctrines, occasionally as it may be interwoven among rituals and disciplines. Let not priest Milner argue, that when our monarchs ceased to be Catholic, they ceased to be supreme; or that their sovereignty expired with their superstition! He must not tell the English Protestants, that the reformation, which was made a part of their law, divested their king of any his least prerogative; or, that their separation from the Romish church established in Britain the supremacy of the Roman pontiff?"

Here the Papists are hung up on the horns of a dilemma, and must have recourse to some of their own casuists to cut them down. After many other strong facts and cogent argu-

ments, the author comes to this just conclusion, that the period of evasion and compromise is past, and that the nation must now decide,

“ *Whether Popery or Protestantism shall possess the ascendancy in Britain.* Better to surrender that ascendancy at once, than to suffer this eternal agitation ! Better to sweep away at one blow the barriers of our establishment, than to watch and ward them with this harassing vigilance ! Better to annul our constitution by an open enactment, than to repeal it by a covert implication !

“ The alternative of safety and of submission is yet ours. But, dangerous as emancipation would prove, absolute and unconditional, it is not half so earnestly to be deprecated as that miserable species of concession which ensures neither kindness nor security ; which offends the papist while it gratifies not the protestant, and alienates the protestant while it attaches not the papist ; which makes enemies of both, and friends of neither ; which argues all the folly of desperation without its courage, and all the weakness of cowardice without its caution. In the name of God, let us not temporize between two dangers, until we incur the evil of both ! Rather let us resolve which to meet, that we may be able to escape the other ! The crisis is now arrived, when the state must make its election between protestant allegiance and popish gratitude. Let that election be made with unhesitating decision, and maintained with single consistency ; but away with that vacillating policy which puts forward cunning as wisdom, distrust as confidence, equivocation as candour, and reservation as concession !”

This is the language of wisdom and of patriotism too. The policy which has been shewed towards the papists, during the present reign, has been any thing but wise. The grant of the elective franchise was the source of all subsequent evils ; and its repeal will be their only radical cure. We are sensible, that, by this frank avowal of our opinion, we shall offend both parties in the state ; but as we are actuated by no party-motive ourselves, we are little solicitous to conciliate any party. We maintain what we believe to be the truth ; and we uphold what we feel to be the real interests of the established church, which forms an integral part of the British constitution. The advocates for the papists would fain have us believe, that one concession of necessity leads to another, or, in other words, that one act of folly affords a sanction for the commission of another ; whether they impose on their own understanding, or wish only to delude others, we neither know nor care ; between imbecility and deceit they are at liberty to chuse. They would fain persuade us, too, that we are now in a situation in which we cannot go back, *vestigia nulla retrorsum* ; but

why all laws in favour of papists, however they may have failed to produce their intended effect, or even when experience have proved them to be productive of increased danger instead of expected security, are not to be repealed, we confess ourselves unable to understand. Nor can we comprehend that curious system of parliamentary logic, by which it is contended, that the legislature is fully competent to repeal laws, which oppose obstacles to the growth of schism, the diffusion of infidelity, or the encouragement of blasphemy; but that it is not competent to repeal any laws which affect the safety of the established church, or the security of the state. We have not yet been able so to discipline our minds as to reduce them to the standard of modish liberality; we are old-fashioned men, who cling to old customs, and even cherish old *prejudices*, as they are now called. We are too old to go to school again; besides, we have an insuperable antipathy to the new schools, both of state-morality, and of state-policy; we cannot reconcile the one to our ideas of integrity; nor the other to our sense of wisdom.

The author of the tract before us, is, we believe, the only public writer who has joined with us in boldly expressing an opinion of the necessity of repealing the bill which granted the elective franchise to the people of Ireland. He is an Irish protestant himself, and he knows these men *intus et in cute*.

"I know the Irish papists to their heart's core; and in full and mature conviction I do assert, that all the jealousies, all the rancours, all the calamities, which have afflicted Ireland through the last twenty years, and which the union hath incorporated along with Ireland into our empire, took their origin from her ill-advised surrender of the electing franchise to her ungrateful papists. Further I do assert, that THE BRITISH EMPIRE WILL NEVER POSSESS QUIET NOR SAFETY UNTIL THE PAPISTS ARE DIVESTED OF THAT MISUSED AND DANGEROUS PRIVILEGE. I have said that the law must put down emancipation, or emancipation will put down the law; I now add, that the union must extinguish popery, or popery will extinguish the union.

*"Ut jugulent homines, surgunt de nocte Latrones;
Ut leipsum serves non expergisceris?"*

A curious anecdote is related in a note respecting the visit of Mr. Peter Finnerty to the Popish committee at Dublin, which he persuaded to forego a design which was then entertained of ceasing to petition the legislature. The argument which proved so successful, was that the only object of emancipation was, "*a reform in Parliament and a dissolution of the union.*"

We earnestly recommend to the advocates for emancipation Lord Burleigh's advice to his Sovereign, which is strictly applicable to the present times ; they will find a very apposite extract from it in this tract, which contains a great deal of valuable information. It ought, therefore, to be read by every Protestant in the united empire.

Travels through Canada and the United States of North America, in the Years 1806, 1807, and 1808. To which are added, Biographical Notices and Anecdotes of some of the Leading Characters in the United States. By John Lambert. In Two Volumes, 8vo. with a Map, and numerous Engravings. Second Edition, Corrected and Improved. Pp. 1076. Cradock and Joy, London ; Doig and Stirling, Edinburgh ; and Keene, Dublin. 1814.

A SECOND EDITION of these Travels, it appears, had become necessary three years ago, but from some obstacles, which the author has not found it necessary to explain, it could not make its appearance till the present moment, when it is ushered into the world with 'emendations and improvements.' The work has certainly the recommendation of conveying a more full and satisfactory account of a colony which daily acquires additional importance, than has been hitherto given by any preceding traveller. The author assures us that this account is the result of his own personal observation and knowledge, and not collected either from report, or from the writings of others. This is satisfactory, as far as facts are concerned, but as to opinions or conclusions drawn from these facts, Mr. Lambert is as liable to error as any other person ; and though we agree with him in many of his sentiments and deductions, there are others in these volumes from which we entirely dissent.

The two prominent subjects discussed by the author, are first, the State of the Canadas and their inhabitants ; and second, the State of the Americans and of their Country. To the first of these will our attention, in this article, be principally confined. In his preface to the present edition, Mr. Lambert remarks of the people of the United States,

" The inhabitants of the United States are composed of people from almost every nation in Europe, though by far the greater part are descended of (from) British parents. The establishment of their independence has created an evident change in their moral, as well as political, character ; and from this, no doubt, arises that self-conse-

quence and conceit in the young American, which gives (give) such an air of rude licentious liberty to the mass of the people.

"This kind of liberty frequently proves more tyrannical in society than the occasional abuse of magisterial power in a monarchical government; for a man in the American States, if he does not happen to be on the popular side of the question, is often afraid to speak his sentiments, lest he should be abused and ill-treated. These political animosities and arbitrary conduct extend even to Courts of Justice, where the judges on the bench too often feel their contagious effects. It is such coarseness and vulgarity in their political disputes, which render the American manners so repulsive to Europeans, and have raised in their minds so great a prejudice against them. There is, nevertheless, much real worth in the American character. The United States can boast of having produced many excellent men, who have reflected the greatest credit on their country."

The liberty here depicted, which we should call licentiousness, bordering upon brutality, and more resembling the conduct of savages than of a civilized people, is not calculated to make the subjects of a monarchy very warm advocates for a republican form of government. We question much whether the boasted independence of the Americans—the fruit of treason and rebellion grafted on ingratitude—has been productive of beneficial effects, either to their *political* or to their *moral* character. To the latter we know, to a certainty, that it has *not*, but as the change which our author represents as so evident is not defined by him, nor even its nature alluded to, we can neither question its existence, nor examine its qualities. Such a motley assemblage of people, composed, in a great measure, of the dregs of Europe, is not likely to excite any sensations bordering upon admiration or envy. What worth there may be in the American character—by which must be understood the *national* character—we are unable to say, never having been able to discover the smallest trace of it in their public measures, or in their relations with foreign powers. That there must exist, in a country having such a population, many worthy and even eminent individuals, it would be egregious folly; and obstinate injustice, to doubt; and we know, indeed, that America produces most amiable characters, possessing, in a superior degree, all the virtues and qualifications which can adorn domestic and social life; but these must be considered as exceptions to a rule. The national character of America has nothing attractive, nothing commanding, nothing great, belonging to it. In fact, if there were strength, energy, or virtue, in the people, considered in the aggregate, would they ever have subjected themselves to the just imputations cast upon them, in the following passage;

" The war in this country has been commenced on the part of the Americans in total disregard of their own interests, as well as those of honour and humanity. They have voluntarily enrolled themselves in the cause of universal despotism, and, could they receive his assistance, would put themselves under the banners of one of the greatest tyrants that ever swayed a sceptre. Yet these people talk loudly of their republican liberty—their love of freedom and of virtue. If their government possessed one spark of either, it would have lent itself to a better cause. The American name is degraded under such rulers. The whole people are stigmatized for the sottish ignorance of a few demagogues; and they are regarded by Europeans with distrust and contempt, for the paltry equivocation and shuffling which have marked their official character. Had a Washington or a Hamilton presided at this eventful period, how different would have been their conduct."

But to whom are these sottish blockheads, and worse than blockheads, the tools and agents of a foreign tyrant, indebted for their ability, thus to disgrace and to impoverish the nation? To the people who have elected them, again and again, and who have shown the most marked hostility to their opponents. The people, therefore, are disgraced, and fairly involved in all the guilt and obloquy which so justly attach to their government. Not, however, that the people have been unanimous in their support of these men; on the contrary, a very numerous and respectable portion of the inhabitants have loudly condemned their conduct, and openly exposed, and, as far as they could, resisted, their measures. Of the mode in which this profligate government have conducted the war, in which, in defiance of all principle, they have involved their country, we have the following brief but just account:

" The ignorance and imbecility of the American Government have completely baffled the expectations of all parties; for it cannot be imputed to the wisdom of its councils, that its naval captains fought with skill and bravery. Several of those officers were educated in the British navy, and acquired their knowledge in a school which it was not in the power of the United States to create. The Generals and Officers commanding their land forces, have displayed every thing but knowledge, conduct, and valour; and their troops, every thing but discipline and subordination. One army, after a march of some hundred miles into the interior, turns short round, and runs home frightened at an enemy which it had never seen; and leaves its unfortunate commander behind it, lamenting his hard fate, and a troublesome diarrhœa. Another sets out on a contrary direction; but, instead of pursuing its enemies, is employed in running after pigs and poultry, and plundering the houses of its countrymen. One officer and his corps are surrounded and taken by a handful of British; another

surrenders a fort without firing a shot ; and a third, who is no less a person than the Commander-in-Chief,* winds up the campaign by going distracted."

These, assuredly, are not feats to adorn the military annals of these magnanimous republicans. But, it must be admitted, that the *success* of the war, on the part of America, is on a par with its *justice*. We now quit this new preface, to turn to the original "Introduction," on which we have a few observations to make. The author informs his readers that he had long been anxious to explore those parts which had been "*rendered interesting by the glories of a Wolfe and a Washington!*" We could scarcely credit our senses, when we read this short sentence. We presume that Mr. Lambert is an Englishman, and if so, we would ask him, in the first place, how he could think of degrading a British general, fighting for his King and country, by placing him on a level with a rebel chief, engaged in the cause of revolt and treason? Washington, whatever virtues he might possess, was a *rebel* ; and, had he been taken, the laws of *this* country would have condemned him to suffer the death of a traitor ; *his* principles, therefore, become justly exposed to suspicion, who can raise this rebel to the same rank, in the annals of glory, with a loyal British leader, who sacrificed his life in the service of his King, and in fighting against the enemies of his country. In the next place, we would ask this incautious writer, whether he deems it consistent with the loyalty and allegiance of a British subject, to contemplate the acts of a rebel fighting *against* his king and country, with *interest*, and to represent them to the world as *interesting* ? This is one of the effects of that laxity of principle, or rather, perhaps, of that absence of all fixed principles, and correct notions of duty, which constitutes one of the prominent characteristics of this age of *liberality*. Men, ignorant of the foundation of allegiance, and having but the most vague ideas of loyalty, or of those political duties which are prescribed by a much higher authority than that of a human legislature, both think and write loosely, and reprehensibly, on subjects of this nature, which they have taken no pains to understand. The Americans, we are told, hold "a distinguished rank in the scale of independent nations." The assertion is at variance with the fact. The perfidy, the constant breaches of good faith, the disgraceful subterfuges, and the notorious falsehoods, which have marked the conduct, and characterized the policy, of their

* " General Dearborne, Secretary at War."

government, have sunk them to the very *lowest* rank in the scale of nations.

Mr. Lambert assumes to himself the exclusive merit of having viewed the manners and disposition of the Americans without prejudice. And he more than insinuates that he is the only traveller who has not given an "imperfect or distorted picture of the country and its inhabitants." He seems to have been ignorant of the travels published by Parkinson, a man of plain, practical, knowledge, who had much better opportunities than himself of acquiring a perfect acquaintance with the manners and disposition of the people, and of the state of the country, since he *resided* amongst them for a considerable time, and went thither with the intention of passing there the remainder of his days. In fact, we place a greater reliance on the representations of Parkinson, than on those of any other writer on the same subject. We pass over some other loose remarks of the author on the United States, in his "Introduction," and proceed briefly to consider the work itself.

Mr. Lambert reached Trepasè Bay, in Newfoundland, on the 11th Oct. 1806, and he gives us a very miserable account of St. John's, the capital of that settlement. He pursued his course to the river St. Lawrence, which he entered, after many perils and "hair-breadth 'scapes." At Father point, at which they arrived on the 23d of October, they took on board a pilot to conduct them to Quebec, a distance of more than two hundred miles, who appears to have been an original character.

"Our pilot, Louis Le Clair, was an old French Canadian, possessed, like the rest of his countrymen, of a tolerable opinion of himself; yet was a good-humoured, friendly, fellow. It was not long before we found, that his predilection for the clergy was not excessive. He entertained us with many of his whimsical opinions, and declared that, for his own part, he never went to confession, though he allowed his wife and daughters to go. 'Women,' says he, 'can never be happy until they let out their secrets, and on that account it is necessary they should have a confessor; I therefore pay him his fees, which is only justice: but for myself I consider it all as a mere farce; and it must be so, since the women say that they only tell the priests a part, and conceal the rest.' A few years ago, the pilot picked up an English bible, which had been thrown ashore from the wreck of a ship: as he understood the language, he read it through, and it opened his eyes so much, that he could not forbear, soon after, disputing with his curé upon certain points of religion. The latter was much surprised to find him so knowing, and inquired how he had obtained his information; upon which the old man shewed him the bible. The priest declared it was not a fit book for him to read, and desired he would give it into his charge. This the pilot refused, and the curé

threatened to write to the bishop, and have him excommunicated as a heretic ; but finding that neither threats nor entreaties had any effect, he was necessitated to request that he would keep it to himself, and not let any of his neighbours know that he had such a book. The old pilot declared, that he considered the finding of that bible the happiest event of his life, in consequence of the comfort and consolation which he derived from perusing it."

This priest was a true Papist; he well knew that to keep his flock in total ignorance of revelation was the only means of establishing his own despotism over their minds, and of keeping them secure in the trammels of superstition. The injunction to 'Search the scriptures,' he, no doubt, represented as exclusively intended for the *priesthood*! The Papists and the bible society fall into two opposite extremes, and as there is an acknowledged tendency in extremes to approximate, we should not be very much surprised, if, sooner or later, they should join hands, and unite exertions. The Papists contend, that the bible is nothing, and the priests every thing ; while the bible society maintain that the bible is every thing, and the clergy nothing. The sound members of the church of England, in this, as in other things, steer the just medium between the two ; by insisting on the necessity of preaching, and teaching to expound and illustrate the many "things hard to be understood," which the holy scriptures contain ; enjoining, however, every man attentively to read, and diligently to study, that sacred book of life. In this, they are supported by the authority of the divine founder of their faith.

Mr. Lambert gives a lively and animated description of the noble view from the river, when the city of Quebec and the surrounding country first appear in sight. He established his residence in the lower town, the streets of which he compares to the dirtiest lanes in London. The highest part of the rock on which the upper town of Quebec is situated, is called Cape Diamond.

"Cape Diamond is stated by Mr. Weld, in his travels, to be upwards of one thousand feet above the level of the river : this account is, however, extremely erroneous ; its utmost height being only three hundred and fifty feet perpendicular, which an officer of engineers informed me was the actual measurement. From this altitude it subsides, towards the northern extremity, into a height of little more than two hundred and fifty feet. The aspect of this immense body of rock is steep and rugged ; in several places it projects in a very dangerous manner over the houses of the lower town, and has occasioned many serious accidents. In the winter-time the fissures and cavities of the rock are filled up with snow, which, as it freezes into ice, ex-

pands beyond its usual bounds, and splits many of the projecting parts into fragments : these are loosened by the warm sun of March and April, and often precipitated on the unwary passenger below.

Of the manners, habits, and modes of living, of the different classes and descriptions of people who inhabit Canada, a pretty copious and interesting account is given ; more so, indeed, than is to be found in any book of travels, relating to that country, which we are acquainted with. The market-place at Quebec must, according to the following account, exhibit a curious scene to a traveller.

“ A curious sort of jargon is carried on in the market-place, between the French who do not understand English, and the English who do not understand French. Each endeavours to meet the other half-way in his own tongue, by which means they contrive to comprehend one another, by broken phrases ; for the common French marketing terms are soon picked up. This intercourse between the French and English has occasioned the former to engraft many anglicisms in their language, which, to a stranger arriving from England, and speaking only boarding-school French, is at first rather puzzling. The Canadians have had the character of speaking the purest French, but I question whether they deserve it at the present day.”

In upper Canada a very small proportion of the inhabitants are English ; in both the Canadas, indeed, Mr. Lambert assures us, there are not more than two hundred Englishmen, and in Quebec only twelve or fourteen.

“ The rest are either Irish or Scotch, though the former bear no proportion to the latter, who are distributed from one end of the Canadas to the other. The Irish emigrate more to the United States than to Canada, and no less than 30,000 are said to have emigrated there in 1801. Being discontented with their own government, they endeavour to seek relief under a foreign one, whose virtues have been so greatly exaggerated, and whose excellent properties have been extolled to the skies. A few months, however, convince them of their error, and those who are not *solid* to their American masters, generally find their way into Upper Canada.

“ Of all British emigrants, the Scotch are the most indefatigable and persevering. In poverty they leave their native home, yet seldom return to it without a handsome competency. Their patient diligence and submission in the pursuit of riches, together with their general knowledge and good sense, render them highly beneficial to the mother country, while their natural partiality for their native soil, secures their steady attachment and adherence to the British government.”

There are a steadiness, a perseverance, and a decorum in the Scotch character, highly creditable to the nation, and highly
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honourable to the people. In whatever part of the world their lot is cast, these distinguishing characteristics never forsake them; and, therefore, most deservedly do they reap the fruits of their good qualities. The descendants of the original French settlers in Canada, who are distinguished by the peculiar appellation of *habitans*, (though why they are not called inhabitants, it is impossible to conjecture, since that is the sole meaning of the French term) appear to be a quiet, inoffensive people, living in patriarchal harmony with each other, and in habits of friendly intercourse with the rest of the colony. The author speaks thus favourably of them—

“ They are universally modest in their behaviour—the women from natural causes, the men from custom. The latter never bathe in the river without their trowsers, or a handkerchief tied round their middle.

“ They marry young, and are seldom without a numerous family. Hence their passions are kept within proper bounds, and seldom become liable to those excesses which too often stigmatize and degrade the human character.

“ The men are possessed of strong natural genius, and good common sense; both of which are, however, but very seldom improved by education, owing to the paucity of schools in Canada. The women are better instructed, or at least better informed; for they are more attended to by the priests. Hence they generally acquire an influence over their husbands, which those who are gay and coquetish, know how to turn to their own advantage.”

Altogether we should imagine the society in Canada, and the style of living, to be by no means unpleasant to either Frenchmen or Englishmen, and such as would enable a man to pass the long winter agreeably enough. It is more than a pity, that some pains are not taken, by a system of public education, to diffuse a knowledge of the English language among the inhabitants. Policy requires the adoption of such a measure, as it would tend, more than any thing, to cement the connection between the inhabitants of either country, and to consolidate them, as it were, into one people.

A singular instance of either culpable negligence, or something worse, on the part of the agents of the government, is recorded respecting the disposal of some forges belonging to the king. In 1798 they produced only 20*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum—in 1803. they were let to some merchants at Quebec for 850*l.* per annum—and three years afterwards, on the expiration of the lease, they were put up to public auction, when the same merchants took them, on a lease for twenty years, at a rent of only 60*l.* being the only bidders. Another person

who meant to bid for them, is said to have been accidentally prevented from attending the sale. And the very merchants who took them at this low rent, had determined to give 1200l. a year for them, sooner than lose them ! Somebody must have been to blame for this. Mr. Lambert also mentions the case of a Commissary-General in Canada, who appears to have made free with some of the public money, for he imputes his "defection," as he calls it, to the want of vigilance in the government. And he adds,

" I have also heard, that abuses exist, to a very alarming degree, in the government of Upper Canada, which call for immediate investigation. Even the pure republicans of the United States, who are continually speaking with reproach of the old and vicious governments of Europe, confess that they lately had a VICE-PRESIDENT ON TRIAL FOR TREASON—A SENATOR OF CONGRESS ON TRIAL FOR CONSPIRACY—A COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE NAVY ON TRIAL FOR COWARDICE—AND A COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMY ON TRIAL FOR BRIBERY AND CORRUPTION !"

A pretty specimen truly of the sternness and purity of republican virtue. On the subject of religion the author's remarks are loose, superficial, and inconclusive.

" The Romish religion," he observes, " is a serpent without a sting ; and, like those which the Jugglers of India carry about, it may come out of its box to amuse the people, but it can do them no injury. *It is a singular fact, that religions of every denomination prosper more under a state of persecution than of toleration.*

This is a common-place assertion, often repeated without reflection, and, which is still worse, without examination into its justice. The truth is, that this "singular fact" is any thing but a fact. Did the Hugonots prosper in France under the persecutions of Charles IX. or of Louis XIV. ? Or did the Protestants flourish in England under the reign of Mary ? The assertion, then, is not more repugnant to historical truth, than it is revolting to common sense. Our author sees the Roman Catholics of Canada enjoying political consequence and power, and yet pursuing no plans against the government, or the Protestant part of the community ; and thence he draws the following most sagacious inference.

" An English or Irish Roman Catholic, upon the same principle, would care very little whether a Protestant or Catholic prince filled the throne, as long as he enjoyed the same honours and confidence as his Protestant brethren, and had nothing to gain by the change."

It is no great compliment to pay to the papists, to say that

they will remain faithful to their king and country, if they have nothing to gain by their treachery and desertion. It follows, then, according to Mr. Lambert's mode of reasoning, that where they have something to gain by their treason they ought not to be trusted. And that the Irish papists would have something to gain by the subversion of the established church it needs no argument to prove. Dr. Dringooole, who understands the question much better than Mr. Lambert, has already settled the point. And as to any change in the disposition or principles of modern papists, Dr. Troy and Mr. Plowden, who know them much better than Mr. Lambert, have given him a formal contradiction on that head. We are not a little surprised, then, that with such testimonies before him, he should presume, on a subject which he has considered most superficially, if at all, to speak, in contradiction to them, thus dogmatically. With an assurance equalled only by his ignorance, he represents the protestants of Ireland as the oppressors of the papists; not only is this assertion totally unfounded in fact, but the fact is the very reverse of his statement; for, were this the place for such a discussion, we could produce abundant proofs of Irish protestants persecuted by papists. He then begs the question, and, in a strain of loose declamation, adds, "Do away *their grievances*; and they will have nothing to complain of; put them on the same footing as ourselves, and they will have nothing to hope for, nothing to expect, beyond what they are lawfully entitled to." This advice to make George the Third do even more than what cost James the Second his crown and political existence, comes with an uncommon good grace from this commercial tourist. If this gentleman had confined himself to staves, lumber, hogsheds, commercial regulations, and the state of habits, and manners, and laws, as he found them in the countries which he visited, he would not have merited the reproach of ignorance and presumption which must now attach to him, for meddling with things beyond the compass of his studies; and for which his pursuits have evidently disqualified him to judge. But he must be ignorant of human nature, beyond all ordinary degrees of ignorance, or be simple beyond all common degrees of simplicity, if he really believes the papists would be so harmless and contented as he represents them, in case they were admitted to the same capability of enjoying political power as the protestants enjoy, without submitting to the same conditions to which the protestants are obliged to submit—a part of the question which this dogmatical writer, with all his candour, has thought proper wholly to overlook. In the first place, we

peremptorily deny his assertion, that the papists of Ireland labour under any *grievance* ; they have the same security for their persons and their property as protestants have ; and they labour under no incapacity but what they voluntarily impose upon themselves—the law imposes none. It prescribes a test, indeed, to be taken by all subjects, indiscriminately, who seek for place or power in the state ; such protestants and others as chuse to take it become capable of holding either place or power ; such as do not chuse to take it, from whatever motive, remain incapable ;—but this is no grievance, it infringes no privilege, it violates no right.

In the next place, experience might have satisfied this inconsiderate, and ill-informed, writer, that it is by no means a necessary consequence, that, because men have nothing to complain of, they will not complain. History abounds with proofs of the contrary. When the elective franchise was applied for by the Irish papists, all their leaders and even Mr. Grattan himself, pledged themselves, that, if their application were successful, they should be perfectly satisfied, and would utter no more complaints, would prefer no farther demands. Yet since that period, their complaints have become louder, their demands more numerous and more urgent. But, forsooth ! “ they will have nothing to hope for, nothing to expect beyond what they are lawfully entitled to.” We have the assurance of Dr. Dromgoole, sanctioned by the approbation of the *Catholic Board*, that they would not only hope for, and expect, but would exert their utmost efforts to promote, the subversion of the established church, and the ascendancy of popery, which, with all due deference to this theological sophister, would not be very lawful, nor absolutely unimportant. But his folly and presumption do not end here. He goes on, in the usual way of men who affect to reason on subjects which they do not understand, to argue most illogically, to make comparisons where no analogy can be found, and to draw general conclusions from particular premises. He presumes that the opponents of the popish claims have forgotten the reign of Elizabeth --- the fact is, that he has either forgotten or wholly overlooked those points in Elizabeth's reign which bear immediately on the subject under his consideration ; and, which is still more extraordinary, though easily to be accounted for, in a way not very creditable to either his candour or his fidelity, he has chosen entirely to pass over the *very instructive* reign of her sister, Mary. Oh ! but he has a triumphant argument to produce against us ! The papists raise no disturbances in the United States ! And, in the Canadas, the utmost harmony

prevails between the papists and the protestants, and *therefore*, no danger could possibly accrue to the protestant constitution, and established church, of Great Britain, from a compliance with the demands of the Irish papists. On a man who reasons so wildly, or who, as the French would more appropriately express it, *qui deraisonne tant*, argument would be thrown away. We shall beg leave just to remind him, however, that there are *some trifling differences* between the countries which he adduces as examples, and that country which he kindly undertakes to admonish. In the United States of America, there is no religion of the state, no religion established by law---it is foreign from our purpose to consider what effect this regulation has upon public morals; but the fact being so, every rational man will instantly perceive, that America cannot possibly be adduced as a case in point, nor, indeed, could it bear at all on the argument, unless the question were, the policy or impolicy of having an established religion in Great Britain, which no *liberalist* of the present age, we believe, since the death of the great Heresiarch, Priestley, has ventured to moot.

The Canadas, too, are peculiarly circumstanced; at the time of the conquest, they were a catholic country; the catholic was the *established religion*; and an immense majority of the population was, and still is, Catholic. The catholic religion, too, was, and most properly, secured in all its rights, privileges, and immunities, and is still in effect, the established religion of the country. The protestant religion is, indeed, tolerated; but its clergy are pensioners of the state. If any argument were to be derived, then, from the state of things in the Canadas, it would bear a directly contrary application to that which Mr. Lambert has, stupidly, given it.

Yet, confiding in his own strength, he ventures still farther out of his depth, when he quits *particulars* and comes to *generals*.

"A man," he gravely insists, "cannot be said to be accountable for the errors and defects of that religion which originated centuries before he was born, and in which he was initiated by his parents. The *m* receipts of every religion tend to the adoration of a supreme Being, though the forms under which he is worshipped are nearly as various as the people who worship him. *While, therefore, a man acts strictly up to the precepts inculcated by his faith, no matter whether Pagan, Christian, Jew, or Mohammedan, he is, according to my humble ideas, as much entitled to admission into Heaven as one of a contrary religion, though the latter should arrogate to himself and others of his sect exclusive right and title to that holy place.*"

The author labours under a radical error, which is wholly

inexcusable in a man who thinks himself qualified to obtrude his opinions on the Christian world, on the most important of all subjects. He assumes it as a fact, (and in truth there is no end to his assumptions) that every denomination of christians claims to itself an exclusive title to salvation. When the fact is so notorious, that scarcely a child can be ignorant of it, that this intolerant and unchristian pretension is confined solely to the church of Rome. The Protestants never were either so ignorant or so impious as to maintain the outrageous proposition, that none but themselves would be saved. And it is not to be endured, that a mercantile traveller, because he chuses to exercise his ingenuity in descanting on religious subjects, should thus libel the greater part of the Christian community. He must submit to correction, also, for profanely talking of man being *entitled* to admission into heaven; he ought to know, that admission to that consummation of all felicity, is a matter of *grace* to be humbly and gratefully acknowledged, not of *right* to be presumptuously and impiously asserted.

Every man is accountable for the faith which he professes, and for the doctrines which he embraces, who has the means afforded him of trying both by the only infallible test—the Holy Scriptures; and of obtaining the advice and assistance of those spiritual preachers and teachers, whom Christ himself appointed for the instruction and edification of the members of his church. To men so circumstanced, then, ignorance and example neither do nor can supply any available excuse for error, cherished and persevered in. That the *Jew*, who not only rejected, but sacrificed, his God, is equally entitled to a heavenly reward, with the Christian who received, adored, and obeyed him, is an assertion so fraught with temerity, and so repugnant to common sense, that no words can characterize it with appropriate strength. It is not for man, indeed, to prescribe bounds to the mercy of his Creator; but as God himself has prescribed the conditions, without an observance of which, man cannot be saved, it is neither rashness nor intolerance to declare, that none but sincere and obedient Christians, who perform these conditions, can be the objects of his *covenanted* mercy; and, therefore, it is the height of arrogance and presumption in a Christian to assign to all men, even to those who have rejected his covenant, the same rewards as are graciously promised to those who accept and observe it. Much more might be said, in the way of correction, to this writer, who pursues his wild declamation on religion, through a dozen or fourteen octavo pages, but we have said sufficient to mark

his spirit, and to expose his ignorance. And, all we are anxious for, is to prevent the minds of readers, as weak and superficial as himself, from being led astray by his bold assertions, and his wretched sophistry. The age is liberal, and we know, from experience, that every thing which favours a laxity of principle, religious, moral, or political, meets with a favourable reception, and a ready belief. He closes his dissertation with some gross reflections on the Protestant clergy in Canada, whom he roundly taxes with a haughty, supercilious, behaviour; with a deficiency in the necessary qualifications to excite affection, and to raise esteem; with inability to read the service with propriety; and with exaction; he excepts, indeed, the bishop of Quebec from the scope of his observations, condescendingly admitting him to be a man of talents, and a most eloquent and masterly preacher, but he qualifies his commendation with a sneering remark—that “his salary is 3,500 per annum, and he preaches two sermons annually.” As we do not suspect this travelling trader of knowing what the duties of a bishop are, we shall not censure him for supposing that preaching constitutes a part of it. As to his reflections on the clergy, we do not know enough of them to justify us in declaring them to be wholly unfounded; but, with the specimens which we have before us, of his own blunders and misrepresentations, and perversions, on subjects connected with religion, as his opinion is evidently founded, in a great measure, on the report of others, we shall certainly withhold our belief of their justice and applicability, until we shall be better informed. We shall now take leave of Mr. Lambert for the present, and postpone our further observations on his work to the ensuing month.

(To be concluded in our next.)

The Cottager's Friend; or, a word in season to him who is so fortunate as to possess a Bible or New Testament, in two parts. Being, principally, a selection of Texts from Gastrell's (Francis Lord Bishop of Chester,) Christian Institutes; or, the sincere Word of God: in order to instruct and induce the ignorant and unlearned to search the SCRIPTURES, and implant and confirm in the heart of every true Protestant, the Principles of THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, as by law established. Also short Forms of Prayer, &c. for several occasions; selected from the works of Bishop Wilson, and other learned and pious Divines. Inscribed by Permission to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of St. David's. By Admiral Lord Rad-

stock, Fifth Edition. London, Rivingtons, St. Paul's Church Yard; Hatchard, Piccadilly. Price 4d. or 3s. 6d. per dozen. 1814.

THE mistakes made by many well disposed Christians, concerning the proper nature of Faith, have ever occasioned great embarrassments to those who have been called to the high office of instructing the people in the momentous articles of Christian truth. How far faith may be supposed to exclude the necessity of works, or whether Faith and works are to be united, to render either separately acceptable to God, is a subject that has ever exercised the ingenuity of the teachers of Christianity, and the divided opinion prevailing upon it among Christians, from the days of the Apostles to the present period, too clearly manifest with how little good effect it has been agitated. Much of the supposed difficulty arises, probably rather from the ambiguity of language than from any real difference of opinion among the professors of Christianity; for it is impossible that any person of the plainest understanding should peruse the Scriptures, and not be satisfied that faith alone cannot render him acceptable to God, and that works alone cannot constitute him a Disciple of Jesus Christ; or, in other words, not be convinced that Faith and works united are the proper medium through which the benefits of Christ's atonement will be conveyed to fallen man. Plain, however, as this subject is to any unprejudiced reader of the Holy Scriptures, the traditions and systems of men have distorted the perspicuity of Divine Revelation, and perpetuated a difference of sentiment, where no difference should ever have existed. Grievous, indeed, are the mistakes on this subject among the humbler classes of Society, and most mischievous have they been in their effects. While faith has been exclusively insisted on, and works consequently not allowed their proper value, less care has been exerted to regulate the conduct, than the Scriptures evidently require; and the harangues of some indiscreet and heated preacher on the abstract nature of Faith, have often aroused a *conviction*, or something called a *conviction*, in the minds of the unlearned, not less distant from gospel truth, than it is pernicious to the individual and society, in its tendency to render integrity of conduct of secondary attention. This alarming error is most judiciously provided against in the little tract now before us. The noble author has produced many scriptural texts, as he candidly acknowledges, from *Gastrell's Institutes*, which he prudently leaves to speak for themselves. Thus avoiding any thing like controversy, while

he diligently produces the essence of gospel truth, he ably supports the character of his admirable work, and proves himself "The cottager's friend." We will add that he has proved himself **THE FRIEND OF THE CHRISTIAN WORLD**; since there is no one so exalted in society but will find his tract a seasonable remembrancer of the leading doctrines and duties of Christianity; and there is no one so low, nor souneducated, but he will also find perspicuously conveyed in it a faithful epitome of whatever, as a disciple of Christ, he is bound to believe and to do. For ourselves, we thank the noble admiral for the pleasure and edification which we have received from the perusal of it. Most freely making this acknowledgment, we beg respectfully to observe, that the tract might be rendered more serviceable if some short instructions were conveyed in it as to the nature and constitution of the Christian Church, and the obligation upon Christians to attend the duly authorized and episcopally consecrated ministry. This might easily be done in the subsequent editions, to which we hope that this useful little work will extend, and this would establish its claim to what it professes, *to implant or confirm in the heart of every true Protestant, the principles of the THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, as by law established*. These principles are lamentably lost view of, in the prevailing and increasing indifference among the humbler classes of society, and often promoted by the higher classes, whether the church or the meeting be attended; whereas, if there be divine authority for episcopacy, which the Church of England maintains that there is, then the meeting, which is opened in violation of that authority, cannot be resorted to without injury to those principles which the noble author would *implant and confirm*. If this suggestion be attended to, we shall hope that the work may obtain the sanction of the venerable society for promoting Christian knowledge, and be extensively circulated with their tracts.

Intercepted Letters; or the Two-penny Post Bag. To which are added, Trifles, re-printed. By Thomas Brown the Younger. Eleventh Edition. 18mo. Pp. 109, 5s. 6d. Carr.

THESE splenetic effusions of some opposition-muse have been ascribed to a poet, who has more genius than chastity, and are said to have lost him a situation which would have been productive of more profit than all the poems he has ever-written, or ever will write. Whoever the author may be, his productions are more remarkable for their wit than for their truth;

the Prince Regent and his Ministers are assailed without mercy, and without decorum; and the gall of their assailant seems to have been more particularly called forth, by their rigid adherence to the genuine principles of the British constitution; and especially by the Prince's steady rejection of the advice to adopt that line of conduct which produced the exclusion of our Second James from the throne of these realms. We shall extract one of the least offensive of these pieces, as a specimen of the author's style, and as a *sample* of his abilities.

FROM MESSRS. LACKINGTON AND CO. TO —, Esq.

"Per post, Sir, we send your M. S.—look'd it thro'—
Very sorry—but can't undertake—'twould'nt do.
Clever work, Sir!—would *get up* prodigiously well—
Its only defect is—it never would sell!
And though *statesmen* may glory in being *unbought*,
In an *author*, we think, Sir, that's rather a fault.

"Hard times, Sir, most books are too dear to be read—
Though the *gold* of good-sense, and wit's *small-change* are fled,
Yet the *paper* we publishers pass, in their stead,
Rises higher each day, and ('tis frightful to think it!)
Not even such names as F—g—d's can sink it!

"However, Sir, if you're for trying again,
And at something that's vendable—we are your men.
Since the Chevalier C—rr took to marrying lately,
The trade is in want of a *traveller greatly*—
No job, Sir, more easy—your *country* once plann'd,
A month aboard ship, and a fortnight on land,
Puts your quarto of travels, Sir, clean out of hand.
An East India pamphlet's a thing that would tell—
And a *song for the Papists** is sure to sell well.
Or—supposing you've nothing *original* in view,
Write parodies, Sir, and much fame it will win you;
You'll get to the Blue-Stocking Routs of Alb—N—A!
(Mind—not to her *dinners*—a *second-hand* muse
Must'nt think of aspiring to *mess* with the *Blues*.)
Or—in case nothing else in this world you can do—
The deuce is in't, Sir, if you cannot *review*.

* We have here taken a trifling liberty with the original, in order to render it more conformable with *truth*, for the sale of his own book sufficiently proves that a *song for the Papists* is more likely to sell, and what is more to his purpose, to *sell* well too, than what he is pleased to call "a lick at the Papists."

" Should you feel any touch of *poetical glow*,
 We've a scheme to suggest—MR. SC—TT, you must know,
 (Who, we're sorry to say it, now works for the *Row*)
 Having quitted the borders to seek new renown,
 Is coming, by long quarto stages, to town ;
 And beginning with *ROKEBY* (the job's sure to pay)
 Means to *do* all the gentlemen's seats on the way,
 Now, the scheme is (though none of our Hackney's can beat him)
 To start a fresh poet through Highgate to meet him ;
 Who, by means of quick proofs—no revises—long coaches—
 May do a few villas before SC—TT approaches—
 Indeed, if our Pegasus be not curst shabby,
 He'll reach, without found'ring, at least *WOBBURN ABBEY*.

" Such, Sir, is our plan—if you're up to the freak,
 'Tis a match ! and we'll put you *in training* next week—
 At present, no more—in reply to this letter, a
 Line will oblige very much,

" Your's, et cetera.

" *Temple of the Muses.*"

Our readers will perceive that there is no lack of humour in this epistle, though it be plentifully besprinkled with the bard's favourite sauce—*ill-nature* ; and the same may be said of most of the other pieces in this little volume.

A Vindication of the Conduct of Lady Douglas, during her intercourse with Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales : together with Remarks on the Book, and on the Consequences of its Publication. Also, a Narrative of, and Commentaries upon, some Extraordinary Transactions ; including Anecdotes of numerous high distinguished Personages. Pp. 126, 5s. 6d. Wilson. 1814.

FIVE shillings and sixpence for 126 pages of letter press!!! And yet it was not " the object of the author to make a book : in proof of which, the reader is desired to observe, that two-thirds of the whole contents of the present tract are printed with small types, and in consequence it contains about half as much more matter than is usually sold for its price." The reader will also observe, that one-third of the whole contents of the present tract is occupied by the narrative of Lady Douglas, with which the public are already acquainted, and that the whole tract contains but one-sixth *as much more matter than* is sold every month in magazines and reviews for half-a-crown.

" The principal object of the author is to vindicate Lady Douglas against the prejudices of the public at large : " an ardu-

ous undertaking, of which the difficulties are aggravated by the consideration, that "the writer knows too well the *perfect uselessness* of attempting to overcome prejudice or prepossession." In pursuit of this ostensible object, the writer publishes an introduction, rather long, and annexes a commentary, rather brief, to the narrative of Lady Douglas. "The defence is written in the spirit of perfect independence, for Lady Douglas has not been spared on such parts of her conduct as the writer has *chosen to think* demanded animadversion;" and there is no small difficulty in *choosing to think*, whether the subjoined annotations are designed to vindicate, or to censure the conduct of Lady Douglas, to invalidate or to strengthen the evidence of that vain and vulgar woman, who divulges secrets, which a discharged waiting woman would hesitate to repeat, and which a superannuated nurse would not unfold without the precincts of a bed-chamber.

We are left to form our own conjectures concerning the person, case, number, and gender of the author, and our curiosity is most facetiously tortured.

"It may be supposed by many, that Lady Douglas herself has had some concern in the production of this tract:" (she is the avowed author of the narrative:) "that she or her friends have solicited the author to prepare it; that hints have been communicated for its contents: in short, that this lady herself may have been the author of more than what therein appears with her name.

"The writer knows too well the perfect uselessness of attempting to overcome prejudice or prepossession. If it were in this place to be solemnly declared, that neither Sir John nor Lady Douglas could possibly have known any thing of this publication till they saw it advertised: and that its author, whose sex is not declared, because that is of no consequence to the public, never either saw them, or either of them; never corresponded with them, or had the least communication directly or indirectly, on their behalf; and farther, that all possible means have been taken to prevent the name of the said writer from becoming known to them or to any one else, except to the persons necessarily concerned in the production of the tract. If these assertions, we say, were ever so solemnly made, it is evident, that nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand readers, would not believe one word of them: all declarations on this head shall therefore be withheld; it is *useless to waste* words in attempting to remove incredulity. The public, therefore, well satisfied as they must be, with the quantity of matter here presented to them, and equally gratified, as

it is hoped, that *most* of them, but not *all*! will be with its quality, are at liberty to draw, respecting the author, whatever inferences they may think proper." Pp. 125, 126.

We have certainly never expressed any predilection for Lady Douglas; but we are not so illiberal as to suppress any circumstance which might be alleged in confirmation of her testimony, or in vindication of her character from the general suspicion which it has incurred. We will not, however, be provoked by this lame attempt to revive a discussion which all good and loyal men wish to bury in perpetual oblivion. Nor should we have taken any notice of the present production, if it had not been announced, at the conclusion of the work, that there is "preparing for publication, in one volume octavo, a complete review of the work generally known by the title of the Book, in which the parts forming the evidence and the defence, will be critically and analytically examined.

"*Quid dignum tanto feret hic promissor hiatu?*" We will exhibit some specimens of his talent, of his style and manner, from which the reader may judge how far he is qualified for the proposed investigation.

USE OF THE FIGURES OF SPEECH. His mouth he ne'er did ope, but out there flew a trope." "Fanning the dormant sparks of chagrin into a blaze of vindictiveness." "A stomach capable of digesting adulation." This is like making the lungs the seat of love. "Eulogies were the vehicles to direct insults." "A side-wind hint of disapprobation would have afforded a salutary check." "Scandal herself would, at any time, be famished, if the food on which she subsists were to be purified by the rays of reason."

CRITICISM AND LOGIC. "If, as a most able writer," Mandeville forsooth! "asserts, private vices are public benefits, we have, in the late transactions, a proof that public wickedness is likewise attended with general advantage." "The editors of newspapers are sensible people; their property is of considerable value; but it *would* be so no longer than their editors *would* continue to coincide with the popular opinion."

NEW MORALITY; OR CONSEQUENCES OF NOT BELIEVING AN OATH. "When she was forced to give her deposition, she made a solemn appeal to God to witness the truth of all which it contained; hence, if mankind refuse to believe, the Almighty is the best judge of her sincerity; and the least that can be said of those who presume to arraign the truth of her testimony, is, that they are guilty of a gross act of wickedness and immorality."

CLASSICAL ERUDITION: AN ORIGINAL QUOTATION. "Ver-

bum satis sapientibus.—HOR.” Poor Horace ! A little learning is a dangerous thing. The proverb is most incorrectly cited, and Horace is not the author of it.

SCRIPTURAL INFORMATION. “ If he may have been in the habit of wandering with Solomon, he can, at least, plead in defence, that he has never had the advantage of a body-guard of such grave lecturers as David.” “ Alas ! many a baneful, slippery serpent insinuates itself into the Eden of domestic happiness, and gluts upon forbidden fruit : hence when hospitality is invaded by the *infamy* of false friends, the finding of exceptions in high life, is as surprizing as it is creditable to the ladies who are less licentious than their neighbours.”

Ohe ! jam satis. Let the author and the purchaser reflect on these sentences, and let them pause, the one before he purchases, and the other before he publishes, remarks on the Book, critically and analytically examined in the same style of rhetoric, logic, morals, and theology.

The Towers of Ravenswold ; or Days of Ironside. A Romance. By William Henry Hitchener, of the Surrey Theatre. 12mo. 2 vols. Pp. 406. 10s. Chapple. 1814.

To those who are fond of that kind of reading which keeps curiosity on the watch, apprehension alive, and teases the reader with incessant disappointments, without a rigid attention to the rules of probability, and the natural occurrences of human life, may pass an idle hour, not unpleasantly, in the *Towers of Ravenswold*. In point of composition, this romance is very unequal ; some parts of it are well written, others very indifferently ; and frequent inaccuracies of language occur. In point of morals it is unexceptionable. Vice is punished, and virtue rewarded ; and the author appears to be duly and deeply impressed with a sense of the importance of religious truth, and of religious duties ; a merit, unfortunately, not often to be discovered in the writers of books of this description.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

In our last number, we expressed our conviction, that, ere the expiration of another month, some decisive blow would be stricken on the continent. We have, however, been deceived by the inexplicable tardiness of the Austrian army. We almost begin to apprehend the revival of that Aulic council, the prevalence of whose crooked policy alone prevented the emancipation of Europe years ago; of that policy, which, in 1797, withdrew the Austrians under Prince Charles* from Switzerland, and left the Russians to be overwhelmed by a superior force. Why Prince Schwartzburg did not move on the rear of the French, when Buonaparte led them to attack Blucher at Laon, it is difficult to imagine. We may ask, too, why he did not push forward to Paris?

In short, it would appear as if Austria wished to let the whole weight of the war fall on the Russians and Prussians, that her allies and her enemy might be both weakened, while her own force would be preserved entire, so as to leave her in a situation to give the law to all, and to dictate the terms of peace. We hope, however, that appearances in this, as in so many other cases, are deceitful, and that Austria, made wise by experience, and prudent by past disasters, will not suffer any such unworthy motive to influence her decisions, any such suicidal policy to direct her operations. The gallant Blucher, meanwhile, has gained immortal glory; the Prussians have nobly revenged the calamities of Jena; and the Russians have magnanimously sustained the character which they had acquired in many a well-fought battle.

But the chief source of congratulation to all the enemies of tyranny arises from the loyal spirit which has burst forth in the South of France, and from the noble conduct of the inhabitants of *Bordeaux*. It is no small honour to this country, that while the march of the allied armies in the north of France have created nothing but doubt

* By the bye, is it not very strange that we should hear nothing of this Prince who so nobly distinguished himself, in former wars, against the French? Are his politics different from those of his brother? Or does illness keep him from the field of honour?

and disappointment in the minds of the loyalists, the advance of the British army in the south has spread joy and gladness around ; has called forth exclamations of gratitude and praise ; has inspired the people with confidence and courage ; and has emboldened them to disclose, without hesitation or reserve, the spontaneous feelings of their hearts ; their deep-rooted affection for their ancient race of kings, and their inveterate abhorrence of the guilt and tyranny of the Usurper. Now that this gallant spirit has once exploded, it will spread far and wide ; its beneficial influence will extend from south to north ; the brave and loyal inhabitants of Brittany and the adjoining provinces will once more fly to arms ; and the favourable moment will be seized for the extirpation of the tyrant, and the restoration of a legitimate government.

Thus has the war acquired a new aspect and a new character, evidently *unlooked-for* by Austria, though *hoped for* by Russia and by Prussia : and though ardently desired by Great Britain ! What its effect will be on the wavering policy of the Allies ; what its influence on the impolitic negotiations at Chatillon, which seem calculated only to keep the public in a state of anxious suspense, and to cast a damp on the rising flame of loyalty, we neither know, nor, at present, do we much care. The die is cast—the gauntlet of loyalty is thrown in the face of usurpation ;—honour, justice, and right, are already arrayed against guilt, violence, and fraud ; all that France contains of good and virtuous are actually opposed to all that it presents of base and criminal ; and it no longer depends on the allies, whether Frenchmen shall endeavour to dethrone an usurper, and to restore a lawful monarch to his throne. If, callous to every just and magnanimous sentiment—if, dead to every noble impulse of the mind—if, deaf to the calls of virtue, and of interest, they refrain from taking a decisive part in favour of *Louis the Eighteenth*, they may remain tame and passive spectators of the most interesting and important contest, which ever excited the interest, or involved the destinies, of man. But they cannot be so sunk in baseness, so blind to the fatal contagion of example, so bereaved of all reasoning faculties, so destitute of all that is either generous or just, in men and sovereigns, as to fight against right, as to enlist themselves under the banners of usurpation. This, we say, is impossible. Whatever, then, the

feelings or the wishes of individual sovereigns may be, the royal cause in France can meet with no opposition from any of them. And if they suffer themselves to be influenced by the soundest dictates of a wise and considerate policy ; if they allow their actions to be guided by a just regard for the permanent security of their own thrones, and for the real welfare and happiness of their subjects, they will, cordially and unanimously, stand forth in its support.

At all events, we trust that the recent occurrences will put an end to any difference of opinion which may have existed in the British cabinet, on this interesting subject. The question now is, not whether we shall excite the people of France to declare in favour of the Bourbons ; but whether we shall afford assistance to the people of France, who have, unbidden, spontaneously avowed their resolution to place LOUIS THE EIGHTEENTH on the throne of his ancestors. We have frequently referred to that acknowledged principle of the law of nations, which confers the right on one state so far to interfere with the internal concerns of another, in which two parties are struggling for power, as to lend every support and assistance to that party which is favourable to itself, in opposition to the other, which is hostile to it. It was on this principle, that Mr. Pitt interfered with the disputes in Holland, in the year 1787. And is Lord Grey prepared in 1814, to oppose an application of the same principle to France, which, in 1787, he and Mr. Fox approved, when applied to Holland ? We trust he will not ; if, however, contrary to our expectations, he should, his political opponents, by referring to the Parliamentary Debates of the latter year, will be furnished with the means of fighting him with his own weapons.

We are happy to find that large quantities of arms, and an immense supply of *white cloth* for Royal uniforms, have been sent to the French coast. The Prince Regent is known to entertain the most fervent wishes to see the Bourbons restored to the throne of France ; his ministers must have the same *wishes* ; and we trust, that *now* their wishes and their policy will coincide. They must be convinced that no peace can be secure or lasting, which is concluded with the present ruler of France ; they must be sensible, too, that a peace made with LOUIS THE 18TH, would be made in the true spirit of amity and concord, and with the most cordial desire to render it permanent. Every mo-

five, therefore, combines to make them second the views of the French Royalists. Their first care, under these circumstances, should be to put an instant termination to the chilling negotiations at Chatillon. It would be a cruel insult to the legitimate monarch of the country, to continue a negotiation with the usurper of his throne, after his royal banner had been hoisted. And there can be little doubt, that when Buonaparte finds a formidable rising of the Royalists in the heart of France, he will accede to any terms which can give him a chance of retaining his usurped power. The negotiations should immediately cease, that no such chance may be afforded.

MISCELLANIES.

To the Editor of the Antijacobin Review.

The present state of political affairs, engages the attention of every considerate person, "big with the fate of desolated Europe!" The part which England has taken on the public stage, has been truly great and honourable. We should not, perhaps, say too much, if we ascribe the late exertions of the allied powers to her influence, example, and aid. How will she act in the present negotiation? The great drama is drawing to its concluding scene. Will she not lend an helping hand towards dethroning the impious usurper, and replacing the rightful monarch of France? Is it possible that the injured kings should so far forget their personal and public wrongs, as to spare this destroyer of millions, and give him space to repeat those wrongs? Does not every voice exclaim, at this important crisis, "This cannot be possible." "Primum delendus est Tyrannus." I trust, our very respectable and able negotiators will support the honour and high character of his country, by urging this preliminary step. But whilst I feel for the character of my country, and wish to have it recorded to the end of time, that its voice ceased not to require the annihilation of the reigning usurper, I am nevertheless convinced, that such endeavours will not prevail. No! The kingdom of France is tainted and corrupted by arrogance and infidelity. The people have long been prepared for this horrible state of mind by the writings of their pseudo philosophers; "nor have repented of their fornications, their murders and thefts."* True it is, they are now apparently debased, like the beast "that was, and is not;"†

* Rev. xvii. 8.

† Ibid ix. ch. 21.

but they will again recover of the deadly wound; and vassal kings will again be brought under their sway, and become ready and mature for the final expedition, at the appointed time, which will lead to the great controversy,—and “They shall ultimately fall, and none shall help.” May England not be accessory to such measures! And though she may not,—cannot prevent them,—may she escape unpolluted from the trial! and preserve inviolate those principles of honour, integrity, and renown, which have rendered her, under the blessing of divine providence, pre-eminent among the nations of the earth.

J. P.

To the Editor of the Antijacobin Review.

Queries concerning Baptism.

SIR,

I beg leave to submit through the channel of your Miscellany the following Queries: to which I should be glad to receive a satisfactory reply.

1. Suppose a child to have been privately baptised by a Dissenting Minister professedly *denying the doctrine of the Trinity*, yet using the prescribed form of words, and element; and the same child to be afterwards brought to the Clergyman of the Parish to be publicly received into the Church. Is the Clergyman, although aware of this fact, authorized to proceed to the Post-Baptismal Office (“I certify,” &c.) enjoined in the Book of Common Prayer? or, (since the child cannot have been baptised to in the name of the Holy Trinity, in which sense the members of the church understand the form of baptism.) Is the clergyman to use the complete office for public baptism, and re-baptise the child with the conditional form, “If thou art not already baptised, I baptise thee,” &c.

2. In case a child should have been privately baptised by a Dissenting Minister, not circumstanced as the former, but coinciding in sentiment with the received doctrine of the Trinity. Should the child be subsequently brought to the Clergyman of the Parish to be publicly received into the Church. Is the Clergyman to admit the “lawfulness” and propriety of such Baptism, and proceed to the Post-Baptismal Office without further inquiry? or, (since he is enjoined to ask, “By whom was this child baptised?” and further to “certify to the congregation” that “all has been well done, and according to due order concerning the Baptism of this child,” which he may conceive that he cannot conscientiously do when the child has not been baptised by a lawful Minister.) Is he to use the Baptismal Office, and to baptise the child with the conditional form, as directed when doubts arise, “If thou art not already baptised, I baptise thee,” &c.

Your's,

S. E.

Feb. 16, 1814.

FOREST OF DEAN.

To the Editor.

SIR,

YOUR kind attention to the interest of the Foresters has been of essential service. By permitting a continuance of the Subscriptions in your publication, that service will, I hope, be extended.

I am, Sir,

Your much obliged,

And most obedient Servant,

P. M. PROCTER.

Donations towards the Endowment of the Chapel in the Forest of Dean, continued.

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In addition to the above opportune and excellent gift, Mr. Procter received 25 Prayer Books, from an Episcopalian, and 25 ditto from the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, for which he returns the most grateful thanks of the Foresters. Subscriptions received by the Bankers, Messrs. Hoares and Co. and Sir John Lubbock, Forster, and Co. by Mr. Hatchard; Mr. Sealey; and by your much obliged, and most obedient Servant,

PAYLER M. PROCTER.

Newland Vicarage, Colford, Gloucester, Feb. 19th, 1814.

THE following letters in Dr. Dromgoole's memorable speech have been transmitted to us, by a highly-respected correspondent in Dublin, who assures us, that they are the production of that very able, and loyal historian of the Irish Rebellion—SIR RICHARD MUSGRAVE. By whomever composed, they contain a great deal of valuable information highly interesting to the Protestant community, at this juncture.

Observations on Doctor Dromgoole's Speech, delivered in the Catholic Board, on the 8th December, 1813. In a series of letters.

LETTER I.

FOR some years the Irish Roman Catholics, not only in their committees and board, sitting in Dublin, but in their provincial conventions, have been complaining of the want of religious liberty, under our excellent constitution, which they grossly libel, by untruly representing it as calculated rather to oppress than protect them; and, under this pretext, they have frequently reflected, in opprobrious language; on the highest and most dignified members of the state, not only in the aggregate, but individually, and by name. But the mildness and forbearance of government, notwithstanding such provocation, afford a complete refutation of their calumnious assertions; for I will venture to assert, that the gross scurrility and venomous abuse, little short of treason, uttered against both, in these assemblies, would not be suffered to pass with impunity, in any other civilized nation, ancient or modern.*

Emboldened by this, Doctor Dromgoole, on the 8th of December last, delivered in the Catholic board, a virulent libel against the established church; in which, however, he had the candour to acknow-

* They do all this, as a representative body, in direct violation of the convention law, enacted in the year 1793, for the express purpose of preventing the choosing and assembling of such assemblies to represent the people. They have assumed the forms and the functions of parliament; and through their priests they exercise unbounded influence over the Popish multitude. See in pages 458, 9, 60, 1, 2, 3, of vol. 44, the dreadful scenes of anarchy and treason, of robbery and murder which preceded the convention law in 1793, and occasioned a necessity of enacting it.

ledge, that the fundamental principles of his religion are radically hostile to it, and that the Popish clergy are conscientiously bound to use the most zealous exertions for its subversion; and he infers from this, that it would be absurd, presumptuous, and insulting to them, to require securities from them for its protection. He predicts the speedy fall of the established church, because it is a novelty, and, therefore, schismatic; and he asserts, "that already the marks of approaching ruin are upon it, and that the efforts of statesmen and parliaments, to make it permanent and inviolate will be vain, and in mockery of Omnipotence: that on the contrary, the Roman Catholic church, being coeval with the first birth of christianity, maintains the only true faith, and that its votaries, therefore, challenge possession of the ark;—which obviously means an ascendancy. Now I hope to be able to prove, that the Protestant religion is consonant to the pure principles of the primitive church, and that popery, which emanated from the avarice and ambition of the Roman Pontiffs, did not begin till the year 1073, when Pope Gregory VII. usurped that supremacy in it, which the emperors had previously enjoyed. I challenge the popish clergy of England and Ireland to refute any position which I shall make in the course of this disquisition: In the early ages of the church, bishops were elected by the clergy and people, and were afterwards consecrated by some neighbouring prelate, who could not require a stronger test of the purity of their moral conduct and religious principles, than the approbation of their flock, whom they had instructed, and with whom they had lived; besides, their subsistence depended on the free will offerings of the faithful.

Saint Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, who died in the year 325, A. D. declared in his Epistles, that in all the ordinations which he made, he consulted with the Presbyters, deacons, and people, and that by their common advice he used to weigh every person's merit.—(Epist. 38, 40, 52.)

In his Epistle addressed to the people of Carthage, he asks them, whether he was not chosen by their suffrages, and the judgment of God.—(Idem, Epist. 40.)—In his 52d epistle, he says, that Novation was made a bishop by the testimony of the clergy and people; and Origen, bishop of Alexandria, says the same of himself, and he died in the year 254.—(Hom. 6. in Leviti.)

Eusebius tells us, that Saint Fabius, bishop of Rome, was elected by the clergy and people there, in the year 236. This mode of electing bishops is mentioned in the 2d and 6th canons of the council of Nice, A. D. 325. In this manner were persons raised to the prelacy in the first ages of christianity; but when the Emperor Constantine the Great embraced it, in the year 312, and gave peace and protection to the church, which had been previously under the frowns of the Imperial government, and was often persecuted by it, he and his successors obtained a complete supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs.—(Spanheim's Ecclesiastical History, page 1102.)—In like manner, the government of every state which embraced christianity acquired the same power.

This is stated in the 5th Council of Orleans, held in the year 549, A. D. "Let a bishop be chosen by the clergy and people, with the consent of the king, as it is declared by the ancient canons."—(Natalis Alexander Ecclesiastical History, vol. 5, page 434.)*

It appears by the 12th and 16th canons of the Council of Toledo, A. D. 684, that the kings of Spain appointed their own bishops. Gregory, the venerable bishop of Tours, who died in the year 591, informs us in his history, that the French monarchs appointed their own bishops. Thuanus tells us, that they not only nominated but deposed bishops, during the reigns of the Merovingian and Carolingian kings; and the last continued till the year 985.—(History, lib. 1. sec. 8.)—The reader may learn from the best antiquaries and ecclesiastical historians, such as Hollinshed, Spelman, Lambert, and Parker, that the Saxon monarchs enjoyed a complete supremacy in the church; and for that reason they were often called in their laws, either the vicar of Christ, or the vicar of the Almighty. The office and duty of an English king is thus described in a law of Edward the Confessor, "The king, because he is the vicar of the most high king, is appointed for this, that he may rule his earthly kingdom, and God's people, and above all his holy church, and govern and defend it from all enemies and wrong doers."—(Spelman's Concil. vol. 1. p. 161.)

Pope Gregory VII. attempted for the first time to usurp a supremacy in England, during the reign of William I. but as Mr. Carte observes, that wise monarch had too much spirit to submit to his pretensions.—(History of England, vol. i. p. 419.)—He would not suffer his clergy to acknowledge any pope without his permission, nor to receive letters, or any other instruments, from the holy see, unless they were previously shewn to him.—(Idem.)—He would not allow the archbishop of Canterbury, nor any of the synods in which he presided, to pass any canons or constitutions, unless they were previously approved of by him.—(Idem.)—It was high treason at common law to acknowledge any foreign jurisdiction whatsoever. In the reign of Edward I. a person was adjudged guilty of high treason, for having produced a papal bull of excommunication against another, and was sentenced to be hanged, and this, as Sir Edward Coke observes, was by the ancient common law of England.

In the 19th year of his reign, the archbishop of York presented a clerk to a benefice, under a papal bull; for which high contempt of the king's crown and dignity, the entire lands of his bishoprick were seized into the king's hands, and lost during his life; and Sir Edward Coke observes, "this was by judgment of common law, before any Statute or Act of Parliament was made in that case."—(Idem, p. 13.)

The Emperor Constantine the Great, soon after his conversion, convened at Nice in Bythinia, in the year 325, the first General

* *Episcopus eligatur cum voluntate regis juxta electionem cleri et plebis, sicut in antiquis canonibus scriptum.*

Council, consisting of a numerous assembly of bishops, whom he ordered to compose a creed, explanatory of the Christian faith, and they framed the Nicene Creed : which continued to be the only one recognised in the church, till Pope Pius IV. by order of the Council of Trent, in the year 1545, added 12 new articles to it, never heard of before, which makes the Romish to be a new church, though its votaries untruly represent it as ancient, Catholic, and apostolic.* Eusebius, bishop of Cesarea, who wrote the life of Constantine, tells us, that, in person, he presided in that council, and that the canons which they framed were confirmed by him, as they were invalid without his sanction. In the same manner the Emperors his successors presided in general councils, set aside the election of bishops, deposed such as were lapsed in heresy, made laws for the regulation of the church, and appointed judges for religious causes.—(Giannones History of Naples, lib. 1. cap. 2. Code, lib. 30. de episcopis et clericis, and 23d Novel of Justinian.

Thus Theodosius presided in the 2d General Council convened by him at Constantinople, in the year 380, which we learn from Socrates ; and the Emperor Marcian had the same controul over the 3d and 4th General Councils, convened by him at Ephesus, in the year 431, and at Chalcedon, in the year 451. The same procedures took place in the 5th General Council, convoked at Constantinople, in the year 553, by the Emperor Justinian ; who, in his code regulated the doctrines and discipline of the Church, and the conduct of the Clergy ; and he said of himself, “ that his greatest care was about the true doctrines of the Church, and the good conduct of the Clergy.”—(*Novel*, 123. c. 10.)—“ Maximam se habere sollicitudinem, circa dei dogmata, et sacerdotum honestatem.” The reader will find all the same articles treated of, and regulated, in the Theodosian and Justinian codes, the capitulars of the French Monarchs, and by the laws of all Christian Princes, during the first ten centuries, without any Papal interference whatsoever. Guicciardini informs us, in his history, lib. iv. that while the emperors of the east reigned over Italy, no person dared to assume the Papacy, without the consent of them or their exarchs, who resided at Ravenna ; and Platina, the biographer of the Popes, makes the same acknowledgment, in *Vita Sylverii*. In the *Liber Diurnus*, a book of great antiquity, and high authority in the Romish church, the manner of appointing a pope is minutely described ; and

* Pope Celestine, who was raised to the pontificate in the year 423, defended the Nicene Creed in a letter to Nestorius, in which he said, “ Who is not judged worthy of an anathema, that either adds to, or takes from it ; for that faith which was declared by the apostles, requires neither addition nor diminution.” This pope is said to have sent St. Patrick to Ireland to convert the Irish ; and it must have been to pure Christianity, for none of the tenets of popery had any existence till 600 years after, which will be proved in the sequel.

it is stated therein, that after the election, the Emperor and his exarch, who resided at Ravenna, were solicited to confirm it.* All schisms in the church were settled by the Emperors. Thus in the beginning of the 5th century, there was a violent contest for the popedom between Boniface I. and Eulakius, who were elected by two factions; and on an appeal to the Emperor Honorius, he decided in favour of the former, at whose instance he passed a law, declaring that when two persons were elected, neither should fill the pontifical chair, but that a new election should be held by the clergy and the people.—(Rescrip. Hono. ad Bonif. Concil. tom. 2. p. 1583.)—In the same manner Theodoric, the Gothic king of Italy, put an end to the schism between Laurentius and Symmachus, competitors for the popedom, on the close of the 6th century.—(Giannone's History of Naples, lib. 3. cap. 6. sec. 3.)

Pope Gregory I. raised to the Pontificate in the year 590, was so distinguished for his piety and learning, that he was designated by the epithet of Gregory the Great. So conscious was he, that no person could be raised to the Pontificate, without the Imperial Sanction, that after his election, he wrote to the Emperor Mauritius and besought him to annul it, as he wished to enjoy a private life; but having a very favourable opinion of that Pontiff, he confirmed it.—(Jo. Diacon. in vita Sanct. Grego. lib. 1. cap. 39.)

The Emperors enjoyed so complete a supremacy in the Church, that Pope Gelasius tells us, they would not confirm the election of any Pontiff, till he had given a public profession of his faith, in order to prevent schism from taking place in the Church.—(Epist. 2. ad Laurentium episcopum.)—That justly admired Pontiff, Gregory I. in giving an exposition of his faith, praised in a very high strain the four first General Councils, and declared, that he revered them as much as the four books of the Holy Gospel, and he assigned the following reasons for it, "Because on these, as on a square stone, the standard of the holy faith ariseth, and the rule of every man's life and actions consists, so that whosoever does not hold this solid ground, although he appears a stone, yet lies out of the building."—Greg. epist. lib. 1. epist. 24.)

Pope Agatho sent a synodical epistle from himself and 125 bishops, assembled at Rome, to the 6th General Council, sitting at Constantinople, in the year 680, in which they extolled the four first General Councils, as much as Gregory I. did; which epistle is to be found in the acts of that council, Session IV. The last of these four General Councils was convened at Chalcedon, by the Emperor Mircian, in the year 451; and it was decreed by the 28th canon thereof, "That the Bishop of Constantinople should enjoy equal privileges with the Bishop of Rome, there being the same reason for one as the other,

* "De electione mox referabatur ad principem, postulabatque electionis approbatio. Referebatur etiam ad Exarcham Ravennæ, cum precibus, ut confirmandam curaret."

Constantinople being then the Imperial Seat, as Rome had been.* It was enacted by the 1st of Queen Elizabeth, that the four first General Councils should be the standard of the Christian faith in England; and, therefore, Sir Edward Coke observes, in 3d Institute, p. 40, that since the enactment of that law, nothing could be considered as heresy, but what was adjudged to be so by the said councils, or the Canonical Scriptures—an irrefragable proof that the doctrines of the established religion are consonant to the pure principles of the primitive Church; and yet Doctor Dromgoole has had the hardihood to represent it as a novelty.† So far were the bishops of Rome from claiming a supremacy in the sixth century, that Gregory I. condemned the Bishop of Constantinople, for usurping the title of first or general bishop. In a letter to the Emperor Mauritius he said, “that it was a blasphemous title, and that none of the Roman Pontiffs dared to assume so singular a one.”—(*Greg. Epist. lib. 4, ind. 13. p. 127.*) In a letter to the Bishop of Constantinople, he said, “what wilt thou say to Christ, the head of the Universal Church, in the day of judgment, who thus endeavourest to subject his members to thyself? Who, I ask thee, dost thou imitate in this but the devil.”—(*Idem. Epist. 38.*)

In a letter to the empress, he said, “His pride in assuming this title, shewed that the days of Antichrist were at hand.”—(*Idem. Epist. 36.*) Such were the sentiments of one of the most pious and learned Popes, on the first or universal Bishop, in the year 680; though the Bishop of Constantinople claimed no more than precedence and a primacy of honour under it, without any pretensions to jurisdiction out of his own diocese: for by the 8th Canon of the 3d General Council, held at Ephesus, in the year 431, it was ordained, that no Bishop should invade or seize upon the bishoprick of another, which was not of old and from the beginning under his power.

When the Grecian emperors lost the sovereignty of Italy, by their treason to the Bishop of Rome, who procured Charlemagne to be elected Emperor of the West, in the year 800,‡ Guicciardini informs

* Guicciardini tells us, in his history, that the seat of religion followed the seat of empire, and that the precedence of the Bishop of Rome arose from his residence in the imperial city, *lib. iv.*—The fable of his having obtained a supremacy from St. Peter was not invented till long after.

† This is a conclusive and unanswerable argument, which we never saw before, that the doctrines of the protestant religion are consonant to the pure principles of Christianity. It should be uppermost in the mind of every protestant. THE EDITOR.

‡ Machiavel observed on this transfer of the Imperial Crown: “Rome began to have an Emperor of the West; and though the Popes used to be confirmed by the emperors, before that time, the emperor now, on the contrary, was obliged to be beholden to the Pope for his election; by which the empire began to lose its dignity, and the Church to advance itself and extend its authority, more and more, over temporal Princes.” (*Hist. of Florence, lib. 1.*)

us in his history, chap. 4, that he and his successors enjoyed the same supremacy which the Roman and Eastern Emperors did. Soon after the election of Charlemagne, the power of ratifying or annulling the election of Popes or Bishops was confirmed to them, by a council held at the Lateran, by Pope Adrian.—(*Gratian in decret. dist. 63. C. Adrianus, 22.*) When Otho I. was raised to the Imperial throne, in the year 964, he was empowered to do the like, by a Council held by Pope John XXII. This Council is to be found at large in Luitprandus and Gratian.—(*Luitp. lib. 6. cap. 21. Gratian, c. 23. dist. 63.*)

The learned Cardinal Cusanus, who lived in the 15th century, informs us, that the emperors enjoyed a supremacy in the first eight general Councils; and the last of them was in the year 869.—(*De Concordia, lib. 3. c. 16.*)—He also said, “it becomes not any man to say, that the most sacred emperors, who for the good of the state, did make many constitutions concerning the election of Bishops, the collation of benefices, and regulations of religion, could err.”—(*Idem, lib. 2. c. 46.*)

I beseech the reader to compare these well authenticated statements, with the following observations of Doctor Dromgoole, on the papal supremacy, contained in his speech, “No layman, no Protestant, but above all no English Parliament ought to be allowed profanely to interfere with the Church: That right belongs to an authority (viz. the Pope) where it was placed at the first birth of Christianity—where only it can safely rest, or be legitimately exercised.”

All matters of a religious nature were regulated by the civil law, particularly by the first book of Justinian's code, by the authentic, the capitulars of all the French Princes, the laws of the Goths and Vandals, and indeed of all Christian Princes, for above one thousand years after the Incarnation. The first titles of the code are, *De Summa Trinitate et Fide Catholica, de Sacrosanitis Ecclesiis, de Episcopis et Clericis, de Episcopali audientia, de Hæretis, &c.*

LETTER II.

Pope Gregory VII. who was raised to the Papal throne in the year 1073, a period of midnight ignorance, when reason was weakened and debased by superstition, and learning was extinct in every part of Europe but Rome, usurped that supremacy in the church, which the emperors had previously enjoyed; by which he laid the foundation of a new system of religion, called popery, whose origin and effects I shall briefly describe. When elected, he wrote in submissive terms to the emperor Henry IV. and, after the example of his predecessors, solicited his consent, that he should be consecrated and crowned; and cardinal Baronius, the pope's own historian, informs us, that he was the last pontiff who applied for, and obtained, the emperor's approbation of his appointment.—(*Acta Vaticana Baronii ad an. 1073.*) He had displayed strong indications of an acute and vigorous understanding, and of inordinate ambition, during the pontificate of his four predecessors, Victor, Stephen, Nicholas, and

Alexander, by the unbounded influence which he had obtained over them, and by the popularity which he acquired with the multitude at Rome. Of these qualities the emperor very soon had woeful experience; for Gregory, soon after his elevation, convened a council at Rome, in which he, instead of the emperor, presided, and over which he had complete controul; and by this it was decreed, that any layman who conferred, or any ecclesiastic who received from him, a church benefice of any kind, should be excommunicated as a heretic. He considered it essential to the accomplishment of his ambitious scheme, of raising the church above the state in every christian country, and of making all sovereign princes implicitly subservient to the pope, to have all the clergy, in every state, dependent on him, as his spies and vassals, that through their agency, he might enforce his spiritual thunders, by raising in rebellion the subjects of such of them as should refuse to submit to his insolent demands. "Gregory" says Pasquier, "neglected nothing, which either arms, the pen, or spiritual censures could effect, to promote the interest of the papacy, or the humiliation of sovereign princes.—(*Reserch. de la France* c. 8. and 14.)

Otho, the venerable bishop of Friburg, in the beginning of the 12th century, more distinguished, if possible, for his piety and learning, than his illustrious descent, observed, "that Gregory was the first pope who usurped a supremacy in the church, and dared to advance the dangerous doctrine, that he had a right to depose sovereigns, and to absolve subjects from their oath of allegiance."—(*Chron. lib. 5. c. 35.*)

Richerius, an eminent Romish divine, of the 15th century, and a Doctor of the Sorbonne, observed, "that Gregory, contrary to the custom used in the church for more than one thousand years, introduced that order, that all bishops should swear unlimited fidelity and obedience to the pope."—(*Histo. Concil. lib. 1. c. 38.*) — "Whence," he says, "the liberty of all subsequent councils was taken away; but much more by his arrogating to himself the collation of all ecclesiastical dignities and benefices; so that as long as his government in the church continues, it seems altogether impossible to have a free council."—(*Richerius Apol. ar. 22. et in Epilogo.*)

He further remarks, "that from the time of Gregory VII. to the council of Constance, a period of 340 years, the popes used arbitrarily to impose laws on the church; and having formed canons and definitions at home, to call upon synods, and imperiously to impose them, when none dared so much as to murmur at them."*—(*Idem, ar. 38.*)

The better to increase the pope's power, Romish priests also, were required to take an oath of fidelity and obedience to him; of which oaths I shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

Soon after Gregory's elevation, he pronounced a sentence of excom-

* The most eminent ecclesiastical historians allow, that the 4th Lateran council was fabricated in this manner, by pope Innocent III. that seed plot of treason, rebellion, and murder.

munication and deposition against his liege sovereign Henry four, for simony; and for no other reason, than that he exercised the right of conferring spiritual benefices, which his predecessors had uniformly done. The following blasphemous anathema appeared in one of his encyclical letters, denouncing him as a heretic. "On the part of the omnipotent God, I forbid Henry to govern the kingdoms of Italy and Germany; I absolve his subjects from all oaths which they have taken, or may take to him; and I excommunicate every person, who shall serve him as a king."—(*Grego. Epist. lib. 5. epist. 24*).—Through the active agency of the bishops and priests, who were completely subservient to Gregory, he was able to raise his subjects in rebellion against him; and such was the force of superstition, that he prevailed on the empress Agnes, his mother, the duchess Beatrix, his aunt, and the countess Matilda, his cousin-german, to join his party against their illustrious relation, whom Gregory deposed, after he had kindled many destructive and bloody wars against him.* In short, the attainment of a supremacy in the church by the popes, occasioned, for some centuries, more treasonable conspiracies, rebellions, assassinations, and massacres in Europe, than any other source of discord.† An eminent historian observed, that it produced no less than sixty pitched battles, in the reign of Henry IV. and eighteen in that of Henry V. when the papal claims finally prevailed. It may then be truly said of Gregory,

"Multa quoque et bello passus num conderet urbem,
"Inferretque deos Latio."

Machiavel observes, "Gregory excommunicated the emperor, deprived him of his kingdom and empire; and some of the Italian states espoused the pope's party, and some the emperors, which gave rise to the two factions of Guelphs and Ghibbines, and to those intestine discords, which tore their country to pieces, after it was delivered from the scourge of the barbarians."—(*Hist. of Florence, chap. 1*). I think it right to remind the reader, that Doctor Dromgoole, in his prediction of the approaching ruin of the established church, observes, "It shall fall, and nothing but the mischiefs which it has created shall survive." A most extraordinary assertion of a member of the Romish church!!!

For some centuries after the usurpation of Gregory VII. two,

* The reader will find all these incidents relative to the dethronement of the emperor Henry IV. in Maimbourg's history of Gregory seven, pontificate. — Machiavel, in his history of Florence, lib. 1. ironically observes, that "Henry was the first Prince, who had the honour of being made sensible of spiritual weapons."

† It is singular that the Irish should be so pertinacious in maintaining it, as it is founded in gross impiety, and the treasonable principles which are inseparable from it, have occasioned the ruin of all the old Roman Catholic families in Ireland.

and sometimes three, competitors for the popedom maintained furious contests, which occasioned dreadful scenes of bloodshed at Rome ; in one of which, pope Lucius second lost his life, in the year 1173. Rival pontiffs contrived, by the force of superstition, to draw most of the European states into the vortex of their criminal ambition, and kept them constantly in a state of destructive warfare. The last of these schisms, which began in the year 1378, between Urban six, and Clement seven, continued between them and their successors, fifty, or according to Foulis and others, seventy years ; during which time there were two opposite lines of succession to St. Peter's chair. One anti-pope resided at Rome, the other at Avignon ; and they were constantly fulminating bulls against each other as antichrist. The Germans, Hungarians, English, and some Italian states, supported one, the French and Spaniards the other. Of all sects of christians, papists should be the least inclined to upbraid the church of England with schism ; for the line of succession in their church has been so often broken, that it would be impossible to determine which, of two or three popes, was the true representative of St. Peter.

In a little more than a century, Gregory and his successors excommunicated eight Emperors ; some of whom they dethroned, and they deposed King John of England, and Raymond Count of Thoulouse. For these reasons, Mr. Locke, who was not only very liberal, but a great latitudinarian in his political principles, said in his Essay on toleration " that church can have no right to be tolerated by the civil magistrate, which is constituted on such a bottom, that all those who enter it, do thereby, ipso facto, deliver themselves up to the protection and service of another Prince. For by this means, the Magistrate would give way to the settling a foreign jurisdiction in his own country, and suffer his people to be listed, as it were, for soldiers against his own government."* Mr. Locke's observation was founded on the practical effects of the papal supremacy and hierarchy, which have occasioned unutterable calamities in most part of Europe, but particularly in the British isles ; and yet though they are a *novelty*,

* Could he peep out of his grave, what would he say to modern statesmen, who have richly endowed a college at Maynooth, in the county of Kildare, and kingdom of Ireland, for the education of Popish priests ; and have increased the emoluments of it since the dreadful rebellion of 1798, though it raged more in that village and its vicinity, than any other part of Ireland, and though many students of that seminary were expelled by its visitor, for having been deeply and actively concerned in that rebellion.

That great and ever to be lamented statesman, Mr. Perceval, declared in Parliament, that he never would give any pecuniary support or encouragement to the religion of the sectarists, who differed from the established church. The wisdom of his observation was sanctioned by history and experience, the only sure guide of statesmen.

and repugnant to the fundamental principles of Christianity, and though the former has been almost extinguished in every Roman Catholic country in Europe, Doctor Dromgoole has candidly told us, "that it belongs to another authority (the Pope) where it was placed at the first birth of Christianity—where only it can safely rest, or be legitimately exercised;" and he further informs us, "that the columns of Catholicity are collecting, and challenge possession of the Ark;"* that is, they aspire to an ascendancy, on the complete extirpation of heresy: and what effects that would produce, Protestants may learn from the sufferings of their ancestors, as described by Archbishop King, in the year 1689, "when Papists were exclusively in possession of the legislative and executive powers.

From the flagitiousness of Gregory VII.'s character, one would imagine, that his votaries should be desirous to expunge it from the page of history; and yet he has been canonized, and so late as the 17th century, Paul V. instituted a feast, and an office or legend, in honour of him. It was maintained by different Popes, and Benedict XIII. made it general throughout Europe by a decree of the 27th of September, 1728.† The pope's bead roll of saints consists of such traitors as Gregory VII. Thomas a Becket, Jacque Clement the Friar, Garnet the Jesuit, Guy Faux, Father John Murphy, and Father Philip Roche, Commander-in-Chief on Vinegar Hill.

Nothing can be so absurd and anomalous in politics, as that a Foreign Prince should have the regulation of religious concerns in another State, as religion mingles with the warmest affections of the heart, and as the moral and political principles of men emanate from, and are modified by it, their civil duties must be materially influenced by it. The pious and learned Doctor Jeremiah Taylor, Bishop of Dromore, truly observed, "the supremacy and conduct of religion is necessary to supreme power, because, without it, a King cannot in

* How seasonable this warning would be, either on the eve of the dreadful rebellion of 1798, or of the insurrection and massacre in Dublin in the 23d of July, 1803. It is not without aptitude at present; for all the symptoms of treason which appeared some time previous to the former, have prevailed for a long time in most parts of Ireland. One would be led to think, that the Doctor, when he makes this declaration, is inspired by the same holy fervour, which actuated Father Arthur Murphy at the battle of Arklow, Father Philip Roche, at that of Vinegar hill, or Father John Murphy at the battle of Kilcomney, when they led or their sanguinary hordes in the crusade against heretics.

† Gabriel Maudé, librarian to Cardinal Mazarine, characterises Gregory seven in the following respectful terms. "He was one of the greatest pillars of the church, and to speak of him sincerely and impartially, he was the first who put her in possession of her franchises, and who freed the Sovereign pontiffs from the tyranny of the emperors." Bayle, Gregory seven Rem. (A)

many cases govern his people. For besides that religion is the greatest bond of laws, and conscience is the greatest endearment of obedience, and a security for princes in closets and retirements, and their best guard against treasons; it is also that by which the common people can be carried to any great or good or evil design!" (*On Supreme civil power in rule of conscience*, b. iii. c. 3. rule iv. N. 9. page 164.)

Pope Gregory I. conscious of this, acknowledged in the year 600, the supremacy of temporal Princes, not only over the military, but the priesthood. "Agnosco imperatorem, a deo concessum, non militibus solum, sed imperatoribus imperari."—*Epist. Grego. lib. 1. Epist. 94.*

LETTER III.

Having in my last letter given the origin and policy of the papal supremacy, usurped by Gregory seven. I shall now present the reader with some specimens of the sanguinary and intolerant canons which he and his successors framed to maintain it, by a system of terror.*

It was ordained by the 27th chapter of the 3d Lateran Council, held under Pope Alexander III. A.D. 1179, "that all those who are any way bound to heretics, are absolved from all fidelity and obedience due to them, as long as they persist in their iniquity."—(*Concil. apud Binium, Tom. 7. p. 608.*) By the 3d Canon of the 4th Lateran Council, under Pope Innocent III. the Roman Pontiff is not only empowered, but commanded to dethrone sovereign Princes who shall refuse to extirpate heretics within their territories, by absolving their subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and to transfer them to others, who shall enjoy them without contradiction, provided they extirpate the heretics therein—*Idem, Tom. 11. p. 148, 149.*)—Pope Gregory IX. in the 13th century, decreed thus "Be it known to all, who are under the dominion of heretics, that they are set free from every tie of fidelity, all oaths and solemn engagements to the contrary notwithstanding."—(*Decret Grego lib. 5. tit. 7.*)—According to the determination of Innocent III. which is inserted in the body

* It is most certain, that none of the doctrines of Popery existed previous to the Pontificate of Gregory VII. except the worship of Images; which was fraudulently introduced by the Seventh General Council in the year 784. A.D. All the tenets of Popery were framed by different Popes and Councils, between the year 1073 and the year 1545, when, as I before observed in page 5, they were united in a new Creed, formed by Pope Pius IV. Doctor Bramhall, Primate of Ireland, observed on this: "Those very points, which Pope Pius IV. comprehended in a new symbol or creed, were obtruded upon us by his predecessors, as necessary articles of the Romish Faith. This is the only difference that Pope Pius IV. dealt in the gross, his predecessors by retail: They fashioned the several rods, and he bound them into a bundle."—*Vol. I. Discuss. 3d. p. 222.*

of the Canon Law, "they are not to be called oaths, but perjuries, which are attempted contrary to the interest of the Church,"—(*Decretal, lib. 2. tit. 24. cap. 27*); and consequently, all oaths taken to an heretical state, like England, are null and void, both by the General Councils and Canon-Law of the Romish Church. By the 3d Canon of the 4th Lateran Council, it is decreed, that they who, under the badge of the Cross, shall set about the extirpation of heretics, shall enjoy a full remission of their sins---(*Concil. Binii, Tom. 11. p. 148.*); and great indulgences are granted to those who shall do so, by the 3d Lateran Council, cap. 27.---(*Idem, Tom. 7. p. 662.*)---By various Canons of the Romish Church, the following punishments must be inflicted on heretics---excommunication, confiscation of their goods, imprisonment, exile, death---(*Concil. Binii, Tom. 11. p. 608.*)---If any Bishop be negligent in purging his diocese of heretical pravity, he, by the 3d Canon of the 4th Lateran Council, must be deprived of his episcopal dignity---(*Idem, Tom. 11. p. 152.*); and by the Council of Constance.---(*Sess. 45. Tom. 7. p. 1122*);—and by the Canon Law—(*Decretal. lib. 5, tit. 7. cap. 13.*)—Bishops are also bound to do so by their oaths of consecration.* "If any persons after their death shall be found to have been heretics, their bodies shall be dug up and burnt."—(*Concil. Alb. can. 3. p. 727. Binii*)—The civil magistrate shall be compelled, by ecclesiastical censures, to dig up their bodies.—(*Idem, can. 27. p. 728*)—According to this, the bodies of Wickliffe, Bucer, and Fagius, were dug up and burnt in Queen Mary's reign.

The general council of Constance requires all archbishops, bishops, and other persons elect, to admonish and require all sovereign princes, to expel all heretics out of their territories according to the 27th Canon of the 3d Lateran Council, under pain of excommunication.—(*Sess. 45. Tom. 7. p. 1121. apud Binium.*)—The Popes are invested with a plenitude of temporal power over all States and Sovereign Princes, by the general councils and canon law, which are of infallible authority: by the 4th Lateran council, *Can. 3d*; by the general council of Lyons, *Tom. 11. Binii, p. 645*; by the Council of Pisa, *Sess. 14.*; by the general council of Constance, *Sess. 12. 17. 37.*; and of Basil, *Sess. 24. 34. 40. 41.*; all which have expressly decreed, that the Pope shall depose and deprive Sovereign Princes of their dominions, their dignity and honour, for misdemeanours mentioned therein.

All Inquisitors of heretical gravity appointed by the Pope, all archbishops and bishops, in their respective provinces and dioceses, with their officials, are bound to search for, and apprehend, heretics.—(*Concil. Tom. 11. p. 619.*)—The civil magistrate must assist them in enquiring after, taking, and spoiling, heretics, by sending soldiers with them, under very severe penalties.—(*Concil. Tom. 11. p. 608.*) They are empowered also to compel any persons, even the whole neighbourhood, to swear, that if they know of any heretics, or of those who receive, favour, or defend them, they will inform the bishops or in-

* The substance of the oath will be given in this Letter.

quisitors thereof.—(*Consti. Innocent IV. cap. 30.*)—The same is required by the council of Thoulouse, Can. 1.—(*Concil. Tom. 11. p. 428.*)

By the 3d Cannon of the 4th council of Lateran,—*Concil. Tom. 11. Part 1. p. 152.*); and by the general council of Constance,—(*Sess. 45. Tom. 7. p. 1120. Binii.*)—,---whoever apprehends heretics, (which all persons have liberty to do,) has power to take from them all their goods, and free liberty to enjoy them.—(*Consti. Innocent IV. cap. 2. Concil. Tom. 11. p. 605.*); and Innocent III. declared, “ this punishment we command to be executed on them, by all Princes and secular powers, who shall be compelled to do so by ecclesiastical censures.—(*7th Decretal, lib. 5. tit. 7. cap. 10.*)*

It would require a large volume, to give even an abridgement of the various canons against heretics and heretical states, all which were framed by Gregory VII. and his successors. The few extracts which I have given from them will show Protestants what they may expect from the virtues and morality of the Popish priests, should they acquire an ascendancy; and Doctor Dromgoole candidly tells us, that “ the columns of Catholicity are collecting, who challenge possession of the Ark.” I shall now briefly describe the Papal Hierarchy, which was framed with singular ingenuity, for the peculiar purpose of enforcing those canons, against every state, which hesitated to submit to the mandates of the Holy Sec. It is stated in the general councils of Constance and Basil, that all the Popes are obliged to swear, that they will uphold and enforce the faith maintained in the general councils, to the least tittle, even to the shedding of their blood.—(*Concil. Const. Sess. 39. Basil, Sess. 37.*)—The words of the oath are, generalium conciliorum fidem, usque ad unam apicem, et usque ad animam et sanguinem defensare et prædicare.†

* Doctor Dromgoole says to his fellow-religionists, you are not called upon to depose, that high treason, rebellion, perjury, and murder, on the score of conscience, are not articles of your Religion, but that they make no part of your particular belief.” The reader may infer from the extracts which I have given from the canons of their church, whether they are articles of their Religion. Part of the resolution moved by Dr. Dromgoole, and which passed in the board without a division. is, “ that no settlement can be final and satisfactory, which has for its basis, or at all involves any innovation or alteration to be made, by authority of Parliament, in the doctrine or discipline of the Catholic church in Ireland.” The reader will find in these pages the nature and tendency of its doctrine and discipline. I proved in my first letter, p. 6, 7, 8, that the Christian emperors and kings made laws and ordinances for regulating the doctrine and discipline of the church, and the conduct of the Clergy; and that none of them were valid without their sanction, particularly in England.

† The 4th Lateran and the council of Constance are particularly mentioned in the Pope's oath.

Every Popish priest, is obliged to take an oath, containing the following paragraphs. " The Holy Apostolic Romish church, I acknowledge to be the mother and mistress of all churches, and to the Roman pontiff, successor of St. Peter, Prince of the apostles, and vicar of Jesus Christ, I promise and swear true obedience. All doctrines delivered, defined, and declared by the *Sacred Canons and general councils*, and especially by the most holy council of Trent*, I receive and profess; and whatever is contrary thereto, and all heresies, condemned, rejected, and anathematized. This true Catholic faith, out of which there is no salvation, which at present I freely profess, and sincerely hold, I do promise, vow, and swear, that I will constantly retain and conserve, to my last breath; and, as far as I am able, *I will be careful that it is held by, taught, and preached to, my parishioners, or those the care of whom shall belong to me in my function.*" Now what kind of subjects are Papists likely to make to a Protestant state, when their clergy are bound by oath to infuse into them such doctrines as are contained in the general councils, which they do at a tender age? Dr. Dromgoole, with great truth and candour, condemns and spurns the oath of allegiance prescribed to be taken by a priest, because it "makes him swear that he will not do anything that may tend, directly or indirectly, to disturb or overthrow the Protestant church in these kingdoms." "How gross the ignorance that would propose such an oath, unless it was meant to insult? And how absurd and presumptuous to suppose it would be accepted?" He assigns this reason for rejecting such an oath of allegiance, because a Popish priest "is bound to propagate the Gospel in these kingdoms, by the advice, in conjunction, or under the influ-

* The council of Trent, held in the year 1545, was the last of the general councils; and it confirms all the preceding ones; for it has thus decreed: "Be it known, therefore, to all men, that the most Holy Canons are to be exactly, and as far as possible indiscriminately observed by all." (Sess. xxv. cap. 20) It has declared the 4th Lateran not only to be a general council, but affirms one of its definitions to be, the voice of the whole Church. (Sess. xiv. cap. 5, and Sess. xxi. cap. 9). Leo X. under the sanction of that council, passed a bull, renewing and ratifying the following constitution of Boniface VIII. :—"We declare, say, define and pronounce it to be necessary to salvation, for every human creature to be subject to the Roman Pontiff."

"Lewis Deloquoque, professor of Divinity, at Maynooth College, wrote a tract, entitled, *De Ecclesia Christi*, which was printed in the year 1809, by Hugh Fitzpatrick, for the use of the students thereof; in which the council of Trent is declared to be in the highest estimation, as it is a compendium of all the preceding councils, and therefore it is strongly recommended to the perusal of the students in divinity of that seminary.

ence of the Pope of Rome, and this goes, not indirectly, but directly and at once to the destruction of the establishment.*

It is most certain, that a Popish priest who takes an oath of allegiance to a Protestant state, must be guilty of perjury, as it is in direct contradiction to his canonical oath, of which I have given some paragraphs.

The oath of fidelity to the Pope, which a Romish bishop takes, contains the following paragraphs:—"I, *A.* elect of the church *B.*, from this hour forward, will be faithful and obedient to St. Peter the apostle, and to the holy Roman church, and to our lord Pope *C.* and his successors, canonically entering. The Roman papacy, and the royalty of St. Peter, I will, saving mine own order, assist them to defend, against all men. The rights, honours, privileges and authority of the holy Roman church, and of our lord the Pope, and his successors aforesaid, I will be careful to preserve, defend, enlarge, and promote. I will not be concerned in council, act, or treaty, wherein any thing disadvantageous or prejudicial to our said lord, or the Roman church, their persons, rights, honours, state, and power shall be devised; and if I know of any such thing, to be treated of, or intended, by any person whatsoever, as far as I am able, I will prevent the same, and as soon as possible, will give information thereof to our said lord, or to some other person, by whose means it may come to his knowledge.† The rules of the holy fathers, the decrees, orders, or appointments, reservations, provisions, map-dates apostolical, with all my might, I will observe, and cause to be observed by others; all heretics, schismatics and rebels against

* Here the doctor candidly acknowledges the duties of a Popish priest, as prescribed by his oath, which evidently enjoin as a religious duty, the destruction of the Protestant Church. But he commits a gross error in saying, that he is bound thereby to propagate the gospel; for instead of this, he is sworn to infuse into his flock the sacred canons and general councils of his own church: and they evidently resemble Mahometanism, much more than the divine truths of the Holy Gospel. They also enjoin, under a religious sanction, a furious spirit of proselytism, and its practical effects, from the destructive civil wars raised by the inordinate ambition of Gregory VII. to the sanguinary scenes which took place at Vinegar-Hill, Wexford-Bridge, and Scullabogue, in 1798; and in Dublin, on the 23d of July 1803, afford unequivocal proofs, that the Popish Clergy use unabated zeal in inculcating them into their flocks, in conformity to their oath.

† In the course of the debate on the 25th Edw. III. called the Statute of Provisors, the pope was called in the House of Commons, "the common enemy of the king and realm"—(2d. Institute, p. 585.)—The following, among other reasons, were assigned for this, "the treasure of the realm was transported, the secrets of the realm were discovered, and the clerks within the realm were impoverished."—(Idem. p. 583.)

our said lord and his successors aforesaid, I will, to the utmost of my power, persecute and impugn.*

With a hierarchy thus constituted, it cannot be a matter of surprise, that the pope has been able to convulse states and prostrate thrones, how remote soever, as it affords him an army in the bosom of every country, well appointed with church militant officers, who are bound by duty, and by oath, to obey his orders. In consequence of this, whenever the pope declared a sovereign prince excommunicated and d posed, and transformed his territories to another monarch, who under his holiness's warrant may be inclined to invade and seize them, he had less reason to dread the assaults of foreign enemies, than domestic treason from his own subjects, whom the clergy could, and were bound in obedience to the pope to raise in rebellion against him. Doctor Dromgoole, therefore, praises the spirit of proselytism by which his clergy are actuated, in the following words : — Do not even the virtues and morality of the priesthood go indirectly to propagate the faith which they profess ? Do they not operate more powerfully than words ? For what is more powerful than example ? Was war then to be waged against the virtues ? Were they, too, to be abjured ? No ! If the church of England trembles for its safety, it must seek it elsewhere, we have no securities to give.† He here alludes to an oath of allegiance to

* How can a Romish bishop bear true faith and allegiance to a British monarch, when he is bound not only by oath, but by the infallible canons of his church, to persecute and impugn him and his Protestant subjects, as heretics and rebels to his lord the pope. He is bound also to obey all his mandates ; and how can he preserve, defend, enlarge and promote the rights, honours, privileges and authority of the holy Roman church, and of his lord the pope, but by the subversion of an heretical state, such as England is regarded by his sectaries. In consequence of this oath of fidelity to the Roman pontiff, William Rufus told archbishop Anselm, that he could not preserve his allegiance to him and his temporal sovereign, at the same time. — (*Speed*, p. 441, 442.)

This oath was the first cause of a rupture between Henry VIII. and the pope ; for the former having come to a knowledge of it, sent to the speaker of the House of Commons, and informed him, " that he found that the clergy of this realm were but half subjects, or scarce so much ; every bishop or abbot, at the entering on his dignity, taking an oath to the pope, derogatory to that of his fidelity to the king ; which contradiction he desired his parliament to take away." Whereupon these oaths, by the king's command, being read and considered, the parliament so handled the business, as it occasioned the final renouncing the pope's authority, about two years after." (*Lord Herbert's Life of Henry VIII.*) When archbishop Cranmer was consecrated, he refused to swear the usual oath to the pope, without first signing a protestation against the exceptional parts of it. — (*Strype's Life of him*, book I. chap. 4.)

† The doctor condemns, in the following words, the oath of allegiance prescribed by the existing laws, to be taken by Roman

be taken by papists, for the security of the Protestant church ; which he explicitly declares the clergy can not take, as they are bound by duty and by oath to subvert it. I shall now prove by authorities the most unquestionable, both ancient and modern, that the canons which I have quoted are held to be in full force, and obligatory, on the consciences of Roman Catholics. " It would be blasphemy in any person to assert, that the sentences, canons, and decrees of a general council were not dictated by the *Holy Ghost*." (*Concil. Basil, Bini*, tom. viii. p. 123. 131.) They are infallible and cannot err. (*Idem*. p. 135.) The reverend Charles Plowden, a Popish priest, who lives and officiates at Bristol, says, in page 31 of a pamphlet, entitled, " considerations on the modern opinion of the fallibility of the pope, published in London, in the year 1790. The bishops of all nations from whom we have derived our faith, conceived *the fallibility of the holy see, in dogmatical questions*, to be as necessary for the constitution of the church, as *councils themselves*." Hence we consider its decrees on matters of faith and morals, as irrefragable decisions "

In page 48, he says, " that true councils represent the whole church, and are certainly *infallible*, and that *the judicial decrees of the popes enjoy the same privilege*." Mr. Francis Plowden, his brother, and a barrister, says, in his *Case Stated*, published in 1791, " The decrees of a general council, in matters of faith and morality, when approved of by the pope, are not liable to deceit or error, and that all Roman Catholics must implicitly adhere to them." The Rev. Dr. Milner, in page 97 of his *Ecclesiastical Democracy*, published in 1793, says the same, and " that *the 4th Lateran Council*,* called by way

Catholics.—" Which of you, gentlemen, that recollects his feelings, when taking our present Catholic oath of allegiance, that does not consider it sufficiently galling and insulting, or that can, with patience, anticipate any farther multiplication of such oaths! That oath is built upon the foulest and most profligate imputations, having their birth in periods of fierce religious controversy, civil wars, and blood." What occasioned those civil wars and blood? The sanguinary and intolerant doctrines of the Romish church and its hierarchy, which, the doctrine confesses, require a popish priest, " by the advice, in conjunction, or under the influence of the pope of Rome, not indirectly, but directly, and at once to destroy the establishment." Considering the practical effects of such doctrines, and the hierarchy which I have described, for 300 years in Ireland, and these candid acknowledgments of Dr. Dromgoole, should not the guardians of the state be alarmed, and require test oaths, and every possible means to secure it? Let the reader compare that oath of allegiance, with the blasphemous and treasonable oaths, which Popish bishops and priests are required to take to the pope.

* The pious and learned Dr. Jeremiah Taylor, bishop of Dromore, observed, in his *Polemical discourses*, page 520, that this council made transubstantiation an article of faith, and rebellion and treason the duty of subjects. See extracts from it in page 18.

of distinction, *the Great Council*, has decided that the Roman church, by the ordinance of God, has the supremacy of ordinary power." In the same, he says, that the pope has a right of addressing his doctrinal instructions, and ecclesiastical mandates, to every portion of the church, and that if they are not opposed by the church at large, they are to be received as coming *from Christ*. In pages 93 and 97, of the same work, he states, the Council of Constance, Basil, Trent, and the 2d Council of Lyons, to be of infallible authority. The rev. Dr. Troy, titular archbishop of Dublin, says, in his famous pastoral letter, published in 1793, "The church is infallible in her doctrinal decisions and canons, in points of faith and morals, and therefore the catholics are obliged to adhere implicitly to such decrees and canons of the church, assembled in General Council, and confirmed by the pope, as articles of faith." He says the same of the decrees and decisions of the pope, delivered solemnly *ex cathedra*.

Can we have a stronger criterion of the religious principles of any sect, than the opinions of their own divines, thus solemnly delivered, of their general councils; of which various editions, published under the immediate sanction of the holy see, are to be found in every public library in Europe; and yet it is not less singular than true, that the English Roman Catholics, in the year 1789, and the Irish in 1792, publicly declared, that the following doctrines contained in those general councils, never were tenets of their church: the power of the pope to depose sovereign princes, by absolving subjects from their oaths of allegiance:* that it is lawful, not only to injure, but to extirpate heretics, and that no faith is to be kept with them. In corroboration of this evidently false assertion, they produced the

* Of the innumerable instances of the exercise of these powers, by the sovereign pontiffs, the following will be sufficient to prove the falsity of these assertions.

Popes.	Year.	Against whom exercised.
Gregory VII.	1073	Henry IV. Emperor.
Paschall II.	1116	Henry V. Do.
Innocent III.	1210	John, King of England.
Do.	1213	Raymond, Count of Thoulouse.
Innocent IV.	1245	Frederick II. Emperor.
John XXII.	1322	Matthew, Duke of Milan.
Urban V.	1363	Barnabas, Duke of Do.
Martin V.	1425	Alphonso, King of Arragon.
Julius II.	1512	King of Navarre.
Pius V.	1569	Queen Elizabeth.
Gregory XIII.	1580	
Sextus V.	1587	
Clement VIII.	1600	
Do.		James I.
Urban VIII.	1643	Charles I. in Ireland.

opinions of the following universities : Paris, Doway, Louvain, Salamanca, Valladolid, and Alcala. It is astonishing that so enlightened a nation as the British could be deceived by so gross an imposture ! I could prove, if my circumscribed limits admitted of it, that these universities maintained and defended opinions diametrically contrary to those produced on the above occasion.

The Irish titular bishops held a synod in Dublin, on the 13th of November, 1812, in which they framed an address to the clergy and laity of their order, under seven heads ; and in the 3d thereof, they stated, " that they consider the answers of six Roman Catholic universities, relative to the duties of subjects, perfectly conformable to the doctrines and tenets of their religion, and that they adopt them as their own."* In my next letter I shall shew the practical effects of the canons of the Romish church stated in this.

LETTER IV.

Doctor Dromgoole asserts in his speech, that " the Established church shall fall, and nothing but the memory of the mischiefs which it created shall survive." Every person whose mind is not clouded with ignorance, cannot but know that popery ever since its foundation, has been an inexhaustible source of treasonable conspiracies, civil wars, insurrections, persecutions, and massacres, some of which I shall endeavour briefly to describe. The Waldenses, who inhabited the vallies of Savoy and Piedmont, suffered a most cruel persecution in the year 1179, under Pope Alexander III. which, with some intermissions, continued till the close of the 17th century ; and for no other reason, than that they professed that faith which was preached by the apostles, and rejected the innovations which the court of Rome had grafted on it.†

But the worst of all religious butcheries was that of the Albigenses subjects of Raymond Count of Thoulouse, of whom Pope Innocent III. presiding in the 4th Lateran Council, in the year 1215, caused a

Benedict XIII. 1729 George II. in vol 45, a bull obtained by the titular prelates of Ireland to dethrone him.

Pius VII. 1801 Lewis XVIIIth.

The following pope maintained three powers.

Paul IV.

Paul V.

Innocent X.

Do. XI.

Alexander VIII.

Innocent XII.

* We shall refer our readers to p. 306 of our 44th volume, for unquestionable proofs, that these universities maintained and defended, at former periods, the power of the pope to dispense with oaths, and to depose sovereign princes. — *The Editor.*

† Du Pius Ecclesias. History, vol. III. p. 201, 2, 3, 4.

million to be destroyed, by massacres, tortures, burnings, and other violent deaths;* and he deprived their sovereign of his territories, because instead of persecuting them, in obedience to that pontiff, he gave them protection; and he transferred them to Simon de Mountfort, who headed the crusade.† In this pious expedition there were many ecclesiastics, and amongst others, the archbishop of Sens, the bishops of Auxerre, Nevers, Clermont, &c. whom Spondanus, the Popish annalist, commended for their courage and zeal. This pontiff, assisted by ignorance and fanaticism, persuaded 500,000 holy ruffians to fix the cross on their breasts, thus turning what brought "peace on earth and good-will towards men," into the distinctive mark of a cut-throat and murderer; and spurred on by the hopes of heaven and the certainty of plunder, they were encouraged to riot in the blood of the Albigenses. Thuanus, lib. 6. sec. 16, and Mezeray in his history, say that they professed the same religion as the French Protestants; St. Bernard, who lived amongst them, praised them for the purity of their religious principles, and moral conduct.—(*Sermo*. 65, *super cant. Editi. Venet. vol. 1. p. 328.*)—Rainerus says the same, and that their only fault was, their hatred of the church of Rome.—(*Test. verit. vol. 2, p. 545.*)

The same pope persecuted the Paulini (called in Italy, Paterini, from *pati*, to suffer) of whom he had 70,000 put to death, plundering, burning and confiscating their property; and merely because they denied the power of the prelates to grant indulgences, and disbelieved the fire of purgatory, the miracles of the Romish church, the worship of images, and the Virgin Mary. His coadjutors in these barbarous murders, were the infamous Italian spy, Francis, and the Spanish assassin Dominic, who for these services have been sainted!!!

This dreadful persecution gave rise to the Inquisition, the superintendence of which was committed by Pope Gregory IX. in the year 1233, to the Dominican friars, who took cognizance, not only of heresy, but of magic, sorcery, and witchcraft; and who assumed a power independent of, and paramount to, that of every state in which they held that sanguinary tribunal.—(*Hist. Gener. de Languedoc, tom. 3. p. 394, 395.*†)

* *Historie General de Languedoc.*

† *Concil. Tom. 11, p. 35.*

‡ Mr. Swinburne, a Roman Catholic gentleman, in his tour through Spain, made in the year 1775 and 1776, and published in the year 1787, says, of the Inquisition in Granada, "So late as the year 1726, the Inquisition, with the sanction of government, seized upon 360 families, accused of Mahometanism, and confiscated all their property, to the amount of twelve millions of crowns, of which no account was ever given; and they were dispersed in different parts of Spain," vol. 1, p. 262. In the *Irish Magazine*, for October, 1808, the Inquisition is much praised, and its benign effects in Spain are much extolled. England is accused of a want of wisdom, for not

The Bohemians were cruelly persecuted as heretics under the mandates of Urban VI. Martin V. and Pius II. in the 14th and 15th centuries. Pope Martin V. in his letter to Alexander Duke of Lithuania, who had taken them under his protection, wrote thus : " if thou hast been any way induced to promise to defend them, know that thou couldst not pledge thy faith to the violators of the Holy Faith, and that thou mortally offendest if thou dost observe it."—(*Spond. ad. an. 1422.*) Urban VI. declared the same to Wincelauß, King of the Romans and Bohemians, and that any compact entered into with heretics, even though confirmed by oath, was null and void.—(*Bulla Urbani Sexti in Biblioth. D. R. Cotton.*)

John Huss and Jerome of Prague were burnt as heretics in the year 1415, notwithstanding the safe conduct of the Emperor Sigismund to the former, and of the council to the latter ; but they determined that no faith was to be kept with heretics.—(*Seldans Commentary*, p. 58, 59, *Frankfort Edition*, 1618.)

Luther would have shared the same fate at Worms, but for the firmness of the Emperor Charles V. who from a sense of pride and honour, would not suffer his safe conduct to be violated ; and yet, afterwards, yielding to the sanguinary spirit of his ghostly advisers, he became a greivous persecutor ; for Grotius, an author of undoubted veracity, says, that, in his reign, not less than 100,000 persons perished as heretics by the hand of the executioner, in the low countries, by his orders, (*Annals*, lib. 1.) Father Paul states them at 50,000.

The people of England were so galled by the tyranny and rapacity of the Court of Rome, that they listened with joy to the doctrines of Wickliffe, and would have derived through him the blessings of the reformation, in the 14th century, but for the following unlucky incident. Henry IV. having acquired the Crown by the perpetration of treason and murder, and being desirous of obtaining the influence of the clergy, to confirm his title to it, and to varnish over the turpitude of his crimes, he, at their instance, prevailed on the Parliament to pass a law, by which the bishops were empowered to try any person within their respective dioceses, whom they charged with heresy ; and when condemned, the sheriff, or other officer, was required by it to burn the heretic in the most eminent place.* On the rise of the reforma-

having early introduced and adopted it. It is well known that this work is much admired and read by the Irish Papists, and that its editor, Walter Cox, is protected by the Catholic Board ; some of whose leading orators opened a subscription for him, when he was committed for a libel little short of treason. Such are the persons who complain of a want of religious liberty !!!

* This engine of Popish cruelty, which answered in every respect to the Inquisition, was soon employed by the clergy to extirpate the followers of Wickliffe. William Sautre, Rector of St. Osithes, in London, the first person who fell a victim to it, was burnt in the year 1405, and the next person was Viscount Cobham. They continued

tion in Scotland, Cardinal Beaton had many persons banished or burnt for heresy. Nothing but flight saved from his sanguinary fury, the illustrious Buchanan, whose genius and learning did honour to his country and the age in which he lived. Beaton presented to the king, a roll of 360 of the nobility and gentry, whom he suspected and meant to have tried for heresy, and the great Earl of Arran was the first in that black roll. Drummond, in his history of Scotland, tells us, that the clergy worked on the avarice of the king to persuade him to second their sanguinary designs, by offering him the estates of all those who should be convicted of heresy, (for they would be confiscated according to the canons of the Romish Church, as stated in page 20. But should this scheme of confiscation fail, they offered him 50,000 crowns annually out of their own estates, and much more should his necessities require it. The reader will find all these incidents in Spotswood, in Keith's Ecclesiastical History, in Buchanan, and Sadler's State Letters.

Queen Mary, on her accession, gave her subjects the strongest assurance by a solemn declaration in council, that she would not lay any restraint whatsoever on religious liberty; and yet when firmly seated on her throne, she at the instance of the Popish Clergy, had the sanguinary law of Henry IV. re-enacted, and under it they condemned as heretics many of her subjects, and had them committed to the flames. James II. in the same manner gave the most solemn pledges, that he would maintain the constitution in church and state, and yet, at the instance of his clergy, he soon after proceeded to subvert it in violation of his coronation oath.

Davila, in the 5th book of his history, and Thuanus, inform us, that the massacre of St. Bartholomew was planned with all the coolness of deliberation, and that the object of it was the total excision of all the Protestants in France, in one night; and all historians agree, that 500 gentlemen, and 10,000 persons of the inferior class of that order were massacred at Paris, and about 40,000 persons in the different provinces. As soon as it was known at Rome, Pope Gregory XIII. called a Consistory in St. Mark's Church, in which he expressed great joy on the occasion, praised the perpetrators of it, ordered the

to burn heretics under it till the reformation; these trials may be seen in Fox's acts and monuments. The Wickliffites were burnt for denying, or refusing to acknowledge, the grossest superstitious doctrines, and among others the following, as stated by Sir Edward Coke: "That there was no merit in doing pilgrimage at the tomb of Thomas a Becket, or of St. Mary of Walsingham, nor in adoring the crucifix, or the images of any Saints, and that it was sufficient to confess to God instead of Priests." He then observes: "which opinions were so far from heresy, as the makers of the statute or the 1st of Elizabeth had great cause to limit what was heresy." (3d Institute p. 41. see p. 8.) This sanguinary law was introduced into different editions of the General Councils. (*Concil. Bini*, tom. x. part ii, p. 2101, A. D. 1408.)

cardinals to return thanks to the Almighty for so signal an advantage obtained for the Holy See, and that a jubilee should be published all over Christendom.--(*Thuanus, lib. 63. sec. 14.*)--It is generally believed that 100,000 Protestants were massacred in the Rebellion of 1641 in Ireland. Hugh Oge M'Mahon, one of the leading conspirators, confessed that it was intended to murder all the Irish Protestants in one night, and that all the Popish Lords and Gentlemen in the kingdom were engaged in the plot. His statements were confirmed by the testimony of others; which the reader will find in Temple, Borlase, and Nalson; and subsequent events afforded unquestionable moral evidence of their veracity. While that dreadful rebellion raged, Pope Urban VIII. issued a bull, dated the 25th May 1643, addressed to the Popish rebels of Ireland in which he granted "absolution from all sins, trespasses, transgressions, crimes and delinquencies, how heinous and atrocious soever, to such of them as would in imitation of their godly and worthy ancestors, endeavour by force of arms, to deliver their thrall'd nation from the oppressions and grievous injuries of the heretics, wherewith this long time it hath been afflicted, and heavily burthened, and gallantly do what in them lieth, to extirpate and totally root out those workers of iniquity, who in the kingdom of Ireland had infected, and are always striving to infect, the mass of Catholic purity, with the pestiferous leaven of their heretical contagion." Hugh Reily, of the county of Down, Edmund O'Junagh, of the county of Antrim, Maurice M'Credon, of the county of Trone, and James Hallaghan, of the county of Armagh, all Papists, deposed, that the Priests, Jesuits, and Friars of England, Ireland, Spain, and other countries beyond the seas, were the projectors, plotters, and contrivers of that rebellion, and that they had been six years in making preparation for it.*

Philip III. expelled the Moors from Spain, Louis XIV. the Protestants from France, at the instance of their bigoted clergy; by which they did material injury to their respective countries. Francis I. began, in the year 1545, to persecute the French Protestants, when they were peaceable and loyal; and his successors Henry II. Francis II. and Charles IX. continued to do so. As Henry III. instead of persecuting, gave peace and protection to his Protestant subjects, and refused to declare his successor incapable of enjoying the crown, Sixtus V. in the year 1585 excommunicated him, as a favourer of heretics, absolved his subject from their oaths of allegiance, and granted a full remission of sins to such of them as would rise in arms against him. On this, his subjects rebelled against him, and he was murdered, by Jaques Clement a friar.--(*Thuanus, lib. 96. sec. 8.*) As soon as this was known at Rome, the pope, in a public consistory extolled the virtue and firmness of the friar, in a long premeditated speech, declared that his fervent zeal towards God surpassed that of Judith and Eleazer, and that the assassination was effected by Divine Providence.--(*Idem, lib. 96. sec. 10.*)

Henry IV. of France, while king of Navarre, was excommunicated

* Their affidavits are to be found in Temple and Nalson.

by Sixtus V. in the year 1585, as a heretic. He declared him incapable of succeeding to the crown, absolved his subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and forbade them to obey him as a king.—(*Idem*, lib. 82. sec. 5) After his accession, he was twice deposed by a similar sentence, in the year 1591 by Gregory IV. and by Clement VIII. in the year 1592, as a favourer of heretics.* At length to conciliate his bigoted subjects, and to soothe their fanatical hatred, he became a papist. And yet, because he was indulgent to his Protestant subjects, and granted them toleration by the edict of Nantes, a crime which the clergy never could forgive, his life was attempted in 1594, by John Chastel, of the order of the Jesuits; again, by another Monk in the year 1600, and he was at last stabbed by Ravallae. Similar sentences of excommunication and deposition pronounced by the following popes against Queen Elizabeth, produced many treasonable conspiracies against her life and government: Pius V. in 1569, Gregory XIII. in 1580, Sixtus V. in 1587, and Clement VIII. in 1600. By these bulls, Ireland, kept in a constant state of rebellion during her reign, was so desolated, that Spencer, secretary to Lord Grey, observed, "that there was little left Queen Elizabeth to reign over, but miserable carcases, and the ashes of sacked and destroyed towns."

A short time previous to the death of Elizabeth, pope Clement VIII. issued a bull, addressed to his votaries in the British isles, "*to keep out the Scotch heretic, unless he would reconcile himself to Rome, and hold his crown of the pope.*" It was to be kept secret till the Queen's death, and then it was to be published, to raise an opposition to the accession of James I.; and it produced that effect in Ireland, where the popish inhabitants of some of the cities and principal towns, headed by their clergy, rose in rebellion, and openly declared, "*that he could not be a lawful king, who was not placed on the throne by the pope, and was not sworn to maintain the Romish Religion.*"—*Morison*, p. 291, 292. *folio edition*) Garnet the Jesuit, acknowledged at his trial, that this bull was sent to him, to be used at discretion on the Queen's death—(*State Trials*, vol. 1. p. 244.) It is mentioned also in *Carte's Ormond*, vol. 1. p. 133. The gunpowder plot has been imputed to it. During the reign of Charles II. the state of Ireland was nearly the same that it has been in our time, which the reader will find by perusing the secret consults and intrigues of the Romish party in Ireland, in *State Tracts*, vol. 3, p. 626, *Lord Orrery's State Letters*, and *Cox's History of that Reign*. It appears that the titular primate Reilly and his clergy, invited the French to invade Ireland, that they organized the people to have them in a state of readiness to join them, that their treasonable combinations were cemented by oaths, that money was raised on the mass of the Romanists, that pikes were manufactured, and that government was frequently under serious apprehensions of an insurrection in Dublin. In the reign of James II. the Protestants suffered a most grievous

† Spond, Tom. 2. p. 863.

persecution, in the course of which "*the virtues and morality of a priesthood, which go indirectly to propagate the faith which they profess,*" appeared in a most conspicuous manner; which the reader will find in archbishop King's state of the Protestants in James the Second's reign. The popish parliament assembled by James at Dublin, in 1689, passed an act for attainting every Protestant by name whom they could discover to be possessed of any property; by which two archbishops, one duke, seventeen earls, seventeen countesses, twenty-eight viscounts, two vicountesses, seven bishops, eighteen barons, thirty-three baronets, fifty-one knights, 2182 esquires, were made subject to the penalties of death and confiscation, without a hearing. James's governor of Dublin issued a proclamation, ordering that no more than five Protestants should meet together even in churches, on pain of death.—(*Leland's Hist. b. 5. c. 6.*)

As the Irish Roman Catholics had been unremittingly endeavouring to extirpate their Protestant fellow-subjects, and to separate their native country from England, for 160 years previous to the revolution, the government were driven to the necessity of imposing penal restrictions on them; and the preamble of the 9th William III. c. 1. shews the real source from which flowed all their treasonable machinations for that purpose, "Whereas it is notoriously known, that the late rebellions in this kingdom have been contrived, promoted, and carried on by popish archbishops, bishops, Jesuits, and other ecclesiastical persons of the Romish clergy."

Doctor Dromgoole says in his speech, "But it is known that every Catholic acknowledges him (the pope) as supreme head of the church—that the bishops correspond with him as a father---that they receive his pastoral instructions---that they communicate to him the successes of their labours in the mission."

Every person who attentively peruses the History of Ireland, must be convinced that his pastoral instructions were frequently the vehicles of treason; and that the priests and bishops, agreeably to their oaths, were ever ready to obey them; and while this continues to be the case, and Doctor Dromgoole assures us that it will, his fellow votaries never can be faithful and obedient subjects to a Protestant state; and their religion, according to Mr. Plowden's assertion, will be, "*Semper eadem.*"

CRANMER.

ORIGINAL POETRY.

TO A POET BLUSHING.

BLUSH, offspring of a noble line,
A Sire's reproach, a realm's disgrace!
Ah! cease to prostitute the Nine!
Forbear to vilify thy race!

BLUSH—if alone that blush can prove
 Thou art not quite devoid of shame ;
 And quit MISANTHROPY for LOVE—
 The GIAOUR's for the CHRISTIAN's name.

*Inscription on the Monument of a Poetical Sceptic, shewing
 " what he was," and NOT " what he should have been."*

Originally composed by himself for himself.

When some vain bard consigns his bones to earth,
 Unknown to glory, but upheld by birth,
 Some vainer bard records where laurels grew,
 And blazons virtues which he never knew.
 But truth disdains the tributary lay
 Which bards congenial to each other pay.
 She wrests the pencil from the venal hand,
 And wisely quenches fiction's dazzling brand.

In *elder* times, when Greece was in her prime,
 There liv'd a man of genius, wit, and rhyme :
 Froward he was, and wayward was his muse,
 He sang alike the Temple and the Stews.
 And, such the strangeness of his ill-formed mind,
 To evil deeds he ever most inclined,
 So closely, too, this system he pursued,
 Having his lyre, by chance, *once* tun'd to good,
 For *once* repentance quick his grief displayed
 For virtue gratified, and vice dismayed.
 A wanderer, to foreign climes he went,
 Content with nothing but with—discontent.
 In scenes of misery he took delight ;
 And was most happy, when unhappy quite.
 Of love and hatred he would often prate,
 Yet, all averred, that he most loved to hate.
 He talked of mental strength, and daring deed ;
 Of Gods—but *Crede nihil* was his creed.
 Soft were his strains, and sweet his numbers flow'd,
 Yet where he soared, some angry demon rode,

Pointed each thought with wretchedness and pain,
 Loaded each verse with spleen's infernal train.
 And now at Lethe's stream he slakes his thirst ;
 Calls them the *best* whom late he styled the *worst* ;
 Forgetting all he's said in former lays
 He turns his praise to blame, his blame to praise.

At length he died—no matter *how* or *where*—
 The bays were thickly spread upon his bier :
 With ready tongues, congenial bards arise
 And scatter incense to th' offended skies.
 But TRUTH proclaims aloud, in reason's strains,
 The cause of all his pleasures, all his pains.

" Oh bard !" she said, " thou insect of an hour !
 " Debased by luxury, in faith a ' GIAOUR !'
 " A querulous, unmanageable ' CHILD,'
 " Of passions headstrong, and of judgment wild ;
 " Who knew thee best most shunned thee, with disgust,
 " Degraded mass of animated dust !
 " Thy love was lust ; thy friendship all a cheat ;
 " Thy smiles hypocrisy, thy words deceit !
 " By nature vile, ennobled but by name,
 " Each kindred brute might bid thee blush for shame."

Lines to him who knows them to be intended for him.

By the same Hand.

Known for contemptuous breach of social ties,
 Enwapt in gloom, the heartless sceptic lies.
 Limping, like Vulcan, see the titled *thing*,
 Of taste the arbiter, of wit the King !
 PAINÉ to his God, and TIMON to his kind,
 He shews the double malice of his mind.
 Reason and piety have tried in vain
 To lead this base deserter in their train :
 But how shall these avail where human pride,
 To guile, hypocrisy, sedition, tied,
 Has regal power and heavenly wrath defied ?

ODE FOR THE YEAR 1814.

MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED TO J. WILSON CROKER, ESQ. M. P.
SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY, &c. &c.

The triumph hour is come at last !
And from the shore,
Whence many a trumpet's solemn blast
Shouted defiance o'er and o'er,
And dared the proud aspiring mind
Of those who brav'd, in dubious hour,
To each impending danger blind,
The dreadful scourge of all mankind,
And mock'd his ill-begotten power—
Even from that vain-glorious strand,
Fresh triumphs burst on Britain's land,
The red-cross flames in all its pride,
As when in early days it rode
On many a river's verdant side,
And with the crimson blood of its invaders glow'd.
Rise, then, ye Britons ! with your father's zeal,
As when of old to mighty deeds they flew,—
Rise in your loveliest majesty, and seal
The fate of proud Ambition's crew !
God has, at length, his vengeance spread
On his—the vain Pretender's head,
On him, who, scornful of his might,
Attempted, vainly, to o'erthrow
His dread Omnipotence, and smite
The power that laid him low :—
God has, at length, the fiend dismay'd,
And wrapp'd him in a cloud of gloom,
Disarm'd the spell, and laid, for ever laid,
His glory in the tomb !
Why need I call my countrymen to arms ?
Mindless of danger, see ! they fly !
To meet the Tyrant in his dread alarms,
Beneath his own vindictive sky !
Now are thy triumphs, Britain, come at last,
Thy days of chivalry and glory,
When many a trumpet's hollow blast,
And many a banner rent and gory,
Told to the ear and to the eye,
The foe had been compell'd to fly
Before the desolating steel
Of those who led thy sons to fame,
And taught their neighb'ring foes to reel,
At Britain's awful name—
Onward, then onward to thy glorious deeds !
Son of Renown ! thy course pursue !*

* The Marquess of WELLINGTON.

Already France from her own soil recedes—
 That soil with its own offspring bleeds,
 And seeks that mercy which it never knew.
 But it is thine, O WELLINGTON ! to save
 The vengeance of the sword—
 To snatch the pining victim from the grave,
 And see no bosom barbarously gor'd !
 This is thy greater virtue,—this the charm
 That all delight to hear and praise,
 Before it malice shrinks, and dares not harm
 The wonder of our days.

Lo ! where he treads, what conquests shine—
 Where'er he leads what harvests glow !
 Harvests where, perhaps, the heart repines
 With undissembled woe :
 But, Britain calls for *vengeance*, and the lands
 That skirt the Tyrant's vast domain,
 Repeat the sound 'till Heaven expands,
 And echoes *vengeance* o'er again.

Inspiring sound ! thy magic sway
 Steals every Briton's heart away,—
 To other days the mind returns,
 For other climes the bosom burns,
 For other feats the soldier sighs,
 As when beneath the Gallic skies,
 Thy meadows, AGINCOURT ! appear'd,
 With thine own children's blood beamear'd,
 And thousands of Old England's foes,
 Who with the ruddy morning rose,
 For hundreds of her sons lay dead,
 While thousands still for refuge fled,
 (But vainly fled !) to shun the woe
 That stretch'd those very myriads low,
 That France might never dare to stand,
 With thrice her strength, against the pow'r
 Of that all-great, all-glorious land,
 Which stings her in the present hour !

Go forth, thou Promise of those better times,
 Ere yet the man of blood and crimes
 Rais'd his rapacious hand on high,
 And brav'd the vengeance of the sky,—
 Go forth ! and o'er those sad domains,
 Where still the phantom-curse remains
 To tell how many wept and died,
 The victims of his upstart pride,—
 Go forth ! and there thy influence show,
 To cheer the minds of those he made,
 The victims of his overthrow,
 In many a charnel-house,—in many a woodland shade.

Already Holland from her swampy seat,
 Conceives the glory of her toils complete,
 Looks thro' the glooms of her ungenial shore,
 And hears the mounting billows roar

The Song of Triumph in her waking ears;
 Swift from his muddy haunt the Belgian Sire
 Breaks forth—the breath of Heaven to respire—

While strains of gladness shake the wond'ring spheres.

Rapt at the sound, all Germany in arms,

Cries out for vengeance thro' her hundred States;
 Breaks forth to conquest, and at once alarms

The Tyrant at his Empire-gates!

God's terror flies before her;—from their graves

The long-forgotten dead, exulting, rise,

Look through the realms on which they once were slaves,

And send their execrations to the skies.

These are thy glorious* works, Almighty one!

Who seeing Europe for her guilt chastis'd,

Hath now her great deliverance begun,

Redeem'd her glory, and her foe surpris'd;

These are thy mighty works! and may we see

The strength of thy directing arm remain,

Till every land from Tyranny be free,

And Peace return again!

Britain, exult! for, tho' thy children bleed,

God unto thee security hath given;

Plac'd in thy own right hand—thy valour's need—

A part of the omnipotence of heaven.

Proceed! and put thy trust in him—

Th' Immortal WELLINGTON, who tore

The dread Destroyer limb from limb,

To scourge the world no more.

Hence France, so late all Europe's dread,

With fear and trembling hides her head,

Lash'd for her crimes, in turn, she flies,

The terrors of surrounding skies,

In vain!—the steady wrath pursues!

In vain she calls her vassal power,

Her vassals to a man refuse,

And leave her in her neediest hour,

Fainting upon her crimson shore,

To scourge the world no more.

Is there a heart, when Freedom calls

Her glowing children to the fight,

When from her cities and her humbler halls,

She bids her various powers unite,

That glows not with revenge, nor throbs with keen delight?

* See THOMSON'S Hymn.

Is there a coward, when the voice
 Of honour calls from field to field,
 To guard the Monarch of their choice,
 And bids them rather die than yield !
 No ! through the breast the flame of glory,
 Like the winged lightning flies,
 And proud of many an ancient story,
 Inhales the breath of Freedom from the skies ;
 And as the distant scene expands,
 With rapture forth the warriors go,
 Destruction nerves their patriot hands,
 As on they move to meet the foe.
 Thus Spain, when Freedom call'd, arose
 And on her foes,
 The shame of this our nether world,
 Her ruin hurl'd,
 Till from her land
 The Rebels flew alarm'd—dismay'd—
 Cursing the wise, the master hand
 Of him, who in oblivion laid
 The projects they had plann'd ;
 And so shall every people be,
 E'en in their subjugation free—
 For what can damp the holy fires
 That warm the mind,
 Of those whom honour's voice inspires,
 Whom Freedom hath combin'd ?
 Princes may call, and men may arm,
 But Libery alone can wake
 The soul to just revenge, and charm
 When Life itself's at stake !
 Thus, in the present hour, we see
 The mortal foe of liberty,
 Confounded and dismay'd ;
 From their own soil his people fly,
 In vain his minion-voices cry,
 Their calls are unobey'd !
 But, see ! the triumph hour is come,
 The Tyrant's suppliant slaves are dumb,
 From proud Muscovia's northern reign,
 Down to the garden of the main,
 Stern Retribution cries—
 " Arm, arm, Germania !—let one soul
 " Possess, direct, inspire the whole,
 " Until the Tyrant flies—
 " Until his harden'd sinews part,
 " And the keen pangs of his black heart
 " Convince us that he dies !"
 The triumph hour is come !—the shore,
 Whence many a menace burst before,

Lin'd with the powers he dared defy,
 Is wrapp'd in gloom,
 While terror reigns in every eye,
 And points to those dark realms that lie
 Beyond the tomb !
 Rouse then, ye nations of the world !
 And on him be your vengeance hurl'd,
 That vengeance which his crimes inspire—
 The sweeping sword—the brand of fire ;—
 On him with all your noble rage,
 Nor aught your gen'rous wrath assuage,
 Pursue him, mindless of his prayer,
 Until beneath your scourge he bleed,
 No longer able to recede,
 Or find a refuge from despair !
 Thus shall the world at length possess
 Relief from all its past distress,
 Thy barques shall visit every strand,
 O, *Allion* ! and thy glorious land,
 Amidst the nations still remain
 Their wonder,
 And that much-injur'd country, Spain,
 Shall tear,
 With noble and heroic air,
 Her bonds asunder !
 And every heart to heaven shall raise
 Her shouts of undissembled praise,
 And every eye to Heaven shall turn
 And every breast with rapture burn,
 Sending its thanks to him who gave
 Peace to the world amidst her woe,
 A WELLINGTON to lead the brave,
 And crush her most vindictive foe !

JOHN GWILLIAM,

*Author of "The Battles of the Danube and
Barrosa," "The Campaign," &c.*

THE LILY.

Shall spring smile again, and shall nature resume
 Her mantle of verdure, her garland of bloom,
 Yet the Lily alone still lie frozen and dead ?
 Ye Lilies arise, rear your beautiful head !
 Hail, hail to the Lily, it lives and it blows,
 Protected its buds by the thorn of the Rose !
 Though England no more on her banner advance,
 Which her EDWARD had won, the fair Lilies of France,
 Yet at England's high call shall again be unfurl'd
 The Lilies of France, to the joy of the world.
 Hail, hail to the Lily, &c.

Yes, Britain ! from thee has the sentiment sprung,
Which glows in the old, and shall blaze in the young,
Which proclaims to the Tyrant, humanity's foe,
That France calls for her BOURBON, and feels with Bourdeaux.
Then hail, &c.

Then high rear the standard, and widely unfold
The Banner of silver, the Lilies of gold.
Down, down with the Eagle, its talons no more
Shall revel unsated in oceans of gore.
All hail to the Lily, it lives and it blows,
Protected its buds by the thorn of the Rose.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

THE History of Edisbury, by George Ormerod, of Charlton, Esq. M. A. and F. S. A. is withdrawn as a distinct publication, and will appear in its proper place, as part of a History of the county Palatine and city of Chester, by the same author, which will be published on the most ample scale of County History, in parts, forming three volumes in folio with a very considerable number of engravings on wood and copper.

With the exception of *King's Vale Royal* and *Leycester's Cheshire antiquities*, of which a reprint will be incorporated, and the matter of many rare tracts connected with the subject ; the work will be wholly founded on, and contain references to *MS. authorities* ; and will combine whatsoever is to be found in the manuscript papers of Erdswick, Leycester, Chaloner, Booth, Bostock, Williamson, Bp. Gastrel, and the Randle Holmes, with all which residence in the county and diligent research have brought within the author's immediate observation, either by minute local investigation, or inspection of private papers and public documents.

The pedigrees, nearly three hundred in number, will be supplied by the visitations and other authentic sources corrected and enlarged by collation with original charters, and continued from the matter furnished by family deeds, wills, and parochial registers.

A detailed prospectus will shortly be issued.

Mr. Octavius Gilchrist is preparing for the press a selection of Old Plays, to be published in fifteen 8vo. volumes, with biographical notices and notes, critical and explanatory.

This work, founded on Dodsley's Old Plays as edited by Mr. I. Reed, will be enriched with a valuable collection, which has been forming during the last fifteen years, with a view to this particular purpose. In this collection there are many dramas *perfectly unique* — and interesting equally from their extreme rarity and literary merit. A careful collation of the various editions where they exist, will be

scrupulously resorted to—in order that the necessary illustration may not be unaccompanied by that which is by far the most important object, namely, a *correct text*. The work will be produced in a form correspondent with our best edition of *Shakspeare*, and with Mr. Gifford's editions of *Massinger* and *Ben Jonson*. The number to be printed will be very limited ; a few copies will be thrown off on the royal octavo, or *large paper size*.

The Reverend Mr. Kett, author of the *Elements of General Knowledge*, &c. has in the press a work to be entitled *The Flowers of Wit*; or, a select collection of *Bon Mots*, with Biographical and Critical remarks, to which are added some gasconades, puns, and bulls. It will be elegantly printed in two pocket volumes.

In the press, an entirely New Work, entitled, “*BRITISH PULPIT ELOQUENCE* ; a Selection of Sermons, in Chronological Order, from the Works of the most eminent Divines of Great Britain during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries, with Biographical and Critical Notices.” The plan of the Editors of this Work (beginning with the “judicious Hooker”) is to select one Sermon from each of the eminent Pulpit Orators of England, Ireland, and Scotland, of the 17th and 18th Centuries ; the whole to be arranged in Chronological Order, and every Discourse to be prefaced with a Biographical and Critical Notice of the Author. In the Selection both of Authors and Sermons, regard will be had only to the excellence of the one and the reputation of the other. The sole limit in the choice of specimens will be the determination to avoid religious controversy. It is expected that the Work will make Three Volumes, 8vo. each Volume containing Three Parts, a Part to be published every Month till completed.

The *History of Suffolk*, so long a *desideratum* in British topography, has at length been undertaken upon an extensive scale, and with appropriate embellishments, by Mr. Harral, of Ipswich. Mr. H. we understand, is in possession of the original surveys of the county, by the Rev. Wm. Betham (author of *Genealogical Tables of the Sovereigns of the World, the Baronetage of England, &c.*) ; he has been favoured with free access to all the principal MS. collections extant ; and Sir George Nayler, of the College of Arms, is also said to have tendered his assistance in the genealogical department of the work.—The first part of this History is in the press, and is expected to appear in the course of the present spring.

A Poem, in three parts, entitled “*The Norfolk Thespiad*,” illustrated with whole-length character portraits of the principal performers at the Theatre Royal, Norwich, is in the course of publication.

In the press a rural poem, entitled “*A Sketch from Nature*.”

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

THE further communications of C. H. E. will be thankfully received ; and his *hint* shall be attended to.

THE
ANTI-JACOBIN REVIEW,
AND TRUE
Churchman's Magazine,

&c. &c. &c.

For APRIL, 1814.

And ye shall be betrayed both by parents and brethren, and kinsfolks,
and friends; and some of you they shall put to death.

ST. LUKE, XXI. 16.

*An Original View of the Night of Treason; shewing in this
night when the rebellious Jews rejected the truth that Pilate
was a traitor to Cæsar; Judas guilty of the most complicate
treachery; and that Peter, after the three denials, according
to a distinct Prediction, three times Apostatised. By the Rev.
Frederic Thruston, M. A. 8vo. Pp. 284. 8s. in boards. Long-
man. 1814.*

WE have before us a new and a very curious volume, sent forth
in the nineteenth century, to convince the world, that there are
even historical parts of holy writ, apparently the most plain,
and, certainly, upon which the most attention has been be-
stowed, which, nevertheless, and if not misunderstood, have by
no means been viewed in their full light. The Night of Treason,
or the Night of the Apprehension of Jesus, is the chosen
subject; and, although human observation has long been
anxiously fixed upon the ill deeds of these solemn hours, yet
it may be found, that the effects of that deluge of gothic
ignorance, which flooded away almost all the knowledge of the
primitive christians, have not even yet ceased; and that some-
thing of christian information is yet to be recovered from the
wreck of ages. The most singular novelty of this work re-
gards the fall of Peter, which is shewn in many respects to
have been of a deeper die, and fulfilling a more peculiar and
accurate prediction, than the world has been accustomed to

No. 191, Vol. 46, April, 1814. Z

observe. The author proposes to demonstrate that Peter, according to a double prediction, twice denied his Lord three times, and he seems to make out his case, by a table of parallels, to which we cannot propose any strong objections, and which, in the author's idea, demonstrate the three last denials to have been *apostasies*. But the proceedings, and the fate of Judas, are more dreadfully interesting, viewed in the new light in which our author has placed them; and, accustomed from our earliest years to contemplate the character of the traitor with unmixed abhorrence, we have learned to feel pity for his fate, and even respect for some strong feelings of remaining virtue in his bosom. Yet it is neither upon Peter nor upon Judas that we would turn our present reflections. There is a third and principal character in the tragedy of this night, in whose conduct we may be as deeply interested as for Judas and Peter; and who gives our author the amplest occasion for the display of sentiments, which ought to animate every breast in these days of religious insubordination on the one side, and predominant superstition on the other. In his investigation, indeed, of the conduct of *Pilate*, in which we purpose to follow him, we shall perceive, in some degree, all the peculiarities of our author's style, sentiments, and argument. We shall perceive his acuteness and ingenuity in bringing even the smallest incident to bear upon his subject; we shall perceive his power of grouping, and painting to the life, or beyond the life, the manliness of his Christian sentiments, and the feeling eloquence of his impassioned descriptions. As supporters of the pure church established in England, against Popish tyranny, and schismatical anarchy; as supporters of the constitution against popular misrule and rash innovation, we do not hesitate to offer Mr. Thruston the right hand of fellowship.

Let it not, however, be understood, that we would by any means give our unqualified assent to all the positions which we find in the work under our inspection. Ingenuity may occasionally become too refined; imagination may be wild; and a habit of discovery, most laudably contracted, may yet sometimes lead on our author so far, and so fearlessly, as, if countenanced and followed, to produce a partial revolution in the critical science of holy writ. What we imply, will be found justly imagined by those who duly consider the extracts we shall subjoin.

That Pilate was a traitor to Cæsar, is the profession of the title page, and we do not hesitate to subscribe to the position, though we do not date the first thought of treason, so early

as our author is inclined to do. He conceives that from the beginning, the Roman residents in Judea were inclined to favour even the usurpation of a temporal power on the part of Christ, observing what Leslie so well established, that the Gentiles, disengaged from the proud adherence to a *spiritual judge on earth*, were more ready to embrace the truth. In the thought of *treason*, we, however, rather judge that Pilate was alone, and instigated to it at the trial of our Lord, in obstinate opposition to the Jews. We shall submit, however, the arguments of Mr. Thruston, in as full strength as our limits and detached passages will allow. Judas is first seen, leading the band which Pilate had granted.

"Probably, well known to the rulers of the Jews, this eminent apostate, and traitor, as he will be found, on all sides, by the united counsel of the Chief Priests and Scribes and Elders of the people and Pharisees, was now entrusted with the absolute command of a whole band of soldiers under a captain of thousand, beside numerous attendants, composing what is called a great multitude, and armed with swords and staves. As they could not have expected a desperate and doubtful resistance, on a midnight surprise of twelve unarmed peasants, it must appear that, either with themselves, or with Judas their leader, or with both parties, much more was in contemplation than we are directly informed. The Chiliarch at Jerusalem, or Roman captain of thousand, appears, excepting the Governor, to have been the very first man in the state. Claudius Lysias, the Chiliarch upon the apprehension of Paul in the temple, (Acts xxi. xxii. xxiii.) appears to have possessed despotic power in Jerusalem. And it cannot be that such an eminent commander and his band (the same *στρατηγὴς* in Acts xxi. 31), were employed without adequate motive."

Corroborating observations in the same style of thought occupy our author's pages until we find the band in the garden.

"If treason had been the only object of Judas, and all his hopes ranged against Christ, he might much more conveniently, and certainly with far less danger of tumult and rescue, have secured him in the room where the Passover was kept by our Lord and his disciples, and in which our Lord remained long after Judas's departure. But such a place would not have answered the other, and I am confident the more favourite, hope of Judas, that his Master would embrace the opportunity of this large military force, obviously devoted to his service, have arranged all the movements in the silence and leisure of the garden of Gethsemane, have marched to Jerusalem, fully provided with arms as they were for the very purpose, seized by a midnight surprise the strong places, only garrisoned, moreover, by friends to the cause, have subverted at one stroke the established powers and governments, and by the grand revolution of one night, have com-

menced in the following morning, with the unanimous applause of all the people of the Jews, *the Earthly Kingdom of the Messiah*.

"In this plot of Judas, moreover, and in this alone, appear the uses for which the lanterns and torches were designed. The absurdity, had they intended a surprise of Jesus, and the total uselessness in the simple apprehension in the garden, have been already pointed out. Even by the starlight of an Eastern sky, almost the smallest print may sometimes be read: the Eastern heavens are not usually subject to be unseasonably clouded as with us, and the fact of the frosty brightness of this night of the apprehension may be gathered from the chilling cold in the palace, and the fires accordingly prepared for the soldiers and domestics. This entirely agrees with the remarks of travellers upon the seasons of Judæa; and when to all these circumstances of a bright night, we add the incontrovertible fact that at the passover the moon was at the full, and was now riding almost at her highest noon, *ruling the night*, according to the appropriate Oriental expression of the lunar lustre, as the sun rules the day, it will not be received as a sufficient reason for the lanterns and torches, that the sky might be darkened by clouds, or that Jesus might have hid himself among the trees of the garden! Even at the full moon in one of our own nights, though the sky be covered with clouds, the artificial light would, almost in any situation in the open air, be entirely useless, or something worse than useless. How clearly then does it appear that the lanterns and torches must have been intended for the ulterior object of the purposed storming of Jerusalem and its strong holds, in favour of *Christ the King*, the lanterns, perhaps, to conduct the assault within the fortresses, and the torches, in the military use, to fire any parts of the city, if so violent a measure should seem in the turn of circumstances to become expedient or necessary. But Jesus, according to the prophet's word, would *do no violence*, neither strive, nor cry, nor cause his voice, as a warlike commander, to be heard in the streets. Far was it from the *King of Peace* to establish his dominion by the sword. The scheme of Judas upon his ideas seemed feasible nevertheless, and he might have fairly hoped from his scheme, a scheme which might be historically paralleled in all its circumstances, except the rejection of the crown, the envied situation of the right hand in this kingdom of his own establishment."

In pursuance of our plan we pass the intervening occurrences in which the Romans were only indirectly concerned, and stay again with the first of the morning at the Pavement of which an interesting explanation is afforded.

"The Governor, however unseasonable the time, was at this early hour constrained, by the pressure of the circumstances, to enter into the hall of judgment, into which the Jews might not enter, lest they should be casually defiled. As trials which required the witness of the Jews, and the attendance of their rulers, frequently occurred at these festivals, an elevated structure seems to have been erected on the outside of the hall of judgment, so secured as to prevent all com-

annunciation, strictly personal, between the Romans and the Jews; and thus without interference with the religious feelings of native witnesses, and well calculated to allow all possible publicity to the proceedings of the court. This was called *the Pavement*; and upon it was erected a judgment seat, a kind of throne, on which the chief magistrate sat. As the hall of judgment was either in or near the Citadel of Antonia, which commanded the temple, the Pavement, before which sat the Chief Priests and rulers of the Jews, backed by all the multitude of the people, was a place of all possible publicity; and at very little distance, moreover, from the Temple."

"We are now, however, to proceed to the consideration of the conduct of Pilate. It is impossible that Pilate could be ignorant of this important case, an inspection into which, by an unusual assumption of privilege, he is now about to claim for himself. He had been long Governor, and before Jesus began his public ministry; the very centurions of Pilate had been occasionally the most interesting witnesses of the divine powers in Jesus; and we cannot doubt that sufficient curiosity and conversation would have been excited among the Romans. This indeed is demonstrated by so many applications to his power, peculiarly Gentile. The triumphant entry of this singular personage into Jerusalem, a few days before, must have seemed even to shake the foundations of the Roman Power: the crowds which attended him in the temple, at the dawn, were watched by the Citadel of Antonia: Pilate, who generally dwelt at Cæsarea, was present at Jerusalem in the Festival, for the purpose of watching the popular feelings, and quelling probable insurrections; and a whole Roman cohort, with an officer of the highest rank, had marched from the Governor, to meet Jesus in the garden. Pilate moreover, might have been acquainted with the circumstances from Nicodemus; and Joseph, of Arimathea, was of the Governor's Council. At all events, he was fully aware, from some quarter, that Jesus had been *delivered for envy*."

"Pilate, upon the whole, was placed perhaps in as difficult circumstances as ever met a political man; and these, even independent of the rooted conviction of Pilate, that there were supernatural powers at the command of Jesus. He saw the enthusiasm of the Jews in favour of Jesus; and he must have been aware of that long and deeply-cherished expectation of a conquering Messiah, which might almost have realized itself. Were he to save Jesus from the present flood of popular indignation, he knew the lightness and inconstancy of such a tumultuous assembly, and might have expected that Jesus, in despite of the envious Priesthood, could easily have resumed his characteristic influence over the popular mind; and if the Cæsarean sway did not ultimately fail from Judæa, yet he and his small party might be sacrificed at one blow. Were he to put to death this dreaded man, to what imminent peril of universal rebellion might he be found to have exposed himself, when the deed were done, and the minds of the people returned to a sense of their Messiah, and a consequent indignation at his loss. Insulted superstition might crush him at once. And then Jesus, the Messiah, established by the Roman arm,

might have been the firm friend of Rome ; otherwise established, as he might have been, the determined enemy. What was the course a public or a selfish policy would have dictated to Pilate ? However this question be answered, it seems in fact, that for a long time he only awaited the course of events ; and I cannot think that we have insufficient grounds for an idea, that even in the lowest circumstances of the fortune of Jesus, Pilate himself earnestly desired that he would accept THE CROWN."

This seems at least plausible, and is strongly supported by observations and arguments, for which we cannot afford space. We must not, however, fail of other views of Pilate.

" It cannot possibly be supposed that Pilate was unaware of the nightly march of his troops to the garden ; nor can I think that he did not secretly favour their partial purpose. It is clear that there was visible something of extreme dissatisfaction in his question to the Jews, *What accusation bring ye against this man ?* the manner of which was so much resented, as to draw from the rulers an indignant declaration that, had he not been a malefactor, they would not have delivered him up. It, in fact, seems that they had no idea of debating their cause before Pilate : they had *condemned* him to death in their Court, but had no power to *put him to death*. They *delivered him up*, I believe, to the Roman governor, as to the *executive power*, and expected, of course, the easy sanction of their sentence, and the immediate undisputed gratification of their thirst for his blood. But Pilate was obstinate in good as in evil, and would not suffer the cause to pass him so slightly.

" When Pilate, according to his command, had the formal accusation laid before him, the only accusation, as they thought, which would have moved Pilate, that Jesus had declared himself to be Christ, a *King*, he went into the judgment hall, and *called Jesus*, and *Jesus stood before the Governor*, and Pilate *asked him, art thou the King of the Jews ?* or rather, though possibly in the tone of hesitation, *said to him, as is intimated by all the Evangelists, Thou art the King of the Jews*. Now this question, or assertion, is evidently not altogether in public ; and whether affirmation or question, the words are again most insignificant and extraordinary, unless upon the idea, that on an affirmative answer, Pilate would have left a Cæsar for a Christ, and have vindicated the regal title of his majestic Prisoner. Pilate could scarcely have been so long Governor of Judæa, and yet uninformed of the rumour, which prevailing over the whole East, and piercing even to Rome itself, had a form and substance in his peculiar province, that a King was at that time about to be manifested : he could not have been unaware of the expected Messiah, *the King of the Jews* ; nor presuming that this man were supposed to have been actuated by ordinary ambition, would Pilate have been foolish enough to ask his prisoner, whether he were *the King*, or a *King* ; nor would much credit for loyalty have been given on a compulsory answer, that he was not.

"The reply of Jesus is fully as singular, manifestly looking on the heart, and answering in the same style of blended affirmation and scrutinizing enquiry, '*Thou sayest this thing of thyself; or others tell it thee of me.*' The reply penetrated to the secrets of Pilate's heart: he had said it of himself; and others (and probably they who told him of the *envy* of the rulers) had told it of him, that he was *the King of the Jews*, and out of *that law* to which Pilate had so lately alluded. Pilate's sudden rejoinder can scarcely be explained, except on the same principles. Jesus had spoken to his heart; and Pilate unconsciously betrays his hidden thought, by understanding, and answering, '*Am I a Jew? The nation, that is* thine own, and the Chief Priests, have delivered thee unto me. What hast thou done?*' Such a question to an accused prisoner will be allowed to be extraordinary! What hast thou done, as to the *claim or acquisition of Sovereignty, over the nation that is thine own?*

"Jesus at last directly declares to Pilate, in the majestic style of one who had been accustomed to command and be obeyed, that though he came into the world to be a king, it was not, by any means, for an earthly kingdom, either over that peculiar nation, or any other: he directly rejects the intimations of Pilate, and tells him, with an allusion both to the offer from the soldiers in the garden, and from the Governor in the judgment hall, that he *knew his servants* (the Romans) would fight, that he should not be delivered to the Jews, if his kingdom were a kingdom of this world; but† *now, therefore*, as he would not permit them to fight, his kingdom was plainly not of this world. But as yet, Pilate, though forbidden to *fight* for this kingdom, scarcely knew whether this royalty was not to be defended and asserted by other means, and perhaps over other nations, if not over his own peculiar but rebellious people. Puzzled, however, by what seemed to him contradictions, he withdraws from his positive affirmation, and asks him, whether then he were indeed a king, if not this king of the Jews? and Jesus replied, that in some sense certainly he was; but that every one who was of the *truth*, heard his voice of command, and obeyed it. Pilate, perplexed and confounded at an answer above his immediate comprehension, exclaims, in a hurried and sceptical manner, *What is truth?* Convinced, however, that there must be some truth in all this, though the more he enquired, he were confounded the more struck with the majesty of the man who serenely claimed a higher throne than earth could afford: well aware that this was no visionary enthusiast, whose acquittal or condemnation might be politically insignificant, he hazards all to save him. So far of the truth, and a *servant*, he heareth the voice of Jesus, and thus for a moment submits to his spiritual kingdom. In the face of his rancorous accusers, and of the whole raging multitude, he judicially pronounces an entire acquittal, he declares that he finds no fault at all in him."

* το εθνος το σου. John xviii. 35.

† νυν δε.

The subsequent transmission of the case to Herod produced no effect.

"When Pilate was forced upon the second examination of his Prisoner, and when Jesus had refused to justify himself, either before Herod or Pilate, even by one word, Pilate still judged it the more prudent to maintain the innocence of Jesus. When therefore he had re-assembled the Chief Priests and rulers, and people, he sanctioned his proceedings with Herod's name, to whom they had been sent with their accusation, and who had doubtless informed Pilate of his determined silence; and again, in all those things whereof he had been accused, solemnly pronounced him guiltless in every respect, fully acquitted in each jurisdiction, from Galilee to Jerusalem, of the stirring up the people; and he intimated his wonder at the accusation in the very *Behold*, spake in the most resolute and authoritative tone, as if he would daunt his adversaries. Perceiving, however, the rising fury of the people"

We must pass hastily and leave many points unexplained, which, while they may seem objections to our readers, we would testify to be converted into evidences under our author's hands.

"The force of eloquence on a populace is well known; and never man spake like this man; and Pilate might justly have hoped, that with such an opportunity from the Pavement, of making his defence to the people, under the very title of their Christ, their Messiah, and their King, all might yet have been carried before him. A word to Pilate or the people, and Jesus had not died. Jesus was brought forth, and the Governor was probably as much surprised as the people at his appearance in the purple robe of Majesty, royally attended by the soldiers, in their assumed character as his guards, and with the crown of thorns upon his brow. It should be remembered that the ancient Roman crown (and the Romans crowned him) was not, according to the modern style, of gold and precious stones, but of those *laurel leaves* to which the ivy-like thorns* might have borne a striking resemblance. In the propriety of the mockery, this indeed

* Hasselquist, (Travels, 288) speaking of the *naba* or *nabka* of the Arabians, says, 'In all probability, this is the tree which afforded the crown of thorns for the head of Christ: it grows very common in the East, and the plant is extremely fit for the purpose, for it has many small and most sharp spines, which are well adapted to give great pain. The crown might be easily made of those soft, round, and pliant branches; and what, in my opinion, seems to be the greatest proof of it is, that the leaves much resemble those of ivy, as they are of a very deep green. Perhaps the enemies of Christ would have a plant somewhat resembling that with which Emperors and Generals used to be crowned, that there might be calumny even in the punishment.'

would be provided for by the soldiery, who both in resentment perhaps, and with intention to insinuate that the prostration in the garden was the same act of ridicule, treated him for a time, in all outward respects, as a monarch. Pilate, whether this were, or were not by his connivance, seized the idea, as almost a providential furtherance of his plan: the rulers nearest to the judgment seat might possibly be moved with compassion: the populace at a distance might be imposed upon, as if this were a serious vindication of the royalty of their King. Indeed, a wreath of common ivy, or even holly, at the distance of a very few yards, could scarcely be distinguished from the coronal wreath. *Behold*, cried Pilate, *Behold the man*. The populace were struck dumb, for a time, and the Chief Priests and their menials alone, who might in this case have expected to have either fallen sacrifices to public indignation, or to the vengeance of the new Monarch, *these alone* now cried out, *Crucify him, crucify him*.

"The thunderings of hostility were hushed at once throughout the whole marshalled populace, and this interval of stillness must have only been the more perceptible, from the solitary sound of the remaining hostility of the few leaders.

"Jesus destroyed the effect, by not opposing a single syllable to the voices of the rulers. Pilate, watching the wavering feelings of the populace, was emboldened to reply with haughty derision to the unsupported Priesthood, that they then must *take and crucify him*: for as to himself, he positively would not, and could not; and he then made the third time the triumphant declaration and appeal to the people, that they were witnesses *he too had found no fault in him*.

"But an unexpected turn not only disconcerted Pilate, by baffling his manœuvres, and making void all his acquittal of *treason*, on the production of a reserved charge, but at the same time made him *more than ever afraid* to proceed, where all was dark, and where one false step might be ruin. It had been only desperate necessity, and the dread of the people, and Pilate, and Jesus, all at once, that brought the Jewish rulers to this last accusation, as they seemed to have known the effect it would have upon their superstitious ruler, a Roman idolater, a worshipper of gods, and earthly sons of gods! We are plainly told he was very much afraid *before*, because he is now *more than ever afraid*. Jesus, this Son of God, stood before him! he does not venture, however, to speak to him before the people, as if he would believe such a tale, but returns with him into the Judgment hall; and in solemn astonishment asks him *Whence art thou?* He had before asked him whether he were a King, and Jesus, aware that it could be explained so as not to prevent the grand purpose for which he came into the world, told him, he was in truth! But now when one declaration of *divinity*, or an answer to the question *whence he was*, would have awed Pilate into a determination to save him from the Jews, Jesus was silent!

"Pilate, in his remonstrance and expostulation with Jesus, alludes to the distinction between his late determined silence before the Jews

in public, and to the present *private* and *confidential* conference : *Speakest not thou to ME ?* and at the same time manifestly betrays a secret suspicion of the extent of his own utmost power against this Son of God, in a seeming *enquiry* of his Prisoner, whether he knew not, what all knew, that the Governor had in ordinary cases the power of life and death ! The reply of Jesus, which was so strikingly effectual with Pilate, must be acknowledged to have lost its force with us. We may turn to many commentators, nor gain by their aid one plausible idea from the words. ‘ *Thou couldst have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above : therefore he that delivered me unto thee hath the greater sin.*’ We need not pause to notice the common imaginations that Cæsar is the power above. Let it only be remarked that St. Paul comments upon the passage in his Epistle to the Romans,* commanding, *Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God : the powers that be are ordained of God.* 2. *Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God : and they that resist shall*

* “ ‘Whoever is conversant with the Roman history, will be able to illustrate many single passages in this chapter. The city of Rome contained within itself the seeds of insurrection and civil war, and was frequently involved in troubles, even when the provinces were at peace. The Senate was secretly jealous of the Emperor, and the Emperor in his turn suspected the Senate. The life of the Emperor was seldom free from danger : Caligula had died a violent death, Claudius had been poisoned, and Nero, who was on the throne when St. Paul wrote this Epistle, did not meet with a more fortunate end. The inferior magistrates aspired to the supremacy : and as the Romans then believed in astrology, which they had learned from the Chaldees, an astrologer had only to predict success to the aspiring party, or to foretel the day on which the Emperor would die, and the consequence was a certain assassination. The imperial life-guard, which consisted of foreigners, especially of Germans, and therefore was not interested in the prosperity of the Empire, was not only an object of disgust to the Roman citizens, but became so powerful after the time of Claudius, that the Emperors were obliged to purchase its favour by considerable presents. And, in fact, they had no other right to their sovereignty over the Romans, than that which they derived either from force or intrigue. Under these circumstances, St. Paul judged it necessary to exhort the Roman Christians to submit peaceably to the government under which they lived. He tells them that ‘the powers that be (*οἱ ἄρχαι ἐξουσίαι*) are ordained of God :’ he will not consent, that they should enter into any inquiries on the origin of that right, which was exercised by the Emperor, but commands them to obey the constituted authorities, as appointed agreeably to the divine will, and not to associate with those who endeavoured to effect a change in the government.”—(*Michaelis*, vi. 101-2.)

receive to themselves damnation. 5. Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake.—Rom. xiii. 1—7.)

Pilate therefore was first told that he had his power from God, and this suggestion was admirably calculated to allay any fear in the mind of the Governor, that supernatural means of resistance, on the part of the Son of God, would be set in opposition to the violence of which he was to be made the instrument.

“ From thenceforth Pilate still sought to release him ; it is possible that he might not have understood the full meaning of the words, which have eventually been spoken for our instruction, and for all until the end of the world ; but he saw clearly that he had nothing to dread from the life of such a subject, if an earthly subject he was resolved to continue, and might have much to fear from the returning enthusiasm of the populace, and the accusation of the protesting rulers before Cæsar, if he suffered the execution of a man to whose innocence he, as the supreme judge, had so often borne public testimony, the most solemn and the most sincere.

“ The rulers of the Jews had perceived their mistake in the Governor's emotion upon hearing of the Son of God, and his sudden exit with his prisoner. They now again suddenly change their accusation on his return, and indirectly accused *himself*, before his own indignant soldiery, of treason against Cæsar in favour of the man they had mocked. Pilate has hitherto been steady and cautious, and in the most irritating opposition, had been possessor of himself ; but this direct charge hurries all to a crisis ; Pilate is not afraid at this accusation, as he was when he heard of *the Son of God*, for to crouch to the fear of man was not Pilate's foible ; but we may, nevertheless, well suppose that he was irritated by the insolent rebuke of his subjects ; and, indeed, Tiberius was a cruel tyrant, with whom suspicion was guilt, and never failed to terminate in death ; and the soldiery were present ; and Pilate was conscious ; the die he thought was cast ; through the whole morning's occurrence he could not but have known he had many times laid himself open to the accusation ; he knew he was hated, and deservedly, by the rulers of the Jews ; his blood boils at their threatening exclamation, when they attempted to oppose temporal to his spiritual fears ; here, too, he was guilty, and here he feels the accusation ; he now makes a desperate venture ; again he brings Jesus forth, and most certainly* set him, even Jesus,

* “ As this is a point of the first importance in the attempt to ascertain the purposes of Pilate and the solemn rejection of their KING, on the part of the Jews, I would invite particular attention to the original text, which, without any consideration of parallels, would alone lead to the full conviction that Jesus was placed upon the throne of David, to be rejected the more formally by his people, and understood to be placed upon the throne in no idle mockery, but in all seriousness on Pilate's part. The parallels, however, are numerous. See Eph. i. 20. *exaltation* “ and set him at his own right hand in the heavenly places.”—(See also 1 Cor. vi. 4. also Heb. xii. 3, with Griesbach's text, et al. freq. Parkhurst, Schleusner.)

upon the judgment seat, upon the throne, in the presence of the whole multitude at a solemn season of assembling, and salutes his late prisoner as the monarch of the people; and says to the Jews, **BEHOLD YOUR KING!** It is probable, indeed, that he afterwards accounted for his words and actions, as a mockery; but it would not have lightly ended, had the Jews, beholding their king on his throne, in the royal robe, the laurel wreath upon his brow, cried, *We have no King but CHRIST. Blessed is he that sitteth on the throne of his Father David.* It cannot be imagined that any Governor in the world would venture this desperate act of mockery against the dearest feelings, and the proudest prejudices, of a whole assembled nation."

We must hasten our readers to the catastrophe.

" Pilate yielded; and we have been accustomed vehemently to accuse him, that he was weakly intimidated by the menaces of the multitude. We have cited against him even the heathen moralist, from whose words he might have learned the popular sentiment of a high-minded people:

" Justum, et tenacem propositi virum,

" Non populi ardor prava jubentium

"

" Mente quatit solidâ.

" Yet if Pilate were not, according to the full force of translation,

" 'The man resolved and steady to his trust,

" Inflexible to ill, and obstinately just!'"

they were, nevertheless, no common features of resolution which Pilate exhibited for hours, in the most trying occurrences. Pilate, as St. Peter informs us, was *determined to let him go* (Acts iii. 13); and the natural character of Pilate is related, according to the most unquestionable faith of history, as, I think, he appears in the sacred narration, to have been rather obstinate than ductile, 'high, rough, untractable, irreconcilable,' rather inflexible than yielding. From the first almost to the last, he cleaves to his purpose; and if Judas had his greater sin from his rebellion against the power above, the grand fault of Pilate also, as I must conceive, was rather that he was not faithful to Cæsar, than that he sacrificed Christ! And even here there was no alternative; he must either have crucified the man he himself pronounced to be innocent, or he must have saved him by placing his prisoner on the throne; by setting him on an eminence which defied the attacks of the rulers, and calling up the enthusiasm of the populace to his defence.

" He did not, indeed, resign him, even as an earthly monarch, until it appeared that *he could prevail nothing*; that further perseverance would not only be destructive to himself, and every Roman in Judæa, but at the same time, bring no less certain destruction to the prisoner he was anxious to have saved. He resigned him as the sad victim of state necessity; and I know no sentiment which could dictate a further resistance, unless we could teach Pilate, in his own tongue, a Christian maxim, indeed, in spirit, but a maxim, to the

height of which even Christians will scarcely aspire, "*Fiat justitia, ruat cælum.*"

Jesus was crucified, dead, and buried.

"It may be conceived that Pilate was well aware it was not, and could not, be finished merely by the death of THE JUST ONE. To the darkness over the land, he was himself a witness; the earthquake did not spare to shake the abode of Pilate; and, in so critical a season, he could not have been left in ignorance either of the phenomenon in the veil of the temple, rent in twain, or that the people had now begun to fulfil his expectation, by returning home, smiting their breasts. The rulers, unmoved, or too deep in guilt to allow an idea of return, resist all these extraordinary manifestations; but the Gentile ruler was not hardened like the Jew. The instant in which he is assured of the death of Jesus, he grants, against all the rulers, the body to the most honourable burial; and when the Chief Priests require of him a watch for a few hours, lest, by some deceit of his disciples, a rumour might prevail that according to his boast he was risen from the dead on the third day, it is granted in the most satirical style, and with a direct, and almost triumphant, insinuation, that he was persuaded that such boast would, to their confusion, be justified in the event. "Ye have a watch: go your way; make it as sure as ye can." Our version may not quite reach the spirit and full purport of the original, but the blunt and satirical tone is perfectly and admirably preserved.

"Pilate's prediction was fulfilled, and assuredly to Pilate's knowledge. Whatever the precautions of the rulers, it is obviously impossible that such a transaction as this should not have come to the Governor's ears; and the full belief of Pilate in the resurrection, is the only circumstance that could have screened his soldiers from punishment. I shall forbear, as entirely foreign to my professed purpose, to enter upon the interesting subjects of the recorded acts of Pilate. An account of such an execution of such an extraordinary person, under the title of *King of the Jews*, could not but be laid before the emperor; and there is every reason to think that it was laid before him, and fairly. I would refer to an interesting sermon upon this subject by Mr. Polwhele (Sermon vi.) Tertullian, in the second century, expresses what must have been the standing opinion of the age, that in his conscience Pilate was a Christian; and he does assuredly seem to have received more than a faint perception that there was a proffered peace through the blood of the cross! But Pilate, ere long, was recalled from his government on the well-founded charge of high misdemeanours in the administration, and finally committed suicide in exile. Judas, almost a Christian, would have rebelled against the powers above; Pilate, almost a Christian, would have committed a crime similar in all its circumstances; and Pilate visited himself with the fate of Judas. Judas and Pilate, alike in death, were both indeed traitors in life; yet perhaps they with less propriety

can be termed traitors to *Christ*, than traitors to *Cæsar*. This indeed was THE NIGHT OF TREASON, but it was only the Jewish populace and rulers, who, by their rejection of *the truth*, purposed and committed treason against *Christ the King*. From first to last, through opposite temptations, which we have not been accustomed to discern, Jesus delivered himself; it was expedient for us that he should go away; he not only embraced all worldly ignominy and affliction, but rejected at the same instant all worldly honour and glory. Unallured by apparent good, and undismayed by apparent evil, from first to last he delivered himself into the hands of wicked men, and by no man was he delivered."

As a happy application of the subject, we cannot fail to submit the high reflections with which the work concludes.

"It was the conduct of Judas and Pilate which, whatever their intentions, seemed to lead Christ to his cross; it has been conduct like that of Judas and Pilate which has gone nigh to ruin Christianity and crucify afresh the Lord of Glory. Would to God there never had been an earthly ruler, prompted by erring zeal to clothe the powers of the kingdom of truth in the purple robes of earthly majesty, to take the simple shepherds of the flock from leading their charge beside the still waters, and set them on a throne which they little became, and which was not theirs. Excellent as may sometimes have been the intention, yet it has smitten the earth with a curse: it has been in effect a cruel mockery; and the crown of laurel, on a nearer inspection, has been found a crown of thorns piercing into the very forehead of Christianity! Would that no representative of Peter, and self-called vicar of Christ, had been found to accept the bribe of an earthly dignity, the very expectation of which destroyed the soul of Judas! Peter *denied* his Lord in distress, Peter *forswore* him in persecution; it was earthly hope, earthly ambition, that nearly ruined Peter! Would that no representative of Peter, whose bitter weeping washed away, at last, thoughts so ignoble in those who seek, like their Lord, an higher crown than earth can afford—would that no representative of Peter, seated at the summit of that rock on which the Church was built, had become the better representative of Judas, whose traitorous ambition sold his master! Would, if such were to be the case, that the crowd of the faithful had perceived how debased were the powers of heaven, the ministers of him who is *far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come*—debased when seated on the throne of earth; how ill the sword of vengeance, borne not in vain to execute wrath in the one hand, became the pastoral crook in the other! Would at the strange sight, they had cried in better spirit, however, than the Jewish populace, *Away with it, Away with it. We have no such king but Cæsar*. Then indeed there might, ere this, in this revolted and rebellious kingdom of the earth, have been acclamations more wide

and more uniform, and more spiritual, *We have no king but Christ.* To him be the kingdom, the power, and the glory, for ever and ever.

"But such desires are fruitless, and perhaps unwise. Peter's Church, indeed, sinned like Peter, nor is that sin and its consequences yet passed away. The Western Church may even at this day take up the dying lamentation of one of the most furious advocates of Peter's earthly cause, and exclaim, "*I have sinned with Peter, but I have not wept with Peter.*" The dying words of Gardiner will not, we may trust, however, be the last words of the Romish Church: the hour shall come when it shall weep bitterly; *Blessed tears, and happy the fruits of them!*"

We have made large extracts, but feel that we have not done justice even to the very small part of the work which we have chosen as our theme. The digressions are numerous, and highly interesting. The preface denounces them as *awkwardly thrust in*; it would have been more awkward to have left them out, though not their least value, in our estimation, results from their exhibition of powers of perspicuous criticism, such as we have seldom seen equalled. Where conviction fails us, the author's remarks are, nevertheless, so acute, that we cannot regret his error; he at least insists that we should *think* and examine, and examination of such subjects, is in itself profitable, and never detrimental to the interests of knowledge, morality, or religion. Once or twice we were offended with the intrusion of a page or two of remarks, not in good taste, which clearly *attempt* a tone of passion, and attempt it in vain. These were not written in the author's happy moments, when the subjects filled himself, and he intended nothing, and effected every thing, but seem rather a theft from some sermons, ambitious of the title of orations. We particularly include in this censure, the reflections derived from the fate of Judas (Pp. 186, 187), and from the rejection of Christ (Pp. 227, 228).

The arrangement is often confused; Mr. Thruston seems to write too much '*currente calamo*'; the two or three first sheets of the work are unpromising; we turned them over with impatience, but just when our holiday hour was come, our eyes were arrested; we began to forget our want of relaxation, and we finally were constrained to lay down the work with just those feelings which a learned critic owns, when in the midst of his midnight enthusiasm for the public weal of the realms of literature, his last half inch of candle sinks irrecoverably in the socket.

The Rejected Theatre, or a collection of Dramas, which have been offered for representation, but declined by the Managers of the Play-houses. No. 1, for January, 1814. To be continued Monthly. 8vo. Pp. 176. 2s. 6d. Colburn, London ; Goldie, Edinburgh ; and Cumming, Dublin.

WE were pleased to see this new plan announced for two reasons ; first, because it would afford the public some opportunity of judging, by a comparison of pieces rejected with pieces performed, of the fairness and impartiality with which the duty of those who are entrusted with the care of providing for the theatrical amusement of this great metropolis, is discharged ; and secondly, because it would deprive the managers of the ability to be judges *en dernier resort*, an office for which few persons are less qualified. Another object of this publication is stated in the preface to be, to enable the lovers of the drama to ascertain, " how far the assertion is correct, that the pantomimic state of the stage is owing to a decline in the dramatic genius of the nation."

WE have never heard this imputation before, and, therefore, we doubt its existence. But we know that the pantomimic exhibitions, and the *system of buffoonery*, which have disgraced the stage for some years past, have been, most falsely, and most impudently, ascribed to the depraved taste of the town. This imputation we have always most stenuously resisted ; maintaining, as we ever shall maintain, that the managers have contributed to deprave the taste of the town, and have then pleaded the depravity which they have created as an excuse for their own depraved exhibitions, and senseless mummary. The actors, too, must share the blame and reproach of depravity in common with their mimic masters. Comedy has long been driven from the stage, and her place has been usurped by an unnatural kind of production, which it is difficult to characterize. It bears not even the character of legitimate farce ; and seems composed for no other purpose than to afford the actors an opportunity, of which they gladly avail themselves, to play the fool in every possible way, to depart from nature as much as they can, and to degrade themselves, by their antics, gesticulations, and buffoonery, to a level with the merry andrew of an itinerant mountebank. The authors, however, who condescend to compose such nonsense, deserve a still severer reproof. This precious combination to establish the reign of folly and nonsense on the stage has, we trust, had its day. At

least, the town has nobly vindicated its own taste, and confuted the daring assertions of its licensed slanderers, by the reception which they have given to the first dramatic star which has appeared in the theatrical horizon, since the days of Garrick. Are the plays of Shakespeare deserted, when Kean plays the heroes? Or is he treated with the formal applause of frigid courtesy? Are not, on the contrary, all parts of the house crowded, whenever he performs? Are not the applications for boxes eager and numerous beyond all precedent? Does he not, when the genius of this genuine champion of unsophisticated nature towers, as it frequently does in those parts which afford scope for its full display, electrify his audience? Yes, he touches the master-strings of our passions, and extorts by the immense superiority of his merit the boundless applause which he receives. No longer, then, be it said, that the town is either deficient in taste, or slow to reward merit. No; the managers want diligence, judgment, and ability. They either are incompetent to ascertain what constitutes merit in writing and in acting; or they have not the honesty to hold out adequate inducements to able writers and performers, to come forth to instruct and to delight the public.

“We are hostile,” say the writers of this preface, “to the principle of monopoly, and our undertaking is levelled against its effects on the stage.” We, too, are enemies to all monopolies, whether commercial, political, judicial, theatrical, or literary. But it is evident that the monopoly here objected to, is only the monopoly exercised by the managers of theatres in the selection of pieces for representation. But we do not see how this evil, for an evil we admit it to be, is to be avoided. The men who have the property of the theatre, and who incur the expence of bringing out a new piece, and all the risk which attends it, ought, in reason and in justice, to be vested with the power of receiving or of rejecting any pieces which are submitted for their acceptance. If they exercise that power capriciously, partially, unwisely, or unjustly; or if they neglect to provide proper entertainment for their guests, the remedy rests with the public, who have the right and the power to condemn any performances which they disapprove. The press, too, that powerful instrument of correction, may exercise its effective jurisdiction over such public offences. But, if the town attend and applaud exhibitions, however low, absurd, or objectionable, then, though its conduct will not justify the managers, it becomes a party to its own disgrace.

The remedy proposed by the editors of this work appears to us utterly inefficient, and, in some respects, objectionable.

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They recommend to bring out new plays, like new actors, first in the country, that they may be thence transplanted to the London boards. In the first place, the profits of a new play to the author, if brought out at a country theatre, would be trifling compared with what they would be in London. Authors, therefore, who expect a reward for their labours, and all of them are entitled to expect it, would not have sufficient temptation to exert their talents for the stage; and the London managers would, for a trifle, purchase the right of representing them at their theatres. In the next place, though a bad play might more easily escape condemnation in the country than in the metropolis, yet a good play would not meet with a better or more gratifying reception. The only advantage, then, which could be obtained from the adoption of this rural nursery for theatrical bantlings, would be a greater certainty of exhibition for new plays, good, bad, and indifferent; an advantage which, in our estimation, would by no means compensate for the disadvantages which must result from it. There is, indeed, a very good reason, though the Editors of the *Rejected Theatre* cannot discover it, why actors should make their first trial on the boards of a country theatre. An actor is not like a poet, *qui nascitur non fit*; on the contrary, an actor *fit, non nascitur*; he should possess genius, and many other qualifications which he must inherit from nature; but these alone are insufficient to make him an adept in his art—he must acquire a certain degree of skill which experience alone can impart, before he can attain even excellence, much less perfection; and a London theatre is not a school for novices—is not designed for training young actors; but is destined to present to its audience whatever is excellent or perfect in the art of acting. True, indeed, that its destination, of late years, has been little attended to; still it remains the same, and neglect cannot alter its nature. On this account, it is highly necessary that young actors should pass some time in the country, before they venture to appear before a London audience. But what possible analogy can there be between a new actor and a new play? Or what possible advantage could arise from the representation of a new piece in the country, before it appears in London? In truth, we confess our inability either to descry the analogy, or to discover the advantage.

The theatrical monopoly to which we object, is that which limits to two theatres the right of acting plays. At the time when the patents were granted to Drury Lane and Covent Garden, the town was not more than half as large, in its de-

mensions, as it is at present, and did not contain two thirds of the inhabitants which it now contains. Admitting, then, the principle to be right, that two theatres were *then* sufficient for the metropolis, it follows, of necessity, from the application of the same principle to the present period, that *three* theatres, at least, should be now allowed. But we confess our hostility to the principle itself; competition is as necessary to produce emulation, and its offspring, excellence, in theatrical amusements, as in education, commerce, or manufactures. It is our opinion, therefore, that whoever chose to build a theatre, should have the right to do it, subject only to such restrictions and regulations, as would prevent abuses, and restrain immoral practices. We might then reasonably expect to see plays worth hearing, and actors worth attending. We should not be disgusted, as we have long been, with an annual exhibition of monotonous uniformity of language, sentiment, plot, and character, from the jaded brains of a few dramatic retainers; with the gross violations of nature, propriety, and common sense, by a certain set of actors who, from the strange notion that they are favourites, have made themselves fools; nor yet, with the scandalous introduction of Bartholomew fair exhibitions, by managers and proprietors, who first labour to deprave the public taste, and then reproach the public for their depravity. All these evil effects would be obviated, by throwing open the privilege of theatrical representations.

On looking again at the preface to the book before us, we find we have done the authors an injustice, for they do object to the monopoly of theatres, though we had overlooked the passage which contains the objection. As to the notion of referring all new plays to actors, instead of referring them, as at present, to the managers; we think it fanciful in the extreme. We certainly were not aware that this was the practice at Paris; but assuredly the example has no weight with us, who have seen as much miserable trash, at the different theatres of Paris, as we have ever beheld at either Drury Lane or Covent Garden, and even more, which is saying a great deal. And, indeed, the generality of our actors are as competent to judge of the merits of a new piece, as the retailers of vegetables in our markets are of the best mode of cultivating land. Equally fanciful to us appears the strange proposition of limiting the number of nights, on which any piece shall be represented, in one season. So long as the public flock to see a play, so long will a play continue to be represented,—and no longer. If the public think a frequent repetition an evil, they

will remove the evil. Here the interest and the duty of the manager coincide.

Though we think that the editors of this work estimate, much too highly, the importance of the stage in the present state of society, we are nevertheless of opinion, that it has a material influence on national manners and modes of thinking. It might, and ought to, become an admirable school of morality, in which folly should be exposed to derision, and vice to indignation; and in which integrity and virtue should be held up to public admiration and applause. Nor are we at all satisfied with the power vested in a retainer, in some three or four of the public offices, (for the name strikes our eye in various parts of the Court Calendar) to be the sole judge whether a play ought or ought not to be performed. We should have some voucher for the judgement, the knowledge, the talents, the impartiality, of the man to whom such a power is assigned. The duty, 'tis true, attaches to the Lord Chamberlain himself; and, in our opinion, it ought not to be delegated. As the Lord Chamberlain has thought proper to transform huntsmen, footmen, and game-keepers, into royal musicians, what security have we that he may not, some day or other, convert a postillion, a groom, or a gardener, into a licenser of dramatic exhibitions?

So much for the preliminary matter. We now come to the real object of the book, which contains three rejected plays; namely — *THE WITNESS*, a *Tragedy*, in three acts; *THE WATCHHOUSE*, a *Farce*, in two acts; and *THE INTRIGUES OF A DAY*, a *Comedy*, in five acts.

The Witness is much too simple, in plot, character and incident, to interest an audience, and, consequently, to justify its introduction on the stage. This is the plot. A judge entering a country town, (in England, we presume, for in no other country, are those itinerant judges, or assizes) to hold the assize, sees a woman, at the entrance of the place, (where he is met by the magistrates,) who demands justice for the murder of her husband, who had been assassinated nineteen years before. She points out the most respectable inhabitant of the town, a man universally honoured and esteemed, as the murderer. Without any proof, or the oath of any individual, the judge orders the party to be taken into custody; and, without the intervention of any previous process, to be brought to trial. He converses with the prisoner and with the prosecutor, before the trial, and respecting the trial; and although not the smallest tittle of evidence, positive or circumstantial, is produced, he contrives, by an artifice the most strange and the

most unnatural, to persuade the prisoner that the ghost of the murdered man is present, and so to extort a confession of the fact; with which the play closes. The son and daughter of the party accused, the latter a character such as is not to be found in human nature, a magistrate and an advocate, who say very little, constitute the whole of the dramatis personæ. It is needless to inform our readers, that such a transaction could not have taken place, in any country on the civilized globe. The proceeding would have been a violation of the laws of any country of which we ever heard or read. It bespeaks, however, no small degree of ability in the author, to have so far subdued the poverty of his story, and the barrenness of his incidents, as to excite and keep alive a considerable degree of interest. We have heard that this play is the production of Mr. Coleridge; some parts of it are not worthy of his pen; though generally the goodness of the language, the vigour of the sentiments, and the originality of the thoughts, are such as would do no discredit to a man of his fertile genius, and acknowledged talents.

The *Watch House* is a broad farce, better written than most of the productions of the same kind, which have been produced at our theatres of late years; and full of bustle enough, one should have thought, for the stage. Some of the characters, indeed, are rather too coarsely drawn, and though, unhappily, oaths are not uncommon in real life, they ought neither to be introduced on the stage, nor committed for the press.

The *Intrigues of a Day* is infinitely superior to most of our modern comedies; it possesses, indeed, a great portion of the chaste and lively spirit of the old school; the dialogue is easy, and appropriate, duly seasoned with point, pleasantry, and wit; the characters are such as are to be met with in the world, and they are made to act consistently; while the incidents arise naturally out of the situations of the party, are well-imagined, and conduce to the completion of the catastrophe; the moral is good; and there is not a sentiment, a thought, nor an expression, in the piece, offensive to the most refined modesty. In short, since Arthur Murphy ceased to write, we have not read a comedy, so wholly exempt from objection, and from the perusal of which we have derived so much pleasure.

Notes are subjoined, by the editors, to each piece, which, in our opinion, except so far as they are explanatory, had been better omitted. They exhibit, generally, a spirit of hypercriticism, by no means indicative of a sound judgment. They inform us, that the comedy just noticed, is a translation from

the French. If it be so, it reflects infinite credit on the abilities of the translator, for (with a single exception perhaps) there is nothing in it which conveyed to our minds the most remote suspicion of its being a translation. It is, wholly exempt from gallicisms, and from that stiffness of style which generally marks a translation; so much so, indeed, that we can scarcely persuade ourselves that it is not an original production. The single expression to which we have alluded, is a newly-coined substantive, which we had never met with before, a "ne'er-be-good," which, we must now suppose, answers to a *Vaurien*. That singular construction of mind which the annotator discovers in the author of this comedy, has totally escaped our notice; and he has had equally the advantage of us in detecting "a capital offence" in the forgery of love-letters, by an intriguing chambermaid and valet. As the object of writing these letters, indeed, was to obtain money under false pretences, the writers might be guilty of a misdemeanour; but as it was to obtain money from one who had embezzled the money of another, the dread of a prosecution was not likely to operate on the minds of these subaltern offenders; nor can we, for the life of us, see that their conduct constitutes the smallest objection to the piece, or makes it, in the least degree, incompatible with English manners. But it is a matter of real astonishment, that a writer so acutely alive to *legal* improprieties, so deeply impressed with "a constant remembrance of the law," should wholly have overlooked the gross violations of law, of legal rules, customs, and proceedings, which not only mark "*The Witness*," but which constitute the very basis of the story, incidents, and plot of that tragedy. To return to the comedy; we can see no reason whatever for its rejection by the managers; it might, possibly, require curtailment, but we have no hesitation in pronouncing it greatly superior to any comedy which has appeared, at either of the theatres, for a number of years; to what, therefore, its rejection was owing, it is not possible for us to conjecture.

On the whole, we approve highly of the present publication, and heartily wish it success. It contains more than double the matter of a modern play, and is sold for less money; so that the proprietors have behaved most liberally to the public.

Norris on the Bible Society.

(Concluded from p. 114.)

In his first letter Mr. Norris remonstrates, with great temper, and in the mild spirit of a Christian minister, with Mr. Fresh-

field on the impropriety of introducing dissensions into a parish of which he is one of the regular ministers. He treats his opponent with great respect, and recommends his own remonstrance to his most serious consideration. In his answer his correspondent assures him, that he had not ventured to become a member of the Bible Society, before he *had received the direction of the Almighty on that subject*; at least we so understand him. But we shall transcribe the passage, that we may run no risk of misrepresenting him.

“ Indeed it would have been highly criminal in me, not long since to have considered the matter very fully, in which I have not relied on any vain conceits of my own, but have earnestly and seriously referred myself to God in prayer, that I might be guided and directed in the affair, according to his holy mind and will.”

And having obtained this awful sanction, as he imagines, he comes to the immediate conclusion, that “ the plan of the British and Foreign Bible Society is right and unobjectionable in principle and practice;” and he therefore feels it incumbent on him to promote the views of that Society to the utmost of his ability, and seems to have persuaded himself, that if he neglected to do so, some “ souls might be passing to eternal perdition, which might have been saved.” In referring to the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, in Bartlett’s Buildings, Mr. Freshfield asks

“ Whether it has called forth, during the century it has been established, any general warm feeling, any zealous, active exertions on the part of the members individually. Whether it had even become generally known to exist at the time the British and Foreign Bible Society was established; and, whether, on the contrary, even to those who had heard of it, there was not something repulsive in its regulations. For myself, I can state, that, though well-affected to the Society, and disposed to aid its funds, I was not prepared to subject my principles unnecessarily to the judgment of the Committee, and incur the risk of being black-balled by those to whom I was not known, as if I had ambitiously aimed at sharing in the benefit of chartered rights.”

Here Mr. Freshfield displays, (as well as on many other points) his complete ignorance of the subject on which he ventures to speak, though in the tone of interrogation, with something very like decision. Had he been at all acquainted with the proceedings of this truly venerable Society, he would have known, that many, very many, of its members had most actively exerted themselves to promote its beneficent views in various ways; that it was extensively (though not generally)

known to exist, at the period referred to, and might have been universally known, had it so far forgotten the dignity of its character as to degrade itself by descending to those wretched artifices, *ad captandum vulgas*, to which the members of the Bible Society have had recourse; and, lastly, that there was nothing repulsive in its regulations. It professes to promote christian knowledge, according to the principles of the Church of England, and none, of course, but the members of that Church, are either invited, or permitted, to join it. It does not, like the Bible Society, call upon Jews, Turks, heretics, and infidels, to swell its lists, and to unite with it for the propagation of truths which they reject. It does not make an ostentatious display of its members, its funds, or its efforts. It does what good it can, unostentatiously but actively, silently but zealously; relying, not on its own exertions to "save souls from perdition," but on the grace of God to render those exertions conducive to the diffusion of Christian knowledge. If there be any thing in this system repulsive to the feelings of Mr. Freshfield, the reproach and the shame must rest with him, and not with the Society. But this fastidious gentleman, it seems, was not prepared to subject his principles unnecessarily to the judgment of the *Committee*, and to incur the risk of being black-balled, as if he aimed at a participation of chartered rights. Here is blunder heaped upon blunder, or rather ignorance upon ignorance. The right of electing members by the Society in question is not vested in the *Committee*, who, therefore, as a *Committee*, have nothing to do with the character of the person proposed, (which, by the bye, must be vouched for by the persons proposing him,) and consequently they cannot black-ball the candidates for admission. That power is vested in the Society at large, to be exercised at a General Board. And as to *chartered rights*, they are wholly out of the question, the Society not being a corporation nor a chartered body. It is, therefore, perfectly evident, that Mr. Freshfield knows no more about the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, than he does of the duty of a minister of the Gospel, or the constitution of the Christian Church. On all these subjects, we venture to say, he is profoundly ignorant.

In his reply to this letter Mr. Norris reminds his correspondent that he had studiously avoided all discussion of the general merits of the question on the good or bad effects of the Bible Society; and had confined himself to the effect likely to be produced by an unwarrantable interposition with the spiritual concerns of that parish of which he was an appointed minister.

He then admonishes Mr. Freshfield, in allusion to his reliance on the effect of his prayers, not to trust too much to "imaginations," and he refers him to those periods of our history, "when domineering fanaticism (professedly for the glory of God) had overturned in this kingdom both the altar and the throne."

"They will suggest to you, I am persuaded, some very seasonable misgivings of your present confidence in the success of your prayers; particularly if you will take it at the same time into your consideration, that 'God's holy mind and will' is not now communicated by illapses from heaven, but is to be sought in those Scriptures, in which he has made his final revelation to man; and that, amongst a great variety of passages bearing immediately upon the point at issue, St. Paul has declared that every member of the spiritual, as well as of the natural body, has its own office, (Rom. xii. 4.) ; and 'that every man in that calling in which he is called, is therein to abide with God.' (1. Cor. vii. 29.) ; and without taking this very material circumstance into the account, that you have not been separated by the Holy Ghost to the very responsible office of overseeing the flock of Christ (Acts xx. 28.) ; and of watching for their souls (Heb. xiii. 17.) ; and that there is this very awful warning in the epistle of St. James ; 'brethren, be not many masters, knowing we shall receive the greater condemnation.' (James iii. 1.). I confess I am surprised that this reference to Scripture escaped you, at the time you were contemplating the instruction of others by means of this word of life ; but it only shews how zeal is apt to blind our eyes, when good intentions unwarrantably pursued have hurried it beyond the controlling influence of discretion."

Can ignorance, can fanaticism, be carried to a greater extent than Mr. Freshfield carried both, in his belief that he had had an immediate communication from Heaven, which justified his support of the Bible Society. We wonder whether he ever applied to the same place for advice respecting a probable rise in the price of omnium. If his confidence in the success of such applications be boundless, as it appears to be, surely the temptation to have recourse to them must daily occur. But such is the enthusiasm, such the self-deception, which leads even good and well-meaning men astray, and which induces them to substitute their own wishes or their own reveries for divine revelations.

That the effect of the Bible Society in "bringing into one heart, and one mind, various classes of christians," is a sufficient recommendation of it, no man of common understanding would, we think, venture to assert. With regard to what, are the subscribers to this society of one heart, and of one mind? why to distribute the Bible, without note or comment. It may as well be said, that any place of amusement which

brings people of different sects and persuasions together, without quarrelling, should be encouraged, in every parish throughout the kingdom, because it makes its frequenters of one heart and one mind ? The reason is absurd and puerile in the extreme ! The members of the Bible Society retain each his own opinion, says Mr. Freshfield, " each remains attached to *his own church* !!! " How often must we ask this superficial reasoner, what he means by a *church* ! Is it necessary to tell him that there neither is, nor can be, more than *one church*, the universal church of Christ ? But, on these matters, however great a proficient he may be in the laws respecting forgery, and other criminal matters, he is still in his horn-book ; and it is the height of presumption in him to enter the lists with a profound, and learned, theologian.

In his answer to *this* letter, Mr. Norris tells his correspondent, that " the manner in which the Scriptures are distributed by the Bible Society, is far from being calculated to promote the proper end of their distribution, the dissemination of Christian knowledge ; inasmuch as it has a direct tendency to degrade the sacred volume in the eyes of the people, and so to lessen its practical influence on their minds." We know that it has produced this effect in some places, particularly in the metropolis and its vicinity, where many of the pawnbrokers' shops have been so crowded with new bibles, that their proprietors have refused to receive any more in pledge.

Some of the clergy *connected with* one of the parishes included within the solicitor to the bank's new spiritual district, namely Stoke-Newington, it seems, had encouraged the society ; —the rector, to our certain knowledge, strongly reprobated the whole plan, as well in principle as in detail,—and, therefore, Mr. F. concludes that no attention was due to those ministers who had the cure of souls in both parishes, and who were all decidedly adverse to his notable enterprize. That this is a most illogical conclusion, it is needless to employ any argument to demonstrate. But as some of the clergy of this diocese ventured to differ from Bishop Porteus, Mr. F. concludes that it is lawful for the inhabitants of the parishes of Hackney and Stoke-Newington to differ from their ministers. On this Mr. Norris remarks—

" The clergy withheld their concurrence from a religious society, which their Bishop indeed honoured by his support, but never thought proper authoritatively to recommend ; therefore the inhabitants of two contiguous parishes may combine to establish within them a religious society which their Bishop honoured indeed by his support in opposition not merely to the opinions, but to the solemn remon-

stances of their respective ministers, sanctioned by the opinion of their diocesan ; in the one case there is no infringement upon ecclesiastical authority, in the other you will see that all its limitations are obliterated ; and that there is an actual rising of those who are to learn religion, against those appointed to teach it ; of those who have devoted their talents to other professions, against those who have been trained up in the schools of the prophets, and according to the ordinary course of God's dealings with the sons of men, waiving the consideration of their divine commission, have equal right with the physician and the lawyer to seat themselves in their own chair, and to claim respect to what they say.

" But the inapplicableness of Bishop Porteus's example, I think, does not end here : he approved of the original institution of the Bible Society, but does it therefore follow, that he would approve of its present proceedings ? that he would approve of its parcelling out the country into new departments, and erecting a lay-eldership in each, to supersede the ministrations of the regular clergy ? Do not, Sir, whilst you reverence that departed Saint, impute to him such inconsistency as this : for does not the imputation imply, that his personal and official conduct was in contradiction to each other, and that, in the former capacity he sanctioned measures, directly levelled at the validity of that commission which in the latter he conferred ?"

Mr. Freshfield's argument goes to impress the belief that all the inhabitants of these two parishes are in opposition to their ministers, whereas the fact was, that nearly the whole of the members of the established church were decidedly adverse to this auxiliary society, which was not supported by more than one thousandth part of the parishioners.

In his answer to the last letter of Mr. Norris, Mr. F. has the imbecility to assert, that as the district which he has formed for the Bible Society, includes *two* parishes, the clergy of neither, nor yet of both, have a right to deprecate the proceedings ; for there is no *ecclesiastical head* of the district ! We have heard this gentleman represented as a man of sense ; it may be so ; but no blockhead certainly ever advanced a more absurd position than this. It is, indeed, beneath all argument ; though, as it manifests the deep cunning which marks the proceedings of these self-constituted spiritual advisers and teachers, it extorts the following observations from Mr. Norris, who adds them in a note on this letter, which he refrained from replying to, because he found all reasoning useless with such a *heaven-guided* opponent as Mr. Freshfield.

" This is speaking out *plainly*—the only boon which those who view with lively apprehension the proceedings of the Bible Society, have to ask of its advocates. Let the reader treasure up this decla-

ration in his mind, that one part of the reformation to be wrought by that Society is to '*clear*' all the parishes in the kingdom of their Ecclesiastical Heads. It is '*to save souls from eternal perdition*,' (to refer again to Mr. Freshfield's statement, vide Appendix, No. 9.) in a new method, which '*DOES NOT COME WITHIN EITHER PAROCHIAL, PASTORAL, OR EPISCOPAL JURISDICTION*.' This considerate men have perceived and laid to its charge long ago—but we have now got a distinct avowal of it from one of the founders of the confederacy, who does not hesitate to tell a parochial clergyman that in consequence of the formation of a *new* auxiliary district of the Bible Society, in which his parish is included, he is no longer '*entitled*' even '*to deprecate proceedings*,' which in his conscience he believes to be most prejudicial, in their effects, to the spiritual welfare of his parishioners, and which, moreover, he conceives himself to be bound, by his ordination vows, not merely to protest against, but, if possible, '*to banish and to drive away*.' What an arrogation of supremacy is here!!! A handful of private individuals convene a meeting, erect themselves into what they are pleased to call '*a Provisional Committee*,' and, without further ceremony, proceed to obliterate ancient landmarks, to dissolve constituted authorities, and, according to their own caprice, to circumscribe a tract of country as a territory for themselves; and then, having given it the denomination of a district, in the plenitude of their usurped sovereignty, proclaim that '*no necessary connection*' subsists between it '*and any parish as a parish*' which lies within its boundary, in any of those concerns which they have thought proper to take under their superintendances and controul. The cautious veterans who direct in secret the campaigns of the Society, will surely deem Mr. Freshfield's developement premature. The work, indeed, is proceeding systematically throughout the country; but then the bible, held up before our eyes, lulls all our circumspection to rest, and, under cover of it, the engineers advance in confidence and security, reorganizing the kingdom, and superseding its venerable establishments."

Mr. Freshfield declares, that he has *yet to learn* how the distribution of the Bible in the manner adopted by the Bible Society is far from being calculated to promote the dissemination of Christian knowledge. On this declaration of *simplicity* we should have felt it necessary to expatiate a little, had not Mr. Norris spared us the trouble, by administering the correction to which it is entitled with his own hand.

"Has Mr. Freshfield volunteered his services to '*rescue souls from eternal perdition*?' and '*has he yet to learn*' how ill calculated the distributing bibles divested of '*notes and comments*' is to effect this benevolent design amongst those who are the special objects of the Bible Society's care—the ignorant and the uninstructed? Has he yet to learn, that men may have the scriptures in their possession, and not only so, but have acquired such a familiarity with the

sacred text, as constantly to speak in scripture phraseology, and yet may err for lack of knowledge of them; and may die in their sins in consequence of their error? Has he yet to learn, that their saving efficacy is not in the 'letter,' but is vested exclusively in the 'spirit' of them, and therefore in their true interpretation; and that this true interpretation is set forth by means of '*notes and comments*, some of them handed down to us from the apostolic age, through a succession of faithful men (2 Tim. ii. 2), and others subsequently produced by those who have searched diligently what the spirit designed to signify in the sacred records, patiently comparing spiritual things with spiritual (1 Cor. ii. 13.), and so limiting all their determinations as to preserve inviolate the proportion of faith? (Rom. xii. 6.) And, finally, has he yet to learn that whilst, through its distributing so defectively the means of knowledge, the system which he espouses is scarcely capable of leading the uninstructed to the truth, the making the distribution through the instrumentality of a mixed multitude of Sectarists of every denomination directly tends to lead them into error, nay, worse than this, into indifference to every religious opinion, and finally into unbelief? If Mr. Freshfield does not know these things, 'though for the time' he may think himself qualified to be a 'teacher, he has need that some one should teach him again, which be the *first principles* of the oracles of God,' (Heb. v. 12.); and he has further need to be reminded of our Saviour's awful warning to those who 'took away the key of knowledge' in his days; that if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the pit.' " (Mat. xv. 14.)

Mr. Freshfield endeavours to elude the inference drawn from the numbers of bibles to be found in the pawnbrokers' shops and elsewhere, by observing that there were many Bibles for sale at these places before the Bible Society existed. But Mr. Norris retorts, that the zeal of the agents of this society to find out objects in want of Bibles is such as to impress the poor with the belief that they *wish* to find the deficiency after which they are enquiring, and that this belief has induced many persons who were provided with Bibles to dispose of them in order to obtain others *gratis* from the society.

" That this is no groundless surmise, three facts can be alledged to testify, which, without any enquiry on the part of the editor, have been brought to his knowledge, as having occurred in this parish in the course of the inquisition among the poor as to their want of Bibles. In one instance, a woman letting out apartments, knowing all her lodgers to be provided, answered for them that they were so; and she had no sooner thus dismissed the enquirers than she was severely reprehended by one of those inmates for having prevented her from obtaining a second copy, by divulging what she would have concealed. In another, the possession of a Bible was acknowledged, but after much questioning, a confession was extorted that the print was small;

upon which it was suggested that for a small sum one of larger print would be furnished, and the name of the candidate was enrolled in the list of deficiency. In the third a lie was told and succeeded. A woman, who was in possession of a good Bible, denied having one, and was enrolled. Her husband publicly stated her successful falsehood, concluding his statement with the declaration, that it would sell *for waste paper*. To these three another may be subjoined, of a woman's undergoing a species of persecution ; being beset in succession by three deputations of sectaries of different denominations, who would scarcely take any refusal, though she told them all, that she was already provided with a Bible ; and that had she wanted one, she would go to the editor, on whose ministrations she attended, who, she knew, would readily supply it. These are instances which have all been *obtruded* upon the editor's notice ; there can be little doubt, therefore, that they would be multiplied exceedingly by enquiry. It is further set up in defence of the society, that Bibles have been *heretofore* sold. This is admitted, but it is subjoined that till now they were never hawked about as *waste paper*."

We find it impossible to go so far as we intended in noticing the very striking facts contained in this interesting volume, and the exposure of the various perversions, misrepresentations, and artifices, of the principal agents of the Bible Society. We the less regret this omission because, in the first place, we hope that the volume will be extensively circulated among the members of the established church ; and, secondly, because we entered so fully into the consideration of the subject before us in our review of the admirable tracts of Dr. Marsh and of Mr. Nolan, which must, we should think, with Mr. Norris's book, convince all men whose minds remain open to conviction. For these reasons we shall bring our review of this practical exposition to a close, after briefly noticing a few more passages. An anonymous address to the inhabitants of Hackney from the projectors of the auxiliary society in that neighbourhood begins with this assertion. " It was the last injunction of our blessed Saviour to his *disciples*, that they should ' go and preach the gospel to every creature.' " On which Mr. Norris, most appositely, observes :

" The sincerity of that reverence for Holy Scripture which the advocates of the Bible Society, with so much solemnity, affect to entertain, may be estimated by their respectful method of handling it, in the very first sentence of this address : for a reference to Mark xvi. 14, 15, (from whence the citation comes) will shew that the charge to ' preach the gospel to every creature' was not delivered to ' *the Disciples*' as is here most shamelessly misstated, but to the *eleven Apostles*. The motive of this corruption of the sacred text is too obvious to need specification."

Ab uno disce omnes ; perversions and misrepresentations of this kind have been so numerous that it is impossible not to conclude that there are persons who take a lead in propagating the tenets of the Bible Society, who are resolved to accomplish their object by whatever means, *per fas et nefas*. There are, we know, among its members, men too respectable, too honourable, too conscientious, wilfully or knowingly to give their countenance to transactions which are not perfectly in unison with their own characters ; but they have consented to associate with men, who are less scrupulous, and more active, than themselves, and who save them the trouble of interposition in all the material concerns of the society, which they kindly take upon themselves. The Rev. John Owen, late of Fulham, is the secretary, panegyrist, and itinerant missionary, of this motley body. And never had any society a more busy, bustling, prattling, agent. He is always ready with a long string of loose assertions, pompous phrases, and *disinterested* adulation, of the *corps elite*. We should think him much better employed in discharging the duties of his sacred office, and the functions of a parish priest. He would not, indeed, acquire so much popularity ; but he would act in a manner more consistent with his priestly character. To see a clergyman travelling about from one end of the kingdom to another, and perpetually exhibiting himself, like a mountebank, upon a country stage, is certainly not a very edifying spectacle. Papists, Jews, Turks, Infidels, Heretics, Socinians, Puritans, and every sort of Dissenters and Schismatics, unite to share the praises of the said Rev. John Owen, and to spread schism and insubordination throughout the land ! Surely such a combination was never before formed for such a purpose ! We have, indeed, often seen combinations of Papists and Dissenters for the purpose of gratifying their common enmity to the establishment ; but never do we remember such an union of these with Infidels, Heretics, and *Churchmen*, for a purpose, which, though *ostensibly* good, is, we firmly believe, pregnant with incalculable mischief. Many good men, we are fully aware, think otherwise ; but we cannot witness the proceedings, which we have witnessed, read the facts which have been published, and consider the effects of an union so unnatural on the minds of the inconsiderate, the ignorant, and the unreflecting, without having our original opinion of the danger resulting from such an association most strongly confirmed.

A Charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese of Ely, at the primary Visitation of that Diocese in the year 1813. By Bowyer Edward, Lord Bishop of Ely. 4to. Pp. 19. Hatchard.

THE Bishopric of Ely is one of the most important and arduous offices which can be committed to an English divine. Its revenues and emoluments are hardly exceeded; and the advantage of a palace in London seems to impose on the bishop the duty of a vigilant attention to the concerns of the church in parliament, and to the welfare of the several societies connected with the interests of the clergy, and the promotion of christian knowledge. The spirit of division and dissent is very active in the county of Cambridge, &c. and is but too warmly cherished in the precincts of the university, where practices prevail the most unfavourable to ecclesiastical unity, and academical discipline.

Invested with this high office, Dr. Sparkes, in his primary charge, calls the attention of his clergy to the circumstances of the times, and recommends them to inculcate the true principles of moral and civil obligation; to promote the education of the poor; to preserve a due mean between moderation and unworthy concession to those who differ from us in religious opinions; to be faithful, zealous, and animated in their public preaching, and to maintain "a strict adherence to the appointed service of our church, and to the directions contained in the rubric."

The education of the poor is recommended in connexion with the National Society, and by means of committees in the several deaneries, "a plan which has been very successfully adopted by the clergy in the neighbouring dioceses of London and Norwich." The deanery of Tendring, near Colchester, under the direction of Archdeacon Jefferson, was the most forward in advancing this good work, and in consequence of resolutions passed at a public meeting, and by means of committees subsequently appointed, the state of the education of the poor in the several parishes was accurately ascertained, and the most effectual measures for supplying the deficiency were suggested. The resolutions were highly approved by the committee of the National Society, and recommended to general imitation. The late Bishop of Ely, Dr. Dampier, was one of the earliest patrons and most able advocates of the National Society, and his zeal and talents are justly celebrated by his successor. He was also one of the first to recommend the

institution of diocesan committees of the society for promoting Christian knowledge, a measure, from which the most beneficial effects have resulted, in the enlargement of its means, and the extension of its usefulness. The committee of this society at Cambridge challenges the most strenuous support of the diocesan.

"In speaking of the manner of discharging our public duty," observes the bishop, "I must recommend a strict adherence to the appointed service of our church, and to the directions contained in the rubric.

"Excellent as our liturgy is, we are by no means prepared to assert, that it may not still be capable of improvement; but, however this may be, no private individual is authorized to make the least alteration in it. One person may, perhaps, think, that some particular prayer had better be omitted; another, that some lessons might be substituted with advantage in the place of those which are now directed to be read: but this would be productive of the utmost confusion; and entirely destroy that uniformity, which it is so important to preserve in the public service of our church.

"I am persuaded, that no clergyman who seriously reflects upon the solemn declaration of conformity to the liturgy, which he has been required to make, will ever think himself at liberty to depart from it in the smallest particular."

These are just observations, and they ought to be enforced by authority: the spirit of wanton innovation which prevails in the use of the public offices of the church ought to be decidedly suppressed. Let the sectaries, who have thought fit to usurp them, and adapt them to the use of the conventicle, thus making unconscious proselytes to the sin of schism, whose parish churches afford no accommodation to the increased population, abridge and interpolate our liturgical offices at their own pleasure and discretion; we will not object to their alterations, however extravagant or absurd, however destitute of taste, however contrary to the truth. Innovation will not answer the designs of schismatics, nor will it promote the cause of truth and unity. Clergymen are known to be under a solemn obligation to conform with all things contained in the book of Common Prayer. And yet, if the report may be believed, there are churches in which the litany is proscribed, that it may not interfere with the proper length of an evangelical discourse. In other places, the service is lengthened by an introductory psalm or hymn, and the sentences are not read as the proper preface, at the beginning of morning prayer. New tunes, unauthorized versions of the psalms, and even hymns from the conventicle, are frequently introduced. There are

some men too modest to pronounce the absolution or the blessing except upon their knees ; and others, forgetting that the English imperative implies the optative mood, turn their sacerdotal blessings into complimentary wishes, and dismiss their congregations with " may the grace ; may the peace, &c." One of those anomalous beings, yeilded popular preachers, has laboured to exceed his fellows in politeness, and with the most affecting emphasis on the word yours, concludes his oratorical exertions with, " may the blessing remain with you and yours for ever." These things ought not to be : on the expedience of revising the liturgy we are not called to give an opinion ; while it remains unaltered, we will object to wanton and pragmatistical alterations, and recommend " a strict adherence to the appointed service of the church, and to the directions contained in the rubric."

Recueil de Decrets, &c. or Collection of Decrees, Ordinances, Treaties of Peace, Manifestoes, Proclamations, Speeches, &c. &c. of Napoleone Buonaparte, and of the Members of the French Government, from the Second of Brumaire, year 8. (November 1799) to the year 1812, inclusive. Extracted from the Moniteur, by Lewis Goldsmith. 8vo. 4 vols. about 3700 pages. Printed by Harper, Crane-court, Fleet-street. 1813.

MR. GOLDSMITH, whose able pen has so long been employed in exposing the criminal conduct of Napoleone Buonaparte, and who has now had the gratification of seeing his useful labours crowned with complete success, by the disgrace, dethronement, and exile, of that execrable assassin, has rendered an essential service to the public at large, and to the historian of the present times in particular, by the compilation before us. Complete sets of the *Moniteur*, it is well known, are difficult of attainment, and so expensive as not to be within the ability of many persons to purchase. It is, therefore, of consequence, to have documents of the greatest public importance, particularly every thing which can throw a light on the political character, and on the atrocious reign, of Napoleone Buonaparte, extracted from that voluminous work, brought within a reasonable compass, so as to be easily consulted by any one who may have occasion to consult them. Such extracts are here presented to the public, and they exhibit a mass of information, replete with instructive lessons, which, properly considered, cannot fail to be highly useful not merely to the present age, but to posterity.

The Wanderer ; or, Female Difficulties. By the author of *Evelina, Cecilia, and Camilla.* 5 vols. 12mo. Pp. 2093. *Two Guineas !!!* Longman and Co. 1814.

THE high reputation which Miss Burney enjoyed as a writer of novels, raised our expectations of instruction from a new production of Madame D'Arblay, very high indeed. We were not such strenuous Antigallicans as to expect that our fair author would experience any diminution of talents from her union with a native of France ; nor did we believe that even a residence in that country would dim the lustre of her genius, contract the sphere of her knowledge, shake the solidity of her judgment, or lessen her powers of instruction and amusement. We opened, then, these volumes with avidity, promising ourselves a rich treat from their contents, for, grave critics as we are, we are not ashamed of avowing a predilection for good writing, when combined with good principles, though presented to us in the form, and under the proscribed, but still popular, name, of—*a novel.* We had not proceeded very far, indeed, before we paused ; and, ere the first volume had been read, contrary to our usual custom, we laid down the book several times. With the second and third, the case became worse, and we were really obliged to make a great effort, to labour through the whole ! Has a ten years' residence in France, then, really had the effect of incapacitating this lady from fixing the attention, or exciting the interests, of an English reader, as she was wont to do ? We will not presume to answer this question in the affirmative, but, most assuredly, the present production of her pen falls very far short of her former works, in its powers of attraction.

Though we consider the prefatory dedication as disfigured by labour, pedantry, and egotism ; though the author's vanity in recounting the praises which a Johnson, a Burke, and a Reynolds, bestowed on her early writings, forced a smile from us ; yet is it laudable for its expressions of filial piety, and judicious in its observations on novel-writing.

“ With regard to the very serious subject treated upon, from time to time, in this work, some, perhaps many, may ask, is a novel the vehicle for such considerations ? Such discussions ?

“ Permit me to answer ; whatever, in illustrating the characters, manners, or opinions, of the day, exhibits what is noxious or reprehensible, should scrupulously be accompanied by what is salubrious, or chastening. Not that poison ought to be infused, merely to display

the virtues of an antidote : but that, where error and mischief bask in the broad light of day, truth ought not to be suffered to shrink timidly into the shade.

" Divest, for a moment, the title of novel from its stationary standard of insignificance, and say ! What is the species of writing that offers fairer opportunities for conveying useful precepts ? It is, or it ought to be, a picture of supposed, but natural, or probable, human existence. It holds, therefore, in its hands, our best affections ; it exercises our imaginations ; it points out the path of honour ; and gives to juvenile credulity knowledge of the world, without ruin, or repentance ; and the lessons of experience, without its tears."

The author here argues illogically ; for it by no means follows, because a novel is a picture of human existence, that it should either have a hold on our best affections, exercise our imaginations, indicate the path of honour, impart a knowledge of the world, or inculcate the lessons of experience ; not one of these is the *necessary effect* of a picture of human life. A novel *may* contain a true representation of human life, and yet be destitute of any of the advantages which are here stated to be the legitimate, and, indeed, obvious, consequence of such a representation. We concur, with Mrs. D'Arblay, in her general opinion of the *capability* of novels to convey all the instruction which she here ascribes to them ; but her error consists in drawing a conclusion not warranted by her premises, and in representing what a novel *ought to be*, as what a novel *actually is*.

" And is not a novel, permit me, also, to ask, in common with every other literary work, entitled to receive its stamp as useful, mischievous, or nugatory, from its execution ? not necessarily, and in its changeless state, to be branded as a mere vehicle for frivolous, or seductive, amusement ? If many may turn aside from all but mere entertainment presented under this form, many, also, may, unconsciously, be allured by it into reading the severest truths, who would not even open a work of a graver denomination."

This is, no doubt, the case ; and therefore it is that we have, on so many occasions, deprecated the senseless pedantry which would cry down, as unworthy the attention of any rational being, the whole tribe of novels, and novel-writers ; that is, would so discredit productions, which are, almost universally read, and which, for that reason, may be rendered the most useful vehicles of sound principles, and wholesome instruction, as wholly to deter men of sense and abilities from all attempts to compose them. By us, then, will novels continue to be read with attention, and judged, impartially, by their merits or defects.

This is the criterion by which we have tried "The Wanderer." To say, that it contains much able delineation of character, many sound and judicious reflections, and no small number of interesting situations and incidents, is only to allow it the merit which it, unquestionably, possesses. On the other hand, the story is spun out to an unconscionable, and most unnecessary, length ; many of the dialogues (with which it abounds) are insufferably trifling and tedious ; and some of the characters are gross caricatures of human nature, and so far unnatural. Among these last we class Elinor and Mrs. Ireton. Elinor is a female philosopher of the French school, who makes her own reason (or rather her own caprice) the sole guide of her conduct in life. To this supreme arbiter she subjects every obligation human and divine ; the laws of modesty ; and, almost, the distinctions of sex. Engaged to marry one man, she conceives a passion for his brother, which, instead of combating by the exercise of her reason, she anxiously cherishes ; she even declares her passion for him ; and, from evidence of his attachment to another woman, she endeavours to commit suicide in a public assembly. We seriously ask our readers whether this be "a *natural* and *probable* picture of human existence ?" To us, it appears to be the very reverse of nature and probability. Nor, for the life of us, can we perceive the moral effect of such a delineation of character. If any woman exist, which we very much doubt, so led away by the delusions of sophistry, or the wanderings of imagination, as to reject all the lessons of experience, all the admonitions of wisdom, all the impressive warnings of divine inspiration, all the resistless evidence of her own senses, and really to become, from what she thinks *conviction*, an *Atheist*, and so to reject as chimerical all belief in a future state ; she must be, at least, an exception to a rule ; and no possible good, therefore, can result from the promulgation of her opinions, for the sole purpose of exhibiting an antidote which the common sense of the most uninformed individual will easily supply.

Mrs. Ireton and her son are characters almost as much out of nature as that of Elinor. The lady is not only frivolous and affected, beyond all usual degrees of frivolity and affectation, but malicious as Satan himself ; and is made to combine the airs of fashionable folly, with the manners of Billingsgate and Covent Garden. Women no doubt, are to be found, who are to the full as fanciful, and as self-complacent, as Mrs. Ireton is represented to be ; but we disbelieve in the existence of any human being, bearing the female form, who adds to so much

caprice, so much malevolence, and who, to foibles that create disgust, joins vices that excite abhorrence; for, what can be more vicious than the whole conduct of this fantastical character to Juliet? Young Ireton possesses all the bad qualities of his mother, aggravated by more direct and pointed practical malice: the object of introducing him appears to be the desire to exhibit a young man, entertaining a wish to marry, but so whimsical in his choice as to suffer every object to escape him. There may be such characters, but they are, we believe, rare, and certainly not very edifying.

In Sir Jasper Herrington we have an old beau, and an old bachelor, attached to women more from gallantry than principle, and made to be the instrument of good to them, though harbouring wishes neither honourable nor just. We do not object to this character on the ground of its opposition to nature, but on the score of *morality*.

The heroine herself, though combining, of course, every perfection of mind, as well as of person, is frequently made to act inconsistently with her character. Though a woman of great sense, her conduct is occasionally extremely foolish; and in several of her interviews with Mrs. Maple, Mrs. Ireton, and Mrs. Howell, she suffers herself to be bullied, insulted, and threatened, in a way which would lead any one to suppose her wholly destitute of all strength of intellect, and of all sense of propriety. Her submission to the most unworthy conduct, and to the most repulsive situations, though repugnant to her feelings, and by no means justified by her circumstances, evidently grows out of the created necessity for encountering *difficulties*. But the "*female difficulties*" which are here exhibited, though properly named, since they are of *female creation*, are not such as necessarily arise out of the situation in which the heroine is placed, but are obviously introduced for the purpose of justifying the second title of the work;—and these constitute the least able, and worst-constructed, parts of the story. Indeed, the very foundation of the story is defective. Juliet, the heroine, is the daughter of an Englishman of family, whose marriage has been kept secret; she is conveyed to France at the age of seven, and soon after left an orphan, to the care of a French family, and to the guardianship of a French prelate; she is educated in a French convent; but, through conversation with her maternal grandmother, who takes up her abode in the same convent, she preserves a knowledge of her native language, though with "something of a foreign accent." When the French Revolution breaks out, she resolves to emigrate with the bishop;

they accordingly repair to the coast, but, just as they are preparing to embark, a commissary from the convention arrives at the place, and, on searching the bishop, finds a promissory-note, in English, upon him, for six thousand pounds, payable on the marriage of Juliet to a Frenchman resident in France. This discovery excites the cupidity of the commissary, who insists on conducting her to the mayoralty to have the new civic ceremony of marriage performed. She resists, but the threat to put the bishop to instant death, extorts from her a reluctant assent; and she repairs with the brutal commissary to the mayoralty, where, amidst incessant noise, the civic ceremony is performed, without one word of assent from her, and she is pronounced his wife. The commissary, however, is instantly called away, and she escapes to England.

This mock marriage, which possessed not one of the essentials of a marriage contract—which was not merely voidable, but radically null and void *ab initio*,—forms the groundwork of the story, the cause of the heroine's wanderings, and the source of all her difficulties. Instead of applying to her family for protection and relief, she resolves to preserve a perfect silence respecting herself, her situation, and her connections, until she should hear from the bishop, her guardian, whom she has left behind her in France. Though pressed by want, and stimulated by insult, on the one hand; and though urged by every motive which could operate on her feelings, her judgment, and her delicacy, on the other, she resists alike, with equal pertinacity, the solicitation of friends, and the importunity of strangers, and remains distressed, taunted, insulted, and *nameless*, for no other alleged motive than that of escaping the pursuit of a man *calling himself* her husband, whose pursuit of her she had not the smallest reason to expect, and who could not, at that time, (during the reign of Robespierre, whose agent he was,) have entered the country without a British passport, which he could not, most certainly, have obtained; but for the real purpose of creating those difficulties to which the author had resolved to expose her; and which she could not have incurred without a violation of nature, probability, and common sense. Hence she is made, not merely a wanderer, but a vagabond; strolls about the New Forest, like a gipsy; becomes the inmate of smugglers and deer-stealers, and is lastly overtaken at an inn, in Hampshire, by the dreaded commissary himself, who, with a French smuggler, had been searching for her all over London, and traversing the country with as much coolness and publicity as if they had been Englishmen, and as if there had been no law to prevent them

from entering it without a passport. When the commissary and his friend, however, have answered the purpose for which they have been brought to England, which is to make known to an admirer of Juliet (Harleigh,) whom she had studiously avoided, but who, most opportunely, *happens* to be at the very inn, at this time, the history of her pretended marriage, they are pursued and arrested by a peace-officer from London, and sent back to France.

Of the incongruities which mark the character of the heroine, one of the most prominent is this :—she is called upon, during her residence in the family of Mrs. Maple, at a very short notice, to perform the part of Lady Townly, in the Provoked Husband, the lady who had engaged to perform it having suddenly declined it. With great reluctance she consents to a plan which militates so strongly against her desire of concealment : she plays the part, and in a manner to excite, not merely the applause, but the admiration, of a genteel audience, competent to judge of theatrical merit. Now, when we consider that Lady Townly is a perfect English gentlewoman, of high breeding, alike elegant in her manners, and polished in her language ; and when we find that the character is supported, in a manner in all respects perfect, by a young woman who left England when she was only seven years of age, who has been bred in a convent, and who, though she has *preserved* her native tongue, has, nevertheless, acquired “something of a *foreign accent*,” we cannot but wonder at the author’s simplicity, and at her notion of English credulity. Indeed, the bare idea of Lady Townly declaring her sentiments in a *foreign accent* is so perfectly ridiculous as to make us laugh, in spite of ourselves. We can easily imagine, that Madame D’Arblay, who has married a Frenchman, and who has resided with her husband ten years in France, may have acquired a partiality for a foreign accent, and consequently think it no defect in English oratory ; but the correcting hand of a Johnson, or a Burke, would not have failed to mark, with appropriate strength, the glaring impropriety which we have noticed.

Nor has her long absence from England been unattended with other disadvantages ; it has betrayed her into the frequent use of *Gallicisms*, most offensive to English ears. She has made all her characters *mount* to their chambers, *mount* and *descend* the stairs, &c. &c. ; and her farmer’s sons and daughters are such as they were in *Evelina’s* days, but such as are not to be found at present. Madame D’ARBLAY does not seem to be aware of the change which has taken place in the manners of farmers, or, to speak more *fashionably*, of agricul-

tourists, since she first began to write novels. Farmer's daughters, since that time, have forsaken the dairy and the market, for the drawing-room and the assembly; samplers have been exchanged for sofas; and the poultry have been deserted for the music-master. Farmer's sons have made an equal progress in the career of fashion, in this *enlightened* age; they have converted *Dobbin*, indeed, into a *bit of blood*; the plough is left for the chase; and the clean smock-frock is transformed into a fashionably-cut coat. The farmer himself keeps pace in *improvement* with his family; brown bread, flock-beds, and home-brewed ale, have been superseded by the finest wheaten flour, by goose feathers, and even down, and by luxurious living and foreign wines. Hence the characters of this description, which the author introduces, have ceased to be natural. Society has changed, but her ideas remain stationary. The same observation will apply to *Tidman*, the grocer, and his daughter. In short, though we have, thank Providence, and the wisdom and resolution of Mr. Pitt and his successors, escaped the horrors of a political revolution in this country, we have experienced a material change, it is to be feared, in manners, in opinions, and in modes of life;—and, as it is the province of the novelist, as of the dramatist,

“To catch the living manners as they rise,”

any *anachronism*, if we may so say, in the delineation of characters becomes a serious defect, and tends very much to frustrate the author's design.

Madame D'Arblay is much more conversant with the practice of amplification, than with the art of compression; and relies too much on her ability to portray natural characters with skill and effect. But for this circumstance, we incline to think her judgment would have led her to condense the materials of this work into one half of the compass which they now occupy. It might then have been read with interest, and might, possibly, not have injured her literary character. As it is, we cannot bestow on it, as a whole, that approbation which portions of the work deserve, nor can we, with truth, declare that her reputation as an author has derived any accession of strength from the publication of “*The Wanderer*.”

We cannot dismiss this work without noticing a circumstance connected with it, but with which the author has nothing to do. We allude to the exorbitant price, no less than TWO GUINEAS, charged for it;—a price, we venture to say, wholly unprecedented in the sale of novels. It amounts to nearly *eight shillings and sixpence* for each duodecimo vo-

lume! Exactions of this nature cannot be too strongly censured, nor too resolutely resisted. It is a most unfair advantage to take of the popularity of a favourite name; and is, in its effects, most injurious to literature itself, whose interests ought not to be sacrificed to the avarice of tradesmen.

A Sermon preached in Lambeth Chapel, on Sunday, October 3, 1813, at the Consecration of the Right Honourable and Right Reverend William Howley, D. D. Lord Bishop of London.
By William Stanley Goddard, D. D. Rector of Bepton, Sussex. Published by the command of the Archbishop. 4to. Pp. 47. Hatchard. 1814.

THE subjects discussed in this sermon are 1. The expediency of defining, and settling by fixed rules, whatever relates to christian worship, or to christian doctrine. 2. The expediency of adhering to such regulations, when experience shall have proved them to be useful and necessary. And 3. The expediency of vesting persons with due authority, to superintend the concerns of religion, and the government of the church. Thus, it will be seen, that the discourse before us embraces the great question of church government. And, in the discussion of it, the principal objections to articles of faith, and to our established church, are briefly considered, and satisfactorily answered. It is impossible with those who have any knowledge of the constitution of the christian church, that any difference of opinion can prevail on the necessity of spiritual governors to preside over it, to expound its doctrines, to remove doubts, and to prevent schism. This superintending power, and this authority, were first vested in the Apostles, and have been transmitted, from them, through succeeding ages, to the prelates of the church, in these our days. But, it has been objected, that the Apostles had a special commission from Christ himself, and acted under the immediate influence of the Holy Spirit, and that, therefore, no argument can be drawn from their authority in defence of that which has been exercised by the spiritual heads of the church, in subsequent times. On this Dr. Goddard judiciously remarks;

“ The decrees of the inspired Apostles carry with them (it is acknowledged) a degree of weight, far superior to any that can attach to mere human authority. But will it from hence follow, that the exercise of such authority may not sometimes be requisite? What then is to be done, when difficulties have arisen, and supernatural

assistance can no longer be obtained? Shall doubts be suffered to prevail? Shall errors still continue to be propagated and multiplied?—On such occasions recourse must unquestionably, in every instance, be first had to the ‘written word;’ but it will soon be found, that on many points no precise directions have been there given. The most particular, for instance, are those contained in the epistles to *Timothy* and *Titus*, relative to the ministry; different orders are specified; and many of their respective duties set forth;—yet it cannot be denied, that some directions are still wanting. The necessity of a controlling power is indeed evident from the declaration, that the sacred office is not ‘of self-appointment;’ that ‘no man taketh it unto himself;’—and, from the injunctions of *Timothy*, that ‘he should lay hands suddenly on no man,’ it is equally clear, that certain qualifications should be required; but those, which are expressed, relate principally to good morals and to good conduct. The particular modes of education; the particular proofs, that should be given, of sound principles, as well as of virtuous behaviour; the trial to be made of competent knowledge and ability for this important trust; and even the form of ‘*laying on of hands*,’ have been left to be regulated by those, who should afterwards be invested with authority to superintend such appointment.”

It were much to be wished that the numerous sectaries, with which this kingdom is, unhappily, now overrun, would pay attention to the prohibitory mandate, respecting *self-appointment*, and taking to themselves the sacred functions of the priesthood! Through the strange laxity of parliament, there are, at this time, more self-appointed teachers and preachers, than duly ordained clergymen; men not only without *competent knowledge, and ability*, but wholly uneducated, and profoundly ignorant, though vainly presumptuous. What the effect of this laxity of principle and this encouragement of schism, will be, it is not very difficult to conjecture. Indeed, the consequences of fanaticism, in this country, are not objects of speculative inquiry, but subjects of real history.

Dr. Goddard next examines the objection to human interposition in matters of religion, as reflecting on the first propagators of christianity for neglect to provide the necessary regulations for its continuance and support. He easily proves its futility from Scripture and from reason. It has been captiously observed also, that christianity was originally propagated in opposition to the power of the world, whereas our establishment, on the contrary, is the mere effect of human policy, having been wholly formed and supported by the civil government; on which Dr. Goddard remarks;

“Christianity, it is true, was visibly planted by the hand of the Almighty; and, that the same hand which planted is still raised to

support and protect it, we confidently trust. Nevertheless, its operations are to us invisible, otherwise than as they become manifest through the agency of man. The propagation of the gospel, by means apparently so very inadequate to the end, has ever been regarded as one of the strongest arguments for its divine original, since no human power could have enabled "the foolish and weak things of the world to confound the wise and the mighty." But when the truth of the 'revelation from heaven' had been confirmed by the accomplishment of this stupendous work, the same miraculous interposition was no longer necessary. The gospel was henceforth left to defend itself to the dispassionate reason of mankind; and, 'being found profitable,' not only with respect to the other world, but to the present also, not only to private persons, but to states and kingdoms, was, as a natural consequence, cherished and adopted by the secular power; and, from its complete establishment in the age of Constantine, what period, we may ask, can be pointed out, when Christianity may be said to have flourished, independently of all connection with the civil government?

"But the question is not simply, whether a religion, thus beneficial in its influence, should be protected; but in case various sects should arise, professing Christianity, yet differing in doctrine and form of worship, whether this protection should be extended, indiscriminately, and in the same degree, to all?—or, whether the magistrate may not, from circumstances, be induced to select some one in preference; to take it under his more immediate care; and to guard it by suitable laws, without persecuting or oppressing the rest? Such is the foundation of our establishment; on this principle is our church not only connected, but actually united and incorporated, with the state; their interests are indissolubly the same; and measures taken for the defence of the one have ever been esteemed the firmest security for the preservation of the other."

This is strictly true, yet are there men, who profess a strong attachment to the church, who seek to introduce into the state Papists, who are, in principle, the avowed enemies of the church, and whose interests are in direct opposition to it. To require assent to articles of religion has been deemed an infringement on the right of private judgment, and contrary to the example of our Lord and his apostles.

"Does religious liberty, then," asks this intelligent divine, "consist in leaving each individual to lay down for himself* a rule of faith?"

* "Not that we set up our articles as a *rule of faith*," (says a learned writer) "or appeal to them as such; nor do we prove our doctrines by our articles, but *from scripture only* (as it is expressly declared in our sixth article.) Our articles are not imposed on any man, much less on all men, as '*articles necessary to salvation*;' but rather as '*articles of enquiry*,' whereby to discover whether those, who offer themselves for the *ministry*, are '*apt to teach*,' and *hold the true doctrine of scripture*."

If so, there will be no longer any need of teachers ; every one will be a sufficient guide unto himself. Yet of how many who assert this right, would it with propriety be asked, 'Understandest thou what thou readest?' The only true answer to which enquiry would be, 'How can I, except some man shall guide me?' But neither is such an idea consistent with the nature of church government, for communion implies conformity of doctrine and of practice. Every sect is distinguished by peculiar tenets, and exercises the privilege of regulating its own form of worship ; and those only, who profess the one, and comply with the other, are admitted and acknowledged among the number of its members. What higher privilege, what greater authority, has ever been assumed by our church? whose object, in framing her articles, was to declare and maintain the purity of her faith ; and, in requiring assent to her articles, to secure others from the danger of being misled, and of 'erring from the truth as it is in Christ Jesus.' For of whom does she require this assent?—Of those alone to whom she confides the important offices of her ministry. And with what view?—That they may be 'faithful men, sound in doctrine, and apt to teach.' If more than this has been done ; if, in certain instances, the same, or any similar, assent has been demanded of others also, this is no act of the *ecclesiastical*, but of the *civil*, government ; which, in adopting a measure deemed *essential to its own security*,* usurps no claims, offers no violence,

* "By a *Test Law*, entrance into the administration (the only way by which the threatened mischief, arising from a confederacy in the tolerated churches against the *Established Church*, can be effected) is shut to all, but to the members of the *Established Church*. So when the sectaries, in the time of Charles I. had, for want of this law, overturned the Church of England, as soon as the government was restored, the government thought fit to make a *Test Law*—a law on its first enacting confessed, on all hands, so equitable, as well as expedient, that the celebrated Lord Digby, then Earl of Bristol, eminent for his parts of speculation and business, though at that time a *Papist*, largely acknowledged the high wisdom of it, by arguments of great weight and validity ; he declared himself a catholic of the church, not of the court, of Rome ; and therefore spoke as a faithful member of a Protestant Parliament. 'The bill,' he observed, 'was as full of moderation towards catholics, as of prudence and security towards the religion of the state ;—all the particulars of it being reduced to this one intent, natural to all societies of men, of hindering a lesser opposite party from growing too strong for the greater and more considerable one. And in this way of prevention, is not the moderation of the House of Commons to be admired, that they have restrained it to this sole point of debarring their adversaries from offices and places?' Thus a *Test Law* took its birth ; and from this moment the justice and equity of an *Established Church* began to be called in question.—See Warburton's works, vol. vii. p. 245.

exercises no tyranny; freely conceding to every one the liberty of worshipping God agreeably to the dictates of his conscience, but reserving to itself the right of admitting those only into offices of trust and power in the state, who have given the surest and most unequivocal pledge of their principles and attachment, by their conformity to the national religion."

Yet though Lord Digby, a Papist, supported the Test Laws, as wise, necessary, and unoppressive, regulations, calculated to secure the constitution from injury, the modern Papists, aye, and their Protestant advocates too, have the hardihood to represent them as arbitrary, tyrannical, and unnecessary, and to labour assiduously to procure their repeal;—into such inconsistencies are men betrayed who sacrifice principle to party, and who, having a favourite object in view, make every thing yield to *that*!

Our able preacher now comes to consider a question, which arises out of that pride of philosophy, which ascribes to the present times a degree of *illumination* which not only give them an immense superiority over all preceding ages, but which render it necessary, that all prejudices, all usages, all institutions, and all principles, however sanctioned by antiquity, however consecrated by long experience of their wisdom and utility, should yield to them. This lofty pretension is made to apply equally to things sacred and profane; to politics, to morals, to religion. Thus, though a Christian philosopher, a reference to whose works is often ostentatiously made by modern reformers on topics unconnected with religion, has recorded his solemn declaration and belief, "that there is but one only true religion;" adding, "I agree, too, that one only true religion is professed, and held by the Church of England;" though, we say, the dissenters and reformers of the present illuminated age have recourse to his authority for purposes of *subversion*, they scornfully reject it when urged in support of *establishments*. Hence schism, dissension, spiritual enthusiasm, and every laxity of discipline and of principle, have multiplied and spread, with wonderful rapidity, over the land; and hence, our venerable church, though proved, beyond the possibility of rational doubt, to be founded, as the truly judicious Hooker has observed, upon scripture, reason, apostolical practice, and antiquity, the question is suggested by this philosophical pride of the new school, whether, with all its excellence, this church is to continue, at all times, and under all circumstances, perpetually and unalterably, the same?—whether nothing is to be conceded to public feeling and opinion,

through the various changes and improvements of society ? On this Dr. Goddard observes,

" It is difficult to give a precise answer to an abstract question, nor, in the present instance, will it be attempted, since we may reasonably expect to be informed what alterations are required, and what beneficial purposes are likely to result from them. ' My son,' says the *wise man*, ' FEAR THOU THE LORD AND THE KING, AND MEDDLE NOT WITH THOSE THAT ARE GIVEN TO CHANGE.' Experiments in religion, as in civil government, are easily made ; but, without carrying our research as far back, is there nothing in the history of our own times to warn us of the fatal consequences to which they may as easily lead ? If the constitution of our church be good, why should it be altered ? To change with the varying opinions and fashion of the times were to engage in an endless labour ; and before such an experiment be hazarded, it may be prudent to consider well the end proposed, and the probability of accomplishing it. If this end be union with those who dissent from us, it is, indeed, most desirable ; and who would not ardently wish to co-operate in promoting so good a work ? But how is it to be effected ? Where shall we begin ? By cancelling those provisions which were expressly made to secure our religion against the errors of the Romish Church ? *This would be to cast a heavy censure upon the wisdom of THOSE WHO FRAMED AND LAID DOWN THEIR LIVES TO MAINTAIN THEM—IT WOULD BE TO DECLARE THE INUTILITY OF THOSE GLORIOUS EXERTIONS, BY WHICH OUR CIVIL AND ECCLESIASTICAL LIBERTIES WERE HAPPILY SECURED TO US AT THE MEMORABLE ERA OF THE REVOLUTION—IT WOULD BE TO STRIKE AT ONCE AT THE ROOT OF THE ESTABLISHMENT.*"

Yet there are men who *profess* their admiration of those exertions, who are even loud in their *expressions* of attachment to the established church, who, by an unaccountable perversion of intellect, by a kind of judicial blindness, or else by the grossest attempt at imposition upon public credulity to be found in the annals of political profligacy, insist upon the necessity of cancelling those provisions, in order to give security and permanence to that establishment ! Were the subject less serious and important, and were the artifice less successful, we could smile at the self-delusion, if it really exist, or ridicule the most extraordinary experiment which has been made upon the credulity of the British public, since the memorable effort of the *Bottle Conjurer*.

On the last branch of this subject, the necessity of regularly-ordained and lawfully-appointed ministers, and, consequently, of proper spiritual authority for the due government of the Church, Dr. Goddard is not less argumentative or successful than on the other two branches. To the low and

vulgar sophistry, which ignorance cherishes because it is most flattering to itself; that because the first preachers of the gospel were ignorant and illiterate, human learning cannot be now necessary for a christian minister, the Doctor answers,

“ But were *they* not enlightened with ‘wisdom from on high?’ Was not the holy spirit visibly poured upon *them*? The miraculous gifts by which the gospel was established have ceased; and when extraordinary illumination is not to be expected, to what can we have recourse, but to the ordinary powers of the understanding, diligently cultivated and matured? Without the aid of literary acquirements, neither the language nor the allusions of scripture can be accurately understood; nor, in this age of advanced refinement, of improved education, and inquisitive research, could the doctrines, or even the authenticity, of the sacred writings be defended against the bold and impious assaults of the enemies of religion, without a skilful application of solid argument, drawn from extensive erudition, and profound critical investigation; by means of which ‘every Scribe who is instructed to the kingdom of heaven, is like unto a householder, who bringeth forth out of his treasures new and old.’ The pride of human wisdom must be combated with its own weapons; and, were it not for the provisions wisely made in our universities for assisting theological studies, and the earnestness and ability with which those studies are directed, prosecuted, encouraged, and enforced; were it not for the increased strictness and impartiality which have been maintained in the examination of candidates for holy orders, misinterpreted passages of scripture might still be multiplied to lead astray the ignorant and unwary; and, under the imposing title of ‘a New Version,’ the gospel of truth might, in every part, without contradiction, be distorted, to inculcate doctrines destructive of the vital principles of christianity.”

Such doctrines, since the lamentable repeal of the law for restraining blasphemies on the Trinity, have been most sedulously and most widely inculcated by the Socinians of the metropolis, under the guidance of Messrs. Belsham, Apsland, and others, their preachers and teachers. In the borough of Southwark, these labourers in the vineyard of heresy have been more than usually active; hand-bills have been industriously circulated, containing the names of preachers, the days on which, and the places where, they are to preach, and the text on which they propose to expatiate, for the diabolical purpose of disproving the divinity of our blessed Redeemer. These hand-bills have been thrown down the areas of houses, and distributed in the streets, among “the ignorant and unwary,” numbers of whom will, no doubt, be thus woefully led astray. These are some of the effects of that desolating principle, of which the leading minister of the crown, in the House of

Commons, expressed his approbation, and volunteered his support ; while not one voice in that House was raised in defence of our wiser and more pious ancestors, by whom the law, so hastily repealed, was deliberately framed, and unanimously enacted.

Much of the mischief arising from the strange laxity of principle, in religious matters, from the ignorance which prevails respecting the very constitution of a christian church, and the measures necessary for the preservation, support, and security, of the establishment, would be averted by a strict adherence to the regulations and institutions of our forefathers. Why is the *convocation* discontinued ? for it is assembled at the beginning of a session, only for form's sake, and, therefore, might as well be suppressed. It, nevertheless, forms an integral part of our ecclesiastical constitution. Why should the clergy, as a body, be unrepresented in the House of Commons ? The three estates of the realm consist of the Lords *Spiritual*, the Lords *Temporal*, and the Commons ; can any sound reason be advanced against the representation of the clergy in the lower House of Parliament ? When the convocation was regularly assembled, and deliberated, there existed, indeed, no necessity for clerical representatives elsewhere ; but, in order to uphold the ecclesiastical polity of the country, and to give to the clergy that due weight in the constitution which our ancestors assigned them, and which it is of importance both to the church and to the state, that they should possess ; either the convocation should be restored to a state of effective activity, or the clergy should be eligible to the House of Commons. This is not a time, surrounded with dangers of the most formidable nature, as the church unquestionably is, at the present moment, when her enemies increase, and her friends desert her, to diminish the lawful influence of that clerical body, from which the civil constitution of the country has received the most uniform, consistent, effectual, and decided, support, in periods of the greatest peril. If the convocation had been in the due exercise of its legitimate powers, the public attention would, no doubt, have been properly directed to the mischievous tendency of certain laws which have recently passed, and which have totally perverted the whole spirit and intent of the act of toleration. But to return to our author, who thus sums up his argument on the necessity of an appointed clergy.

“ If, then, there be any efficacy in sound doctrine illustrated by its best cominent, an holy and incorrupt life ; if there be any advantages arising from care and vigilance ; from a temperate, yet firm,

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discipline, in the government of the church ; if the honour of God, and the salvation of men's souls, be concerned in the appointment of men properly qualified for the great work of the ministry ;—then assuredly cannot that ' office, which was instituted by the Apostles, and has been continued from their time' for the purpose of securing such invaluable objects, ever justly be considered, as ' not conducing to the good of the community, or the general edification of its members !'

None but Infidels or Schismatics, or, at least, men uniting to demolish the whole fabric of our venerable constitution, could so describe the clergy of the establishment, as they are described in the sentence last quoted by Dr Goddard ; with the concluding passage of whose excellent discourse, we shall close our observations upon it, requesting him to accept our cordial thanks for the useful information, and the seasonable admonitions, with which it abounds.

" To conclude. In defending our ecclesiastical establishment, in asserting our church to be pure and apostolical, we fear not the misrepresentations of its enemies : we rest not our pretensions on the partiality of those who are in communion with us ; nor yet on the declarations (however favourable) of foreign divines. Let them be decided, not by abstruse reasonings, but by incontrovertible facts ; by that portion of real good, which it has so long continued to produce ; by its effects on piety, on morals, on learning, on the intellectual powers of men, and on their happiness, as individuals, as subjects, and as members of society ; by the proud pre-eminence which, through the peculiar blessings of divine providence, has so eminently distinguished that state, which has adopted our church into a close and lasting alliance. To expect a time when institutions, laws, and government, shall be unnecessary, is to expect perfection in man, which can never be attained, ' till this corruptible shall have put on incorruption ;' till the church shall no more be liable to error, or exposed to persecution."

Marsh's Review of Sir George Barlow's Administration.

(Continued from p. 184.)

THESE acts of despotism, which proved the existence of a power not only paramount to law, but superior even to public opinion, created a general gloom throughout the presidency ; and as some English spirit was, naturally enough, found among the inhabitants, murmurs were distinctly heard, and discontent was pretty plainly manifested. There was no other way, for a man circumstanced as Sir George Barlow was, to avert the obvious effects of this general disapprobation of his con-

duct, than by imputing it all to the same factious spirit which, according to him, had influenced the prosecution, trial, and conviction of those worthy culprits whom he had chosen to select as the special objects of his favour and protection. It was, to be sure, rather a hazardous experiment, to involve a whole settlement in a charge, the necessary consequence of which was, to place the *governed* against the *governor*. It was, however, thought expedient to do this, and the obsequious Mr. Buchan, the governor's secretary, who had been dispatched to England previous to prepare the minds of the Directors, undertook the honourable task.

"The author of this calumny in England was the person whom Sir George Barlow deputed for the special purpose of telling his story to the board of controul, and the court of directors. The same falsehood specifically appeared in his pamphlet, shaped into the bold assertion, that 'the agitation was far from being confined to the military, but extended, in nearly an equal degree, to the civil branches of the service, and that the factious parties in both departments of the service became closely connected in their criminal views.'"

But Mr. Marsh demonstrates the positive falsehood of this assertion, by a simple reference to dates. What this Mr. Buchan would call the civil faction, that is the friends of justice who promoted the trial of the criminal, Reddy Row, and his accomplices, broke out in June 1808, when the discussions respecting the forgeries began, whereas no military discontent evinced itself till the middle of the following year. Sir George Barlow's threats against the prosecutors were issued in October 1808; the first verdict against the culprit was delivered on the 9th of December, in the same year; and the second on the 28th of January, 1809; the quarrel with the commander-in-chief took place on the 12th February, 1809, and it was not till a considerable time after, that the military disturbances commenced.

To crown these strange proceedings, in which the order of justice had been inverted, the innocent punished, and the guilty protected, the chief justice represented the convicts to the crown as fit objects of pardon, on the special ground, "that they were convicted by factious verdicts, who, on the faith of that representation, though against the most satisfactory and redundant testimony of their guilt, were actually pardoned!"

Before, however, the pardon reached Madras, these *factious verdicts* were proved to have been honest and conscientious verdicts, even to the satisfaction of the very individuals who had

resisted the force of evidence, and opposed the cause of justice. Another bond, which had been sold to Mr. Casamajor, was proved to have been forged by Reddy Row; the commissioners, who had uniformly supported this man, were now unable to close their eyes against the conviction of his villainy which flashed upon them. They resolved to prosecute him, and even Mr. Anstruther, the advocate-general, who, by order of the government, had before defended this criminal and his accomplices, now volunteered his services to his prosecutor, though "this virtuous offer was not made till every stratagem to defeat the inquiry had been unsuccessfully tried. Then he kindly undertook to encumber the cause with his assistance." It is almost needless to say that his offer was rejected.

Mr. William Brodie challenged the claim on this bond; the forgery of which came within the cognizance of Fyz Mahomed Kawn, son-in-law of the late Nabob Waliajah. The commissioners were applied to to summon this man; but the last attempt was here made to defeat the ends of justice. The nabob sent some soldiers to arrest the destined witness in the dead of night, and to carry him to the nabob's palace. "The relation of the nabob to the government of Fort St. George, suggests more than a presumption, that his highness would not have ventured on an act so disgraceful to its authority, as the seizure of a native inhabitant within the jurisdiction, and enjoying the protection of the British law, without their actual concurrence." The conclusion is certainly not illogical, nor unreasonable; it is fully warranted by the premises, and adequately sanctioned by common sense. The scene which now ensued beggars all description, and Mr. Marsh must be left to detail the particulars—we dare not trust ourselves with the subject.

"Mr. Brodie represented, in respectful terms, this daring attempt to suppress the evidence of Fyz Mahomed Kawn. The representation, and the papers accompanying it, were immediately returned by Sir George Barlow, *with an arrogant threat of his displeasure for interfering in the concerns of the Nabob!*

"In the mean time, the parties suffering under this imprisonment, applied for a writ of *habeas corpus* against the Nabob. The government ordered Mr. Anstruther to oppose the writ. The chief justice refused to swear the persons to their affidavits, under the pretence that they did not properly designate the Nabob. This objection was removed. The writ was granted with reluctance and delay, *though demandable of right, and invariably granted as of course.* The parties were liberated.

"The investigation of the bond then went on. It was proved to have been forged through the procurement and instrumentality of Reddy Row. This, however, was not the only villainy which was

unravelling. A teep, or assignment of the produce of territory, to the amount of 5000 pagodas, had been granted by the Amdut Reddy Row, by means of his access to the Durbar papers, converted 5,000 into 95,000 pagodas. This was effected by the interpolation of a Persian word corresponding to ninety. Coopehund, the person who drew the teep, swore that the whole of the paper, except 'ninety,' was of his hand-writing; and, on reference to the list of the teeps granted by the Nabob, the original teep for 5,000 pagodas was found duly entered. This, with other corroborating circumstances, elucidated to the commissioners the character of Reddy Row, and effectually removed the amiable scepticism, which had heretofore veiled his cheats from their understandings.

"These gentlemen, therefore, resolved, not indeed to deliver him over to criminal justice, (that would have been an indelicate procedure,) but to dismiss him from their office!! In this crisis of Reddy Row's fortune,

'When interest called off all her sneaking-train,'

"When Mr. Anstruther abandoned him, and Sir George Barlow appeared no longer disposed to awaken the energies of power in his behalf, he adopted the desperate remedy of suicide. Having procured a quantity of *jingley* oil and opium, it seems that, about three or four in the morning of the 11th of June, 1811, he carried his resolution into effect; for at about five o'clock, he sent for three of his friends, Narrain Row, Kistnah Row, and Chinniah Reddy Row, to whom he communicated what he had done. They attempted to administer the usual remedies, but he refused to swallow them, saying, 'I have taken poison of my own free will.' The cup out of which he had drunk the oil was found near his bed, with part of the opium, and the knife with which he had cut it. Such was the precipitation with which, in pursuance to his orders, the body was consumed, that when the inquest of the coroner assembled, the jury could only obtain parole evidence of the cause of his death. The fact, however, was clearly established. An apologist for George Barlow affected, in the House of Commons, to disbelieve it. I have therefore narrated it with minuteness."

Mr. Anstruther's celebrated bond, which was the original cause of all these proceedings, now became once more a subject of investigation; and though the commissioners had formerly sworn, in a court of law, that they believed in the truth and validity of that instrument, and though their deposition was chiefly relied on by the chief justice, in his recommendation of the culprits to royal mercy;—they were finally reduced to the necessity of pronouncing it a forgery, and "they reported such to be their opinion to the commissioners for investigating the same claims in London."

Nor was this all, the three witnesses who had deposed to facts which were calculated to establish the validity of the bond, after Reddy Row's death, voluntarily repaired to the

commissioners and swore that they had been suborned to perjure themselves on that occasion, by Reddy Row.

Such was the state of these transactions at Madras, when the royal pardon arrived, and, most naturally, excited universal astonishment in the people, and no very pleasant reflections, we should presume, in the worthy personages, through whose representations and instrumentality it had been procured.

"Compendiously to sum up these intrigues," says Mr. Marsh, "the royal ear has been abused by mutilated statements of the evidence against the pardoned criminals. The evidence was not fully or impartially laid before the King. The King was deceived and misinformed. In the foregoing pages I have rapidly sketched that evidence. No man impartially considering it, can dissent from the conclusions of the juries. Neither Mr. Buchan, nor Mr. Charles Grant, who have hitherto struggled against fact and reason in defence of Sir George Barlow, can now, in contempt of that which has happened since the trials, persist in their sullen warfare against truth, and the common sense of mankind."

Mr. Marsh now proceeds briefly to sum up the particulars relative to the share which Mr. Anstruther, the advocate general, and brother-in-law to the chief justice, had in these proceedings. His defence, we perceive, has been laid before the House of Commons, but it clearly appears, from the statement of Mr. Marsh, that it is no defence at all; but that he, a person deeply interested in establishing the validity of the forged bonds, had acted as the legal adviser of the governor in all the *illegal* and *unconstitutional* proceedings, which he adopted, for stifling the inquiry, and for preventing the criminals, who had committed the forgery, from being brought to justice. In perfect conformity with the *principle* and the *feeling* which influenced the punishment of the prosecutors and the juries, and the protection and pardon of the convicts—**THIS MR. ANSTRUTHER HAS BEEN REWARDED WITH THE RECORDERSHIP OF BOMBAY!!!** But, we have the consolation to learn from Mr. Marsh, that—"this matter will undergo a serious investigation before parliament." We do not mean to anticipate the result, but we must think that, in the interval, the object of the inquiry should not be allowed to discharge judicial functions.

"It will be a question of high consideration, whether the powers arrogated by Sir George Barlow exist by law; or, if they do, whether they ought to be continued. In truth, no law, which is not immediately abrogated by an higher law, could sanction or ordain oppression; and the benefits of British judicature, expressly imparted to our fellow-subjects in India, is a pledge solemnly given them, that they are not out of the pale of the British constitution. But they who know how

efficiently arbitrary power is restrained by British law, excluding from their estimate the tendency of remote distance to weaken its controul, may yet be incredulous of the extent to which a governor in the company's territories may proceed, when, in almost every instance, he looks for impunity to his immense distance from responsibility; backed as he is, with the ordinary chances of the game, the leaning of the reviewing authorities to his cause, and their natural indisposition to believe, or even to hear, the allegations against him. Never, therefore, was the grave interposition of parliament more loudly demanded."*

We most heartily subscribe to the truth of this declaration, and we feel persuaded, notwithstanding certain appearances which indicate the influence of directorial policy in a quarter where it ought to be viewed with peculiar jealousy, that parliament will do their duty, by a close investigation of charges of this serious nature, and by an impartial decision on the merits of the case.

We must now return to the military part of Sir George Barlow's administration, or rather to his conduct towards the army, while he was governor of Madras. Our readers will recollect that, from his extraordinary interposition with the legal authority of the commander-in-chief, that officer had resigned his situation and embarked for England; that the governor had vented his indignation on the adjutant general and deputy adjutant general, Colonel Capper and Major Boles, whom he suspended from the service. General Macdouall and Colonel Capper embarked in the same ship, and, most unfortunately, were lost on the passage! The arbitrary proceedings of the governor against these officers, even admitting, for the sake of argument, the law to have been on his side; his wanton interposition with military authority and military law, of which he, bred as he had been to commercial pursuits, and trained, as it were, to the desk, he was profoundly ignorant, could not fail, in the nature of things, to excite the most unpleasant sensations in the minds of the army, and to raise the most unfavourable impressions against himself. Major general Gowdie was made commander-in-chief, and one of his first acts

* " If this hope should be extinguished, the ordinary tribunals of law may be resorted to, when he arrives within the jurisdiction of the courts here. He is indictable at common law for his measures against Roebuck, Parry, and Maitland, if *malicious or without just cause*; or liable in civil actions to all whom he has injured by the oppressive exercise of his power. Besides this, the Act 11 and 12. Wil. 3. c. 12; 27. G. ii. c. 9. s. 13. 21 G. iii. c. 57; are expressly framed for the punishment of these oppressions. They all, however, imply the presence of the offender in England."

was to open a communication with Major Boles, the object of which was to extort from him a slight acknowledgement of his misconduct *in obeying the orders of his superior officer*—as the condition of restoring him to his office. Major Boles, however, refused to *sell his honour*, by consenting that an act of duty should be converted into a military offence, and therefore rejected this advance with the contempt which it deserved.

“What, it may be asked, must have been the negotiator of such a treaty? It was simply proposed to a man suffering under unjust disgrace and punishment, that he should acknowledge he had deserved it. Where one party invites the other to a negotiation of which the basis is the dereliction of honour and the loss of reputation, he plainly tells you of what stuff his own honour and conscience are composed.”

We are told, that the rejection of this offer, which one officer should have been ashamed to make to another, and which conferred honour on Major Boles, drew down upon him the abuse of the new Commander in-Chief, whose *praise* only, we should infer from this transaction, could have disgraced him. The suspension of this officer was both an illegal and a tyrannical act of power; and the judge-advocate, when called upon to pronounce its *legality*, after it had been committed, declared it to have been the sole act of the governor, who, the moment he saw the order “countersigned by the Deputy-Adjutant-General, “*immediately* declared that officer suspended from the service.”

“If” pertinently and forcibly adds Mr. Marsh, upon the fact thus stated by the judge-advocate, “this be a faithful picture of the transaction, the violence and fury of despotic power are painted to the life. The first glance of the governor on the paper was an instantaneous sentence of ruin on an officer who had signed the order of his superior. What, no inquiry? No consultation with the gentlemen who, by courtesy, are called his council? None. The nature of the proceeding, then, is here depicted by one of his partisans, while he is actually employed in the humble duty of sweeping away the filth and rubbish from the precipitate policy of his employers, and dressing it up in some shape and colour of legality.”

Never was transaction more properly characterized; it combined all that was odious in despotism with all that was mean in character; all that was detestable in theory with all that was despicable in practice. Nor did the persecution of Major Boles end here. Suspended from the service, he prepared for his voyage to England, and, accordingly, took his passage aboard the *Lushington*, then about to sail; but the permission of the government being necessary, he applied for it, and assigned, as the reason of his departure, his intention of laying

his case before the Court of Directors. The answer to this application was, in violation of all decency, delayed for a considerable time; at length, on the 28th of February, a peremptory refusal was sent, unaccompanied by a single reason. Thus, to all appearance, was an officer deprived of the means of subsistence in India, and still forcibly detained in that country, by the act of a despotic government, and for that which, if he had not done, he would have been guilty of a high military offence, and subjected to legal punishment. But the motives for this proceeding are obvious: the governor did not chuse that the Directors should receive the account of any of these proceedings before their minds had been duly prepared by a creature of his own; and, accordingly, no sooner had his trusty agent, Buchan, sailed in the *Lushington*, on the 28th of February, than Boles (on the 4th of March) received the gracious permission of the governor to follow him, as he could, to England. This, however, was no very easy task; the *Lushington* was the last ship to sail from Madras that season—the governor was well aware of this, and he violently transported him to Bengal, a distance of a thousand miles, to be sent home by a vessel about to sail from that port. If Major Boles felt as we feel on the subject, he must have blessed the gale that blew him from this scene of abused power, of wanton malice, and of licensed oppression.

The feelings which these reiterated acts of violence produced on the army may be easily conceived: if they had not expressed them, they would have been dead to the best impulses of human nature; for abhorrence of tyranny, and hatred of oppression, are passions natural to man. But these feelings had not broken out into any act of insubordination or mutiny; they were either pent up within their own bosoms, or gave birth only to private observations. At this period, then, Sir George Barlow might easily, by kind and conciliatory conduct, have appeased the anger, though he might not have secured the affection, of the army. But kindness and conciliation, if they found a residence in his own breast, confined themselves within their native limits, and formed no feature of his public policy. Objects of proscription, and victims of power, better suited his inclinations and his purpose.

Lieutenant-colonel Martin, the commanding officer of a corps, had committed the unpardonable offence of signing the charges against Munro; he was therefore selected as a fit subject for persecution. He had obtained leave to embark for England, and had actually paid for his passage. At this period he was forbidden to leave India; but some time after he was again allowed to return to Europe, and the governor,

who had not condescended to assign a reason (indeed it would have been an effort somewhat beyond his capacity) either for the prohibition, or for the subsequent permission, reimbursed Lieutenant-colonel Martin, out of the coffers of the Company, the sum he had paid for his passage. Captain Marshall had had the unparalleled boldness to speak in favour of a gentleman who had incurred the displeasure of the governor. This was an offence not to be forgiven; and that officer, therefore, was removed from his important situation of Secretary to the Military Board, which he had long filled with honour to himself, and advantage to the public.

Meanwhile the regular troops, who were stationed at the Presidency, were not sparing of their animadversions on the conduct of this oriental despot. They proposed to give a dinner in honour of Major Boles; but that officer, with more discretion than falls to the lot of most men, declined the generous invitation. The European officers, in their turn, refused the invitation of the governor to the government-house; and, at their mess, the commanding officer gave a toast, strongly expressive of contempt and hatred for the individual person of Sir George Barlow.

But the cabinet of Madras began to perceive that some danger might result from the general estrangement of the armed force, both European and native; and the old maxim of *divide et impera* very naturally occurred to them. They resolved, therefore, if possible, to separate one part of this force from the other, and to sow dissention where it was essential to the public service that the utmost harmony and unity of feeling and conduct should obtain. The motive being corrupt, it is not wonderful that the operation should have been corrupt also.

"The officer, whose influence was most dreaded, and who, to the knowledge of Sir George Barlow, had proposed the toast just adverted to, was complimented with the command of the fort, and a large salary, an office which had been expressly abolished by the Court of Directors. The result was a natural one. The language and sentiments of this person underwent an immediate change, and he atoned for his former errors with the zeal and enthusiasm of recent conversion. In a few days he proposed, at his mess, the health of Sir George Barlow as a toast. *Every officer of the corps of course refused it.* They were immediately told, that they were ordered to drink it by their commanding officer, and that he considered, and would represent their refusal at head-quarters in England, as an act of insubordination. *The obnoxious toast was crammed down their throats.*

"On the 3d of February, Sir George Barlow invited each officer of the corps to dinner. *Each of them declined the invitation.* The Colonel, however, urged them, as a point of military duty, to retract

their answers; and, on being asked whether they were his orders as commanding officer, he told them that they were. They obeyed; and the governor of Madras enjoyed the luxury of receiving twelve guests, who sat at his table with a sort of funereal solemnity, refusing to partake of one dish, or to drink one glass of wine."

We scarcely know which most to reprobate or despise, the execrable meanness of the individual who could stoop not only to invite men to his table to whom he knew he was an object of hatred, but even to have recourse to arbitrary measures to compel their attendance; or the man who, holding his majesty's commission, and having the honour to command a British regiment, could barter his principles for a place; could accept a situation which the giver had no right to bestow, and which it was illegal in him to receive; could flatter the man whom so recently he had abused, could praise him whom he had so recently condemned; and who, lastly, could exercise an authority which did not belong to him, to compel the obedience of his officers in a matter in no wise connected with the service, and so to make them act in a manner contrary to their own inclinations and sense of propriety! In contemplating this foul, base, and unmanly, transaction, indignation and contempt alternately take possession of our minds. The low-bred tyrant, intoxicated with power, abused for the gratification of the meanest passions; and the military weathercock, by turns a parasite and a despot, trained in the school of honour, and yet descending to lend his aid to the accomplishment of purposes as remote from honour, as the mind of Sir George Barlow is from generosity and wisdom.

The governor, however, reaped, in some degree, the legitimate fruits of his conduct "though" as an intelligent writer in the Asiatic Register for 1809, has observed, "the source and fountain of all promotions, not a civilian nor a soldier could be induced to pay more than a customary compliment or courtesy to his office, while his house and board were deserted of (by) all but his very retainers. His particular invitations are rejected, and he finds himself at once the head and outcast of society." This, it must be confessed, was not a very enviable situation, but as he found it a hopeless one, he resolved to persist in the line of conduct which had produced it.

"He had resolved from this time 'to humble' the coast army. This was his language. These were his counsels. I do not make this statement lightly. It rests on the authority of one to whom he disclosed at this time the workings of his mind. The means by which this vindictive scheme was to be executed, were the jealousies and

antipathies between the king's troops and the company's, which, from the competition always subsisting between those establishments, might have been awakened by a less expert master in this sordid and crafty policy. This was the outline of a system which an attentive observation of events will shew to have been faithfully and fatally pursued."

It is difficult to conceive any plan fraught with more mischievous consequence to the state, than this which malice hatched in the bosom of folly. The security of the British empire in the east depends, very materially, upon the existence of a formidable military force; and upon the preservation of a strict union among the troops employed in its defence. It is also essential to keep up the best possible understanding between the native troops and their European officers. And the attainment of these two important points will be an object of primary consideration with every wise governor. But wisdom does not fall to the lot of every man; nor is it deemed an indispensable qualification for office, by the executive government of Leadenhall-street. It was not to be expected, therefore, that Sir George Barlow should follow its dictates. But, without drawing very largely on his understanding, it might have been reasonably expected, that he would not venture on any bold measure which should strike at the very existence of the British power in the east. The qualities of his mind, which exhibit nothing of strength, supplied just grounds for such an expectation. Whoever formed it, however, were egregiously deceived. By a strange anomaly in the mind of man, fear sometimes produces the effect of courage; and so it proved in the present case; the dread of retracting error, and acknowledging wrong, which proceeded from a pusillanimous mind, led to a perseverance in both, and to the adoption of further measures still more objectionable to give a colour and pretext to the past.

"In this spirit, and with these objects, he declared war with the whole community. His power leaped over the fences of private life, boundaries which the wildest despotism has frequently found it prudent to respect. Men were to eat by rule; to laugh by law, Invitations, accordingly, in the name of Lady Barlow, flew around the settlement. They were pointedly and designedly sent, where, from secret information, it was well known they would be refused. They were proposed as a species of test, and the penalty of rejecting them was banishment from their stations, the displeasure of the governor, and the ruin of families. These inconveniences were endured with a spirit almost amounting to that of martyrdom. The officers of a battalion then stationed in Fort St. George, were marched at a most unfavourable season, with their unoffending seapoys, to Goa, a station expressly selected because it was unhealthy. A military academy in-

stituted by Lord W. Bentinck, and approved of by the directors, for the preparatory instruction of the cadets in the studies of their profession, was dispersed, because eighteen or twenty boys had refused to wait upon Lady Barlow."

Our readers will scarcely be brought to believe, that this systematic oppression, which seems to have united the mischief of the monkey with the ferocity of the tiger, could have been practised in a colony placed under the protection of British laws, and ruled by the paternal authority of the British government—no, we beg pardon, by the commercial sovereignty of British traders! Indeed, the facts here recorded are so very extraordinary, that we could not have given credit to them ourselves, on authority inferior to that of a gentleman of character and respectability, and who speaks from either direct personal knowledge, or from authentic information collected on the spot. Well may Mr. Marsh, in reference to these facts, observe—

"Fancy cannot conjecture a state of things more disgraceful and humiliating. But the contemplation of it is, happily, not destitute of instruction. It shews the folly of every attempt to govern by a system, which wars with the feelings and affections of man. The splendid solitude of Sir George Barlow, which is not brightened by an unforced smile, nor approached without a secret terror, is sufficient to console even the victims of his oppression. Condemned to their garrets, pining for bread, they feel a triumph to which he is forbidden to aspire. The moral order is so adjusted, that, even in prosperous and unpunished oppressions, there is at once an example to shun, and a spectacle to commiserate."

The officers of the Madras army, smarting under repeated acts of oppression, witnessing severe punishments without trial, or even accusation, and justly dreading the substitution of arbitrary power for martial law, had resolved to present a memorial to the governor-general, stating both their grievances and their apprehensions, and supplicating his interposition, for the purpose of suppressing a system so odious in itself, and so pernicious in its effects. It having been found, however, that Lord Minto's mind had been already prepossessed in favour of Sir George Barlow, they abandoned their design, and never presented the memorial. Still the bare intention was imputed to them as a crime, and the offensive manner in which the governor of Madras was mentioned in the projected document;—and who could barely state his conduct, divested of all comment or exaggeration, without giving offence to feelings even less irritable than his? From the pub-

lished papers of Sir George Barlow, it appears that he was aware of the resolution of the officers not to present their memorial.—“As,” said the governor, “I had reason to believe, that the spirit of disaffection was not gaining ground in the army,” (by *whom* and by *what* had that spirit been excited?) “it did not appear that any danger was incurred hitherto by waiting for fuller proof, as to the individuals who had been concerned in signing, or promoting, the circulation of this paper.”

“It was punishment only that he required,” observes Mr. Marsh on this statement of the governor’s; “give him his victim, gorge him with his prey, and the virtuous governor of Madras is satisfied that the mischief should proceed, and the guilt be incurred.—‘Let us take the law on our sides: let them begin.’* He has no anxieties about the quiet or composure of the empire. He is calculating behind his counter, with a kind of mercantile precision, on the quantity of punishment which a few weeks will produce; balancing so much punishment and so much misery against so much passion or so much discontent; and enjoying the secret anticipation of an usurious payment in a more diffused wretchedness and ruin. I have used his own words, as the commentaries of his acts. If wolves reasoned, such would be their maxims.”

As if conscious that a memorial in embryo, at least an unrepresented and relinquished memorial, could not, of itself, afford a plausible pretext for the infliction of further severities, the governor, with commercial sagacity, threw, as a make-weight, into the scale of offence, an address which these officers had presented to Major Boles, containing an offer of pecuniary assistance. We should have thought that even the most vigilant tyranny, the most tormenting suspicion, could not take offence at such an offer made under such circumstances. If, indeed, these officers had suffered a persecuted brother to be *starved*, which must have been the consequence of the persecution which Major Boles sustained, had he not met with assistance, they would have deserved still greater persecutions than the governor was disposed to inflict. But it was reserved for the strangely-constructed mind of Sir George Barlow to convert a noble feeling, a generous sympathy, into a state-offence!

“Boles had broken no law. He had been tried by no law. His suspension, which was inflicted on him by an arbitrary mandate, left him without the means of life. Miserable indeed must be the cause

* “Romeo and Juliet.”

of that government which, requiring the current of human feelings to be turned aside from their course, interprets into resistance to its authority the kindly sentiments of the soul, moving in obedience to nature, reason, and religion. Various corps and societies did, therefore, vote a relief to this persecuted gentleman. I record the fact with pleasure. To have abandoned him under such circumstances to penury or the mercy of his oppressor, would have been the abandonment of all honour and principle, and by implication an acknowledgment of the justice of the procedure against him.

Without those further proofs the necessity of which the governor appears to have admitted, without any dread of consequences, and without further provocation of any kind, the vengeance of Sir George Barlow, who became a judge in his own cause, and who sought to silence his accusers by inflicting on them a punishment without a trial, exploded on the first of May, when he issued an order which, had its direct object and intent been the suscitation of revolt, could not have been better framed for the purpose.

"By this order, Captain Marshall, then at Vizagapatam (to which station he had been removed from his staff employment at the presidency, without any specified, or hardly any imaginable, cause,) and Lieutenant Colonel Martin, are suspended for having been principally concerned in preparing and circulating the memorial. The Honourable Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger, (then in Travancore) and Major de Morgan, are included in the same sentence, for having actively promoted its circulation, with Captain James Grant who had signed the address to Major Boles. Lieutenant Colonel Robert Bell, commanding the artillery at the Mount, is deprived of his command, and its emoluments, for having circulated (as it was stated) the same address amongst the officers of his corps, *although he had never seen it.*"

Here is one of the blessed effects of a man becoming a judge in his own cause, (when, of course, he is blind to facts, and deaf to the voice of justice,) and of inflicting punishment without trial ! It is a new discovery in the science of despotism to punish a man for an offence which he never committed ; though, in such cases, it is certainly politic to dispense with the necessity of proof, and even with the formality of a trial ! But let us pursue the list of proscription—if Sir George Barlow had been as conversant in Roman History as he, no doubt, is in *Cocker's Arithmetic*, and the *art of double entry*, we should have been at no loss to conjecture whence he had selected his model and his guide.

"Lieutenant Colonel Chalmers, commanding in the south of Travancore, and Lieutenant Colonel Cuppage, recently appointed to

the office of adjutant general, officers of high desert and character, are removed, the former from his command, the latter from his staff-appointment, for the negative offence of 'having appeared to have taken no steps whatever either to repress or report to the government the improper proceedings.' Captain Coombs, Assistant Quarter Master General in Mysore, is degraded from that situation, on the vague charge 'of having been concerned in these reprehensible proceedings.' "

" Of these officers, four, viz. Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger, Major de Morgan, Captain Marshall, and Captain Grant, were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to proceed to England. They were in effect banished. Colonel St. Leger was ordered to the presidency, that this sentence might be carried in effect. But Sir George Barlow's merciless appetite for punishment was not yet satiated. Another order follows the next day; and Captain Smith, Major Keasbury, Major Muirhead, and Major Hazlewood, are degraded from their respective commands on the allegation of 'their not having exerted themselves in maintaining order and discipline in their respective corps.' Of these punishments, the temporary commander-in-chief acts as the executioner, by the express deputation of his master conveyed to him by letter. He is simply requested to remove the specified delinquents without any directions to inquire, or hear, or examine. It was further comprised within the duties of this commission, that he was to remove a most respectable and beloved officer, Lieutenant Colonel Rumley, from his regiment of cavalry, for this well-defined, clear, and intelligible, offence, 'that his conduct had been for some time unsatisfactory !!!' "

The annals of civilized nations most certainly do not present a transaction parallel to this. A wholesale proscription, for offences not cognizable by martial law, avowedly founded on the most capricious, and, in some instances, the most unintelligible, charges; without any formal accusation, without hearing any evidence, without calling on the parties accused for their defence, without even informing them that they are accused; such a deformed mass of illegality and persecution never before astonished the sense, or roused the indignation, of a nation! Nor did the persecution end here, for, by a refinement of cruelty, insult and vexation were added to injury and injustice.

" That nothing might be wanted to sharpen the sensations of the army to this proceeding, Lieutenant Colonel St. Leger was ordered to the presidency under every circumstance of studied indignity. He was suddenly called to the presidency from Travancore, the theatre of his victories. While he was obeying this order, he received another at Madura, where a severe indisposition had obliged him to halt, directing him not to proceed to Trichinopoly, but circuitously by the sea-coast to Poonamalie, a place of confinement for French

prisoners; and, as if this was not sufficiently offensive to his feelings, it was specified that if he hesitated obedience, he was to be marched under a guard to that station. Here he first learnt the alleged crime, for which he was exposed to all this insolence of power. His humble applications for an opportunity of defence, or a specification of the evidence against him, were of course disregarded.

The prohibition which ordered him not to proceed in the direct road, in pursuance of his original orders, may at first appear rather mysterious. But, Trichinopoly, which was in the direct route, was the place of Colonel St. Leger's residence. His domestic establishment, and a great part of his personal property, were there: and had he been permitted to have gone there, he might have diminished the pecuniary loss of a sudden departure from India. This did not escape the Governor of Madras, by no means an unskilful professor of the art of tormenting. At Poonamalie, the resolution of Sir George Barlow was intimated to him, that he was to proceed to Calcutta, and that a ship was detained to convey him to that settlement. It was, however, at last, but with a bad grace, permitted him to visit the presidency for a few days, for the purpose of making some arrangements for this voyage. In a short time afterwards, these gentlemen were ordered on board a vessel bound to Bengal. They were there to wait the protracted and uncertain chances of a ship for England, as if it entered into Sir G. Barlow's calculations, that the intermediate expence of subsistence in a place where they had no connections, would sharpen the punishment already inflicted on his impoverished victims.

"Colonel St. Leger thus proclaimed as a traitor and mutineer, while all information concerning his supposed offence was denied to him; about to be forcibly sent home without the materials for his defence against the inventive obloquy, and fictitious statements of his accuser; consulted a professional gentleman. He was advised to proceed against Sir George Barlow in a civil action. This was practicable by the wise provisions of an act passed in the 21st year of George III. remedial of oppressions and injuries committed by the Governors in India, who are exempted from the jurisdiction of his Majesty's courts by their respective charters. The statute enables the injured party to demand copies of the orders of government, and to take the examinations of witnesses, which, being authenticated by the Supreme Court, are to be deemed good evidence in the courts at Westminster, the plaintiff making oath of the matters complained of, and giving security to prosecute the complaint within two years of the return of the defendant to England.

"The affidavit was duly sworn, and Colonel St. Leger began to prepare for the necessary examinations of witnesses, and to instruct his counsel, when he received an unexpected order to embark. He immediately applied for longer time, to complete the preliminary steps to the suit he intended to institute, protesting against a forced and hurried embarkation under those circumstances. This application was ineffectual, and he was forced on board, before he could even procure

the necessary security required by the statute. The plaintiff being then removed, Sir George Barlow proceeded to the examination of his own witnesses. The order of the 1st of May, therefore, and the mode of its enforcement, as it operated on this gentleman, were not merely the infliction of arbitrary punishment, but the deprivation to a British subject of a legal remedy given him by the Legislature. The constitution and law of England would be senseless sounds, if such a proceeding was followed by no criminal consequences."

Here we must pause, and for the present take leave of Sir George Barlow and his administration; leaving our readers to contemplate the scenes which we have here brought before them, and which, certainly, will afford them ample fund for meditation, for the current month. In our next we propose to bring our notice of this very extraordinary and most interesting production to a close.

(To be concluded in our next.)

REVIEWERS REVIEWED.

Remarks on the Calumnies published in the Quarterly Review, on the English Ship Builders.

In every public contest, the desire of gaining the benefit of general opinion occasions some appeals through the medium of the press. These appeals are of course to be viewed as the pleadings of the parties before the grand tribunal of the British nation, and can obtain attention only in proportion as their reasoning is conformable to experience and common sense, and their statements are supported by proof or by facts admitted or indisputable. While the contending parties stand on equal ground, neither has a right to complain; but in modern times, there is an intermediate tribunal, which, under the pretext of pronouncing judgment in matters of literature, dogmatizes in religion, politics, and on every subject connected with the public and with individuals. The conductors of these publications, assuming the character of judges, play the part of advocates, and very often the very parties interested in the disputed matter prefer their own memorials in the shape of criticisms on the statements of their adversaries: thus appearing to decide, while they are, in fact, not advancing the determinations of a candid judgment, but venting the suggestions of malice or of interest.

The Ship-builders of England are intitled to complain of the use which has been made against them of this engine of pretended judgment, converted as it has been into the means of disseminating calumny, and infusing into the public mind errors of the most dangerous description, for the purpose of forwarding a plan of the most ruinous tendency.

The Ship-builders who have establishments within the Port of

London and at the Outports,* with regret, but with confidence, have been obliged to submit to the legislature, and now submit to the public, a short view of the grievances under which they labour in consequence of a modern construction of the law relating to shipping, and their apprehensions for themselves and the nation at large should the system so inauspiciously begun be continued and extended.

The subject of their complaint is the modern practice of admitting India-built ships to all the rights of registry, and all the privileges of British bottoms.

It must be a matter of regret that a system of maritime law, established by the wisdom of our ancestors, and by means of which the commercial prosperity and naval pre-eminence of the British nation have progressively advanced, with inconceivable rapidity, to an unrivalled extent, should now be treated as a mere untried problem in politics, at the best; or by some, as a pernicious delusion, which, far from causing, has rather retarded, the attainment of national greatness. It must be an object of still more painful regret to those who are obliged to present themselves as suitors before the great public tribunal, to feel that they are reduced to the necessity of pleading for the preservation of establishments upon which immense capitals have been expended, and which, protected by a benevolent and fostering system of law, have grown into an unexampled state of national utility and importance. Yet the ship-builders feel confident that their application will not be vain, and that from the justice and wisdom of the legislature they shall receive that attention and relief which their case so forcible requires.

Indeed the present mode of appeal would hardly have been necessary, had not great efforts been used, and particularly in the publication above noticed, to excite prejudice by representing the Ship-builders of London as clamorous, unreasonable, interested individuals, jealous of the prosperity of other bodies, and unfortunately possessed of too much influence, which they used to the perversion of justice. They acknowledged themselves to be interested—deeply interested; for not only their own large capitals, but for the welfare, almost the existence of some thousands of families, and many thousands of individuals, depends on their being able to resist with effect the growth of a system which menaces them with ruin. An appeal of this nature, on the mere score of private interest, has never yet been treated with disregard; but in the present instance, individual grievance is not the prominent part of the case, the injury to the public spreads more wide and strikes more deep. If these parties have any portion of the influence which is invidiously attributed to them, it arises not from their own wealth, importance or activity, but from that feeling which truth and justice enable them to impart to the candid, patriotic and disinterested, that their cause is not narrow, individual, or personal, but expansive, grand, and national.

* See the votes in 1812, 1813, and 1814.

It may be asserted without fear of contradiction, that the commercial prosperity of this country has been essentially promoted by the skill and ingenuity which have been exerted by those individuals, who have progressively formed extensive establishments for supplying merchant adventurers with the means of carrying their enterprising speculations to the remotest parts of the ocean.

The certainty of easily procuring a fit ship, of any description and magnitude, and in any definite period, has removed one of the greatest difficulties under which our ancestors laboured; for they, when it was requisite for any commercial pursuit of consequence, and sometimes even for the purposes of war, were obliged to have recourse to foreigners, for the hire of their very inferior ships, when compared with those of our own country at present; and it is not difficult to conceive what would now have been the state of our shipping if that system had been invariably pursued.

Fortunately, however, for us, the occasional suspension of intercourse, to which hostilities have given rise, has rendered it indispensably necessary to encourage ship-building at home; and, until lately it has kept equal pace with the progress of the country to its present state of pre-eminence in the scale of nations.

It is true that our commerce, at this day, might be carried on for some time in foreign ships, were British ships and British ship-building establishments annihilated. Tonnage might be procured in ships of every description, from foreigners, either on hire or by purchase; but what the effect would be, in a few years, may easily be conjectured, though much too painful to contemplate.

The advantages which this country has derived since the Revolution, from building ships of war in private yards, are too numerous for description; but the most essential benefit that system has produced, is our present maritime ascendancy, which would not have been attained, but for the efforts made in the private establishments during the American war, when they were invited, in the most pressing manner, to relinquish a part of their private business, and to build for the public service; and, at that time, it was only necessary for a builder to intimate that he was disposed to undertake work, and he was immediately employed. If this measure had not been resorted to, the greatest efforts which the king's yards could possibly have made, would have been totally inadequate to withstand the gigantic exertions of our enemies to overwhelm us by a superior navy.

For the purposes of duly appreciating the value of the private ship-building establishments, in a national point of view, it is only necessary to recur to the state of the country, and to the feeling of the public mind, on great and pressing emergencies; for instance, when Admiral Byng was sent against the French, at Toulon, with a fleet in so bad a condition as almost to justify the event which followed. When the combined fleets of France and Spain were cruising in the British channel, and menacing Plymouth unopposed, and it was deemed necessary to give the English admiral orders not to risk

a general engagement. When Lord Cornwallis was blocked up in the Chesapeake, and in consequence of not being relieved, was compelled to surrender his army to a superior force. When the fall of all the West India Islands would have been inevitable, had not the junction of the French and Spanish fleets been prevented by the gallant conduct of Lord Rodney and his bold associates. When Gibraltar was left to its fate, the siege being covered by fifty ships of the line, until Lord Howe, by a desperate effort, and at incalculable risk, almost miraculously succeeded in relieving it. Or if the mutineers at the Nore had succeeded in gaining over the whole fleet, and an entire revolt was then not thought improbable, would the king's yards alone have been sufficient to supply a navy, in time to meet our enemies? Or when the gallant and ever-to-be-lamented Nelson fought his last and glorious battle, an action to which the exertion of the private builders mainly contributed, by repairing, in a very short time, in the spring of 1805, ten sail of sixty-four gun ships, two or three of which were in that action, and the others sent to the North-seas, to relieve as many seventy-fours on that station, which had joined Lord Nelson's fleet, without which prompt and timely aid, it is generally understood his Lordship would have been unable to achieve that great and memorable victory?*

When, recently, the whole country was alarmed at the threatened invasion, to quiet the public mind it was necessary that a fleet should speedily be afloat, equivalent in force, and of a class adapted, to meet the enemy; the private yards were employed, and in a few weeks, as if by magic, a very numerous and powerful armament was created, and although it was not brought into action, in immediately repelling invaders, it was found very useful in annoying the enemy's small vessels, and completely interrupting all his coasting intercourse.

The public naval arsenals have frequently been in danger of being destroyed by incendiaries, and it lately occurred to some reflecting person (who for communicating the thought merits the thanks of his country) that it might enter into the contemplation of some inveterate foe, to give a fatal blow to the commercial prosperity of England, by distributing a number of small foreign vessels, under neutral flags, in different parts of the Thames, and using them as fire-ships at a concerted moment. Whether the idea had ever entered the mind of any of our enemies is not publicly known, but its execution

* It may be here observed, in reply to an observation in a pamphlet recently published, wherein it is roundly stated that the *average duration* of British-built ships is only 'eight years,' that several of the *sixty-four gun ships* above alluded to were at *that time* from seventeen to twenty years old, and that some of them were *then* repaired for the *first time*, and with *fir*, and are now and have been actually in the service since that period; and what may be more astonishing to the author of the tract referred to—that most of those ships were built *in the private yards*!

is now rendered impossible, by a very judicious regulation, which compels all neutrals, of doubtful character, to consort together.

It is in times of great alarm, and under circumstances of emergency, that the importance of these establishments is to be estimated, which from their extent and preparation are constantly in a state to render immediate succour, and not in times like the present, when every unreflecting person sleeps at ease, satisfied that no mutinous spirit exists in our navy, that the whole coast of France is completely blockaded, and our fleets range the seas invincible.

A very few years ago these propositions were so universally conceded, and the importance of the British ship-builders as a body so well understood, that any statement on the subject would have been deemed absolutely superfluous, or perhaps ridiculed as the mere offspring of vanity and egotism : yet such is the change which has been effected within these few years, that speakers and writers are now to be found who question their merits, ridicule their apprehensions, stigmatize their efforts as the result of interested combination and undue influence, and even treat the annihilation of their establishments as a matter hardly to be deprecated, or perhaps rather to be promoted. And these great exertions and unwarranted attacks are made in favour of a new and alien interest, an interest which when first it shewed itself was favoured by no party, but which, having gained at first a temporary sanction, is now seeking not only permanence, but such advantages and encouragement as will finally drive the art of ship-building, with all its auxiliary employments, from the banks of the Thames to the shores of India.

The first trace of this innovation is to be found in the proceedings of the East India company in 1787. In that year Mr. David Scott proposed to the directors to employ India-built ships, under an allegation that the British ships could not be supplied with freight outward. The proposal was rejected, as not less pernicious than the pretext by which it was supported was unfounded.

But, notwithstanding this repulse, the favourers of the new project knew too well the effects of perseverance to give up their pretensions and their hopes. The late Lord Melville, so long the oracle on India affairs, espoused their cause, and in the years 1792 and 1793, the rejected plan was again brought forward, recommended in terms of specious generality, as being calculated to increase the exports of British manufactures and produce, and to bring home the *fortunes of individuals*. At this time, perhaps, it had not been clearly apprehended by any but those who were most intimately in the secret, that the defined end of this project was to raise a rivalry in India, which should altogether prevent the exportation of all those numerous and important British manufactures which are used in the structure and equipments of ships, and that the fortunes of individuals were to be brought home not in specie, bills, or such goods as would contribute to the revenue, and extend the scope of mercantile intercourse with foreign nations, but in shape of *ships ready built and equipped*, to be admitted to registry, and all the advantages of British built vessels, and thus to realize fortunes for the company's servants in Asia, by the

destruction of valuable establishments, and the ruin of meritorious individuals at home,

Under the general impression above alluded to, a bill was prepared * for allowing, *for a limited time* the importation of goods from India and China, and other parts within the limits of the exclusive trade of the East India Company, in ships *not* British built, nor registered as such; and for the exportation of goods from Great Britain by the same ships under certain restrictions.

Justly alarmed at the probable effects of such an innovation, although its ultimate objects were still concealed, the Ship-builders in the Port of London applied to government for protection, and received from Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville (then Mr. Dundas) the most positive assurances that the measure should only be limited and temporary. And in fact the act which afterwards passed, and is known as the 35 Geo. III. c. 11⁵, is limited in duration to the then existing war, and eighteen months after its termination, and contains some, though slight restrictions. Indeed, the Ship-builders could hardly contemplate the extension which has since been given to the plan of superseding their employment, when they found the minds of both the great statesmen they approached, impressed with the principle which Lord Melville afterward expressed in writing to them, when he said, 'the large ships built for the service of the East India Company have always appeared to me necessarily connected with the permanent interests of this country, in so far as they afford a steady and invariable employment to the ship-building interests of Great Britain, and, by that means, secure to its naval interests a ready supply of workmen and manufacturers of ship-building materials, when the *exigencies of the State may require it*.' His Lordship further said, that he gave it as his decided opinion, 'That the *whole of the China trade, and the whole of the regular trade*, of the East India company, should, if possible, be carried on only in the ships of the description of those to whom he had just alluded."

The security in which these declarations were calculated to lull the Ship-builders was increased by the conduct of the East India Company, who as a body, uniformly declared against the project for building ships in India for the purpose of registry in England. They employed much research, and by their committee drew up an able and luminous report* on the subject, in which, both by fact and argument, they disapproved and refuted all the assertions and reasonings advanced in favour of the plan. They undertook this task in consequence of letters on the subject transmitted by Lord Melville; and this correspondence was so conducted, that no doubt was entertained by the ship-builders that the statute of the 35th of the king would be permitted to expire at its appointed time, during the short peace of Amiens. To

* See Collection of these Reports published by J. M. Richardson, Cornhill, and Black and Co., Leadenhall-street, in octavo, 1809.

their great surprise, however, and without their having received the least intimation of the measure intended, an act received the royal assent on the 19th March, 1802, into which had been introduced a clause for continuing the effect of the former statute, *during the whole term of the company's charter.*

The passing of this act (42 Geo. III. c. 20.) was the more surprising, as it was known that a committee of the directors of the East India company were *at that time* employed in drawing up a report on the private trade and on ship building; and a report very shortly afterwards appeared, dated the 24th March, 1802, containing the decided and well-reasoned objections of the company against the measure proposed. But it appears that while the body was thus earnest in exposing the evils to be apprehended, some of its members were not less eager to secure the individual profit which might be expected, and had made their private arrangements for carrying to its greatest extent, a trade which the directors at large, *with the entire approbation of the proprietors*, and general assent of the public, deprecated as highly prejudicial to the best interests of the country.

Under the sanctions thus obtained, and with the capital and encouragement thus supplied, the business of ship-building in India has ever since proceeded. The general trade of the company is now rapidly centering itself in Indian built bottoms; the royal navy has ships of the line and frigates supplied from the shores of Asia; the proprietors of these establishments, encouraged by success, do not scruple to unfold their plan of dealing in ships, ready-built and equipped, *as an article of commerce*, in which they can easily undersell the British ship-builder; and, to extinguish at once every hope of advantage in the proprietors of British capital and the patrons of British industry, every article used in the equipment of these vessels, cordage, canvas, and iron, is to be *the produce and manufacture of India.* Copper is imported there from the south coast of America at much less cost than it can be purchased here.

The East India company obtain from these Asiatic ship builders their largest ships for their regular and China trade. Men of war and frigates are built in their docks; and from the extension of their employ, it now results, that in all the yards within the port of London, which have slips for constructing forty-one ships, *not a single ship is** building; and in their docks, which have accommodation for the refitting of sixty-two ships, eighteen only are undergoing repairs, and those but slight.

Such is the dangerous nature of innovation; such are the effects of a plan first brought forward in the most modest terms of self denial, and patronized by Lord Melville only with a reserve of a positive declaration, that 'the large ships built for the East India company are necessarily connected with the permanent interests of the country, as they afford a steady and invariable employment to the ship-building interests of Great Britain, and by that means secure to its naval in-

* March, 1814.

terest a steady supply of workmen and manufacturers of ship-building materials, when the exigency of the state may require it"

While this portentous state of things has been advancing upon them, the ship-builders and other persons connected with equipment of vessels have not omitted to express their apprehensions on the subject. Pens have been drawn and speeches made on the other side, in which their case has been variously treated; the persons interested assuming a different tone as their prosperity advanced, and their establishments promised to be permanent. At first, they kept in view the reserves which prevailed in the mind of Lord Melville, and treated their own manufacture as small and harmless, and the fears of the ship-builders of England as vain and groundless; but the mask is now thrown off, and they do not conceal that their hopes extend almost altogether to the annihilation of the London establishments; or if, in mercy, their existence is permitted, it is to be only as the means of manufacturing smaller vessels, and repairing the India-built ships, if their aid for that purpose shall be wanted; but which, from experience, since their introduction in 1794, is not to be relied on, as affording any relief to the shipwrights and other manufacturers here.

According to these persons, teak, the timber of which the Indian vessels are said to be made, grows in the British territories in Asia, and is, in all respects, preferable to oak; besides, the scarcity of oak timber in England does not allow of its extensive employ in ship-building, and this scarcity neither can, nor ought to be remedied. They do not hesitate to maintain that the private yards in England have, by their building of ships, disgraced and injured the navy; and, far from agreeing with Lord Melville on the importance of keeping together the artificers and manufacturers employed in the preparation of ships, they insist that there is no probability of their emigration, for that if not retained as shipwrights, they will find work as millwrights, wheelwrights, or house-carpenters, or obtain some other employ, so as to be easily supported, and their services will be obtained when wanted; though the emigration in 1802* must be in the recollection of every one acquainted with maritime affairs.

Some of these statements seem so wild and unfounded, that it would hardly be necessary to notice them, did it not appear, from the confidence with which they are advanced, that a *disposition exists somewhere* to press this measure to its utmost extent, without regarding too nearly the arguments by which it may be supported or opposed.

The great fact on which this whole project has been founded, is that of inexhaustible forests of teak growing within the British dominions, fit for Ship-building, and being left to waste, while an alarming and increasing scarcity is felt at home. The desire to turn this distant treasure to advantage has dazzled the sight and perplexed the judgment of speculators to such a degree, as to make them pursue

* See the letter addressed to the Admiralty in this year, on that subject.

† But see Colonel Symes and others.

the acquisition, at first indifferent to, and at length triumphant in, the calamity to be brought on the proprietors of establishments at home, and all who depend on them. Without inquiring too exactly, whether the ships manufactured in India are built all of teak, or whether the wood of which they are made does grow entirely within the British dominions; it would be well to consider, in a more extensive way, whether the building of British vessels of English timber is a measure of policy which ought so easily to be given up; and whether the growth of oak at home, and its importation in the manner hitherto used, ought not to be still strenuously promoted and encouraged by an adherence to old legislative provisions.

India is not yet properly to be considered as a British colony, but it is rapidly assuming that character. When peace should have given leisure for the information of new associations, when the want of immediate protection is not so strongly felt as at present, and when the power of the East India Company shall have received a few more assaults from enterprising individuals, or rival bodies, their territory will in no respect differ from that which is properly called a colony. The rational fears expressed by the directors, in their excellent Report of the 27th of January, 1801, will be rapidly realized, and after encouraging a manufacture and trade to the extent to which that in question will be carried, they will in vain exert their enfeebled energies in an endeavour to prevent those independent commercial enterprises which will have the effect they so justly deprecate, of presenting the British character in a new and degrading light before the natives, introducing bands of needy, fallacious, and desperate adventurers, and weakening by means of a separate British interest, the important and delicate cause of British ascendancy.

In commercial respects, it is difficult, even now, to distinguish the British dominions in India from a colony; the same general principles are applicable to each; the same course must be pursued, *the same errors must be avoided*, to give prosperity to both.

It is a truth little disputed, that colonies or alien establishments become burthensome, and cease to be useful, when their productions, natural or manufactured, *are the same* with those of the parent or governing state. India, at the first view, would seem as little likely as any spot on the face of the earth, to become in that way injurious to Great Britain. Yet, by the ingenuity of commercial cupidity, means *have been found* to render that country the rival of England in the building and equipment of ships, and in all the arts contributory thereto. The legislative vigilance, which prevents the importation of a silk or a muslin handkerchief, is lulled to sleep; and while a ready clamour would be raised at an attempt which might tend to injure the manufactures of *Spital Fields*, or of the *linen districts*, the complaints of those who would preserve to the country one of **ITS MOST VITAL ARTS** are treated with scorn, as the outcry of half-a-dozen interested individuals. In all cases of grievance or hardship, the oppressed or interested parties must necessarily be the first to complain; but when their case is once fairly committed to public

investigation, it becomes a public concern ; it is to be judged by its importance and its truth, and not to be prejudiced by an arrogant assumption of disinterestedness, unbecoming in any, but most unbecoming in those, who heedless of the ruin to be brought on domestic establishments of acknowledged value and utility, patronize to the most dangerous extent an alarming innovation, set on foot with hardly a pretext of public good, by a very few interested individuals. If the personal interests engaged are to have any weight in the question, the proprietors of the yards on the Thames have no reason to shrink from a competition with Bowmanjee, or Nowrajee, or those for whose personal advantage this cause is so warmly taken up. In truth, it is degrading and unjust to consider it otherwise than as a GREAT NATIONAL QUESTION ; if unworthy of regard on that score, personal considerations can lead only to wavering counsels and impolitic conclusions.

The question, however, is not, nor can a question of this nature be, confined to the sufferers in the metropolis. In the conflict of commercial enterprize, the evil inflicted on one party must be felt by all ; and the injustice exercised toward the Ship-builders in the Port of London, must, in its effect, greatly injure those of other parts of the kingdom. The trade which they now enjoy without competition will be an object of desire to the London builders, and in the new division of an insufficient manufacture, some establishments will, with difficulty, be able to maintain themselves, and many must sink altogether.

Before the delusive plan of forming the English navy, military and commercial, entirely of Indian timber is permitted to gain too firm hold on the public mind, it may be well to consider its effect on the European commerce and connexions of Great Britain. If the dealing with the British North American colonies, which has of late employed so many British ships and British seamen, and with the northern nations for ship-timber, must be given up, the latter will of course be eagerly seized by the enemy ; by that country, in particular, which, under every form of government, and in every possible form of administration, has been, and must continue to be, the rival, and, subject to a greater or less degree of rancour, the enemy of England. It may be said that the trade with the Baltic is a losing trade, the pecuniary balance being always against this country. In the counting-house, the argument would not be without weight ; but in a political discussion it must be light indeed. The warmth of regard felt toward the British nation by every class of men in Russia, Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark, a regard which has tempered the heat of misguided ministers, mitigated the hostilities arising from an ill-judged confidence in our implacable foe, and finally led to those arrangements and efforts to which Europe may ascribe her freedom and her happiness, has been maintained chiefly, if not solely, through the influence of the trade which it is now proposed to destroy. The supposed commercial loss on the part of England has operated as a perpetual imperceptible subsidy, purchasing, not the march of troops,

or some temporary limited effort of government, but the powerful influence arising from the affection of the majority of the people, an influence founded not on the caprice or the occasional views of any part of the nation, but on the ascertained interests and experienced good of all. Are we ready to forego this influence?—France will be alert in securing it. The politics of that country uniformly tend to the acquisition of ascendancy, wherever they can establish a connexion; and its rulers have shewn, on all occasions, that expence or apparent sacrifice were objects of small consideration, when opposed to the accomplishment of their favourite views.

The great arguments on which the supporters of the Indian-built vessels rely are, the excellence and plenty of the teak, and the scarcity and imperfect condition of the British oak. Of teak, it is averred, "that its durability exceeds that of the best oak; it requires little seasoning, and never shrinks; it does not splinter when struck with shot; bears exposure to the heat of the torrid zone, and the cold of the frozen ocean, without injury; and is therefore, perhaps, the only timber in the world that can stand the changes of climate to which ships are subject, when employed on long and distant voyages. It is also said to be more peculiarly adapted for ship-building from its quality of preserving iron, in consequence of its containing a considerable quantity of oil, and no ligneous acid." All this may be true, or, at most, subject only to the deductions which prudence ever makes from the warm statement of a zealous advocate; but the value of the eulogy is much diminished by the admission made by the same advocate, that *Indian built and teak ships* are not to be considered as synonymous terms. For Bombay, he claims the praise of building none but the very best ships, and of the very best materials and workmanship; but Bombay has no means of producing above two ships in a year. "On the river Hoogly," it seems, "building-yards have been constructed by individuals, where ships are built on contract for sale, and *teak of an inferior quality, and other kinds of timber*, less durable are introduced.—These ships," the advocate proceeds, "*though excellent*, are, of course, not held in such estimation as the Bombay-built ships."*

Considering that all the topics which natural history and the history of shipping can supply, have been here exhausted by the patrons of the new attempt, in discussions on the dry rot, and in exposing the clumsiness, ignorance, and inattention of the British ship-builders, this statement is not a little astonishing. The necessity of felling oak at one season of the year only; the inevitable destruction resulting from the use of any wood, but that which has been most carefully

* See also Col. Symes's Embassy, vol. iii. p. 267, wherein he observes, "That a durable vessel of burthen can *not* be built in the river of Bengal, except by the aid of teak plank, which is procurable from *Pegue alone*." He likewise remarks, "that ships have been constructed of *Saul and of other indigenous timber* of Bengal; but on trial they were *not* found to be serviceable!"

selected and adapted; and the gross absurdity of constructing ships with different species of timber, have all been expatiated on, and the ship-builders at home reproached for their ignorance or neglect in such important particulars. In the very paper from which the above observation is extracted, the English ship-builders are described as a proud, wealthy, degenerate race, unacquainted with the business in which they have employed their capital. Yet, although these errors and defects are so striking in England, an Indian speculator may establish yards whether he reside in or near them or not; he may build ships with inferior timber; with timber of different kinds, some more and some less durable; and he may employ workmen not capable of equalling those who can only do a quarter of the work performed by an English shipwright; and, after all, his ships shall, by this fair and candid instructor of the public, be pronounced *excellent*.

To give foundation to the claims of the Indian ship-builders, it is assumed, that Great Britain does not produce a sufficient quantity of oak timber for the construction of shipping and the various other purposes about which it is employed. *This is a mischievous and a dangerous clamour.* Much assertion, much specious calculation, and much delusive argument are used to produce a desponding belief, that the crisis is fast approaching, that it is even arrived, when Great Britain must no longer look to HERSELF for the means of forming a navy; and the zeal of argumentation is even carried so far, as to assert, that individuals, in attempting to aid the public cause by planting oak, are acting foolishly, sacrificing the produce of their land, and seriously injuring their families. The assertions are as void of truth as the arguments are of judgment and sense. THE SCARCITY OF OAK TIMBER NEVER HAS EXISTED BUT IN SUPPOSITION; nor has government ever found delay or difficulty in the execution of any order, *however sudden or extensive*, through the want of oak. When the unskilful parsimony of a short-sighted minister had left the public stores naked of those resources which were requisite for the formation of a navy, the ship-builders of London took upon themselves the task of supplying the deficiency, and with a punctuality and dispatch beyond all precedent, furnished a great proportion of that navy,* which, during the present war, has constituted the glory and security of the empire. That a sudden demand, joined to the other circumstances of the times, has raised the price of oak, is beyond all dispute, but never beyond the advance in price of other articles of the produce of the soil; but what commodity in extensive use is there, which has not experienced an equal or greater advance? A reference to the account of the Navy Board, and the Board of Ordnance; and to the testimony of their officers, and to some of the persons employed by the commissioners of the woods and forests, would shew that there neither is, nor is there reason to apprehend, a scarcity of oak timber in Great Britain. *A fair allowance for land-carriage* would always secure oak

* See the account presented to the House of Commons, dated the 5th April, 1813.

timber of the *largest* dimensions for the public service, if the public wants were prudently anticipated.

Indeed, on the face of the argument adduced on the other side, the supposition of a scarcity of oak is absurd. The advocates for the Indian ships assert, that the demand for oak timber, exclusively of that employed in ship-building, is great, and rapidly increasing; and that the price keeps pace with the demand. If that be so, it is repugnant to the first principles which regulate commercial opinion to suppose that the progressive augmentation of supply will not meet the advancing exigency. There is no instance in the history of industrious and intelligent people, where a liberal price and a brisk and regular demand have not produced a copious supply; production is only checked by prohibition, by undue interference, and by speculative importation, which relax hope, impede enterprise, and discourage perseverance. This appears to be one of the principal engines of the adversaries of the British ship-builders, and it is employed even to the extent of calculating how much a man would lose in one hundred years, by planting an acre of land with oak, instead of letting it at one pound, and laying out each year's rent at compound interest. Such childish essays certainly never did, and it is hoped never can, turn the scale in a great national question.

But the British ship-builders have, most of all things, reason to complain of a system of abuse and calumny levelled against them, and which aims not merely to decide the existing question to their disadvantage, but to make the public believe that their establishments are conducted on such principles that the property and lives embarked in ships constructed by them are through their ignorance, carelessness, and selfishness, hourly endangered, and often wantonly thrown away. To aid this impression, in a *late publication*, an enumeration is made of the Thames-built Indiamen which have foundered at sea during the present century. The number is twelve; the first ship mentioned was nineteen years old when she went down, and of the circumstances attending the fate of the others not a syllable is mentioned; but it is roundly asserted that such are the weak and defective ships constructed for commerce by the Thames-builders. The cause of truth could never have required the aid of such coarse and venomous calumny. If these ships were so weak and defective, how extraordinary is it, that at the very time when most of them were upon the water, and had been so some years, the letter of Lord Melville, and the resolutions of the East India Company, should both contain such positive expressions of approbation and sanction, to the labours of these calumniated builders, as have already been cited, and appear more at large in those documents. It would certainly be more than extraordinary, it would be wonderful, that these wretched defects should escape the observation of the Company, whose views are directed by judgment, and quickened by interest; and of Lord Melville, whose indefatigable zeal in every thing relating to India, led him to collect every kind of information, examine

every branch of every service, and labour to detect abuse and mismanagement in whatever department it existed.

The India Company *never underwrite*, and therefore their shipping surveyors are most particular in their attention to the *strength* of their ships, and even subject themselves to the scurrilous animadversions of interested persons, who hesitate not to say, that, upon this point, the surveyors exceed the limits of their duty: there are many causes to which the dreadful calamity alluded to might, with propriety, be attributed, but the most probable conjecture is, that the ships were overtaken by a hurricane, which sometimes occurs in the Indian seas, of such tremendous power, as to set the art and efforts of man at defiance. But coolly to attribute the melancholy loss of two thousand unhappy sufferers to the negligence of men, whose interest (leaving every other consideration out of the question) prompts them rather to exceed, than fall short of giving the requisite strength and security to the ships in the Company's service, is such an instance of malevolence, as none but a demon is supposed to possess.

The enumeration above alluded to, is made to introduce and grace the assertion, that "with one solitary exception, there is no instance on record of a Bombay-built teak merchant ship having foundered at sea." The assertion would be of more value, if the number of these inestimable ships in proportion to those built in Great Britain had been stated, together with their ages and circumstances. It does indeed appear, that between January, 1794, and April, 1813, seventy-six black ships of all sorts and sizes have been launched, of which forty-eight are taken, burnt, lost, worn out, or unaccounted for. How many of these were *Bombay-built teak* ships does not appear, but allowing them their fair proportion, and supposing the others to be *excellent* ships built of teak and other timber mixed; the result is not so very flattering to the Indian undertakers, as to warrant their advocates in reviling those whom they are seeking to ruin.

If the East India Company have a right to complain of the Thames-built ships, government, according to these advocates, have much stronger reasons to lament that the public service has been supplied from the private yards. From the industry and enterprise of the private Ship-builders, it is allowed that five hundred and seventy ships of the present navy have proceeded; but still the friends of Indian Ship-building do not hesitate to wish, and to hope, that we shall never see again a single ship of the line set upon the stocks of a private yard, and few frigates. Indeed, of all that is alleged of the badness of timber, slovenliness of workmanship, fraud and ignorance, displayed in these structures, is justly charged on the builders, it is wonderful that they should so long have been employed, or that the government which has permitted them to build five hundred and seventy of the ships for His Majesty's service should not have been impeached.

But to prove that the prejudice which has been excited either by ignorant or interested persons, or the adherents to the different parties which exist in the naval departments, against the private builders, is founded in a design to misrepresent, or in misconception of the nature

of the agreements entered into with the Navy Board by the private builder, and of the general system of superintendence, by the officers of government during the performance of the work, as well as of the times allotted for seasoning the timber and plank, and the method which the contractor adopts for obtaining his timber, also the modes by which he conducts his establishment, and completes his contract, it will only be necessary to state the nature of the engagement which the private builder enters into with government.

When the Navy Board deemed it expedient to build by contract, tenders are advertised for, and a day and hour appointed for receiving them sealed. They contain the price at which the contractor will engage to build the ship, agreeably to a written form of contract, specifying dimensions and scantlings, and including very minutely every article and particular; also drawings of every part are exhibited, to which the contractor binds himself to conform, in the most literal manner, without the slightest deviation; and consequently he is not held in the least responsible for the failure of any part of the construction of the ship, whether it be a deficiency in strength, stability, burthen, or sailing, provided the materials be good and the workmanship properly performed.

To insure these points, a *resident overseer*, selected as an experienced shipwright from a government yard, is appointed to superintend the building of a ship, with power to reject any of the materials which appear to be defective, and to communicate weekly, to the Navy Board, the progress, and every circumstance worthy of their notice.

During the whole time the ship is building, the overseer is assisted by the carpenter, appointed by the Navy Board to sail in the ship.

The assistant surveyor of the navy twice a week inspects, very minutely, every part of the work in its progress; and the principal surveyor, who is always an experienced shipwright, and at the head of his profession, visits the yard occasionally, generally monthly, sometimes oftener, and his decision, in case of difference of opinion, between the builder and overseer, as to the fitness of any materials or workmanship is final and binding.

In addition to this arrangement for superintendence, the private yards are always open to the public, and any one is at liberty to inspect the ship, *without being questioned as to the object of his visit*; so that even if the government officers were inclined to favour the contractor, by the concealment of any defect or blunder, it is totally out of their power to prevent its being known; and a public disclosure of their mismanagement would subject them to the censure of their superiors, and perhaps the loss of their employments.

The intercourse and interchange of workmen between the king's and the large private yards is so frequent, that the work in both establishments may be fairly said to be performed by one set of artificers.

In the private yards, the restraints as to times and hours of attendance are not so rigid as in the king's yards, yet the work in the private yards, on the banks of the Thames, is required to be, and

generally is, equal to the work done in his Majesty's yards; although, perhaps, in many things which do not eventually form a part of the ship, but are rather the implements for carrying on the work, that neat, and of course expensive, method, which serves merely to please the eye, is not pursued.

It is notorious, that some commanders, and even admirals, have an unfavourable opinion of ships built in the private yards; yet there is not one of them, who, if he were put on board a new seventy-four gun ship built in the river Thames, could determine, or would even venture to give an opinion, whether it was built in the king's or in a private yard. By the workmanship, it could not be discovered, and only perhaps by the materials, from a practice in the king's yards of permitting defective planks to be wrought in the upper works, and of having those defects amended, by large unsightly pieces, of which practice the contractor is not allowed to avail himself, and therefore, it follows, that it is rather by the defects, than the superiority, that king's built ships may be distinguished.

The timber used by the private builders is allowed by all persons, conversant with business, to be superior to that used in the king's yards, as it is bought to *suit the purpose* more exactly than it can be by government. By them, defective overgrown timber is received from the Royal Forests, as well as from the contracting timber merchants, which would ruin the private builder to receive into his yard; and the time allotted for seasoning the ship, whilst building, is stated in the contract to be *as long as the Navy Board may require*: so that were the premature decay, which some private built ships, in common with those built in the king's yards, have sometimes fallen into, dependant upon what is called seasoning, which absolutely it is not, yet the private builder is not answerable for it. There is not any timber, however seasoned, but will afford sustenance to the fungus which is generated in what is called mildew, in damp places, whether it be in a cellar or in a ship; and such is the destructive property of this fungus, that the timber upon which it is permitted to vegetate, is decomposed in a few months; which timber, had it not been subject to the insidious attacks of such a devouring harpy, would probably have endured several centuries.

With consistent illiberality, the calumniators of the British Ship-builders impute to them the existence of the dry rot in the Royal Navy. One of them says, "By way of drying the dripping-wet timbers, stoves with charcoal are placed in various parts of the ship. The pent-up heat acting upon the moisture, soon brings forth plentiful crops of mushrooms; hence the origin of the new and fashionable disorder, named the dry-rot, unknown in former days in ships of war, but which has produced, in our times, as many doctors and remedies as the fanciful diseases of the human body."

If all this evil has accrued to the navy in recent times, through the misconduct of the private builders, what censure ought not the public to bestow on those superintendants who have so ill-deserved the pay they have received, as to sanction such abuses; or if they

have complained of them, what opinion can be formed of the Boards to which they have complained without effect? But whatever may be said of *fanciful* diseases, he must be a very fanciful writer who treats the dry-rot in timber as a modern malady. The distinction between the dry-rot and the common-rot may have been, within this half century, more accurately ascertained than it was before, but the decay of ships through the premature unsoundness of the timbers, the need of repair soon after launching, and the extent and price of those repairs, have been the subjects of serious declamation and acrimonious satire, long before the private yards produced many ships for the public service, and in times *when government was obliged to repel the very same charges which are now so unjustly brought forward to ruin individuals.*

It is said by the writer from whom the last extract was made, that "during the administration of the naval department under Lord Sandwich, than whom one of more ability or energy has not presided either before or since, almost all the modern inventions of boiling, stoving, stewing, and charring, pickling with salt, impregnating with oil, burying in sand, in lime, &c. were submitted to the test of experiment."

Lord Sandwich well deserves the eulogy which is here bestowed on him, and the frequent repetition of it is but a slight compensation for the barbarous obloquy with which he was so often assailed by the patriots of his own day, and the ready echoes of all their malevolence. He was three times at the head of the naval department; first, from 1748 to 1751, after having been for four preceding years a junior Lord of the Admiralty; second, from April to September, 1763; and last, from 1771 to 1782. If it was during the last of these administrations that the experiments in question were made, they must have taken place between thirty and forty years ago, at a time when the private yards were not so extensively as of late employed in building for government; the disease which was to be cured and prevented by so many expedients could not, even then, have been quite "modern," and the knowledge of its existence and effects, and the earnest desire for its eradication, were implanted in a mind strong and vigorous by nature, and enlightened by official experience of thirty years' standing. Have not the ship-builders much right to complain when attempts are made to excite prejudice against them, by charges so unfounded, and statements so incongruous?

It is supposed that the decay of ships would be prevented by the exclusive use of winter-felled timber. The felling in the Royal forests can, of course, be regulated by those who have the superintendence of those domains; with respect to oak that is private property, if the superior excellence of timber so felled can be demonstrated, there is no doubt but that means may be found to secure a supply of it by contract. The necessity (if it be possible) of taking the bark while the tree is standing, and the disadvantage of employing the woodman only in the shortest days, must inevitably enhance the price; but if the safety and durability of ships can be attained,

the expence would never be considered; indeed it would return with interest. The instances at present cited do not prove much. Of the Royal William, a miracle of soundness, little is known*: the Montagu, built in 1779, of winter-felled oak, has answered its purposes most satisfactorily; but another ship, which was built, half of this timber, and half of that which was cut at other seasons, was broken up, after a certain time of service, and *both her parts* had equally yielded to decay.

Much has been stated in favour of the cheapness with which the public are supplied with ships built in the King's yards, and the difference is said to be as 28*l.* is to 33*l.* 10*s.* per ton, making an excess of 5*l.* 10*s.* per ton, or about 8000*l.* on the tonnage of a seventy-four. The estimate, upon which this assertion is founded, is drawn from the contract prices of the materials served into the King's yards, and from the prices, which are allowed by the Navy Board, for labour only for the respective parts of the ship, without including the immense expence of forming and maintaining the King's yards, the salaries of officers, expences of purveying and converting timber, and for carrying on the works of the ship, keeping the accounts, or for wear and tear of slips, wharfs, and warehouses, or the expence of horses and their attendants, which of course must be included in the price allowed to the private builder, besides an adequate profit, on a work of such magnitude, and involving so much responsibility, as necessarily attaches to the building of a seventy-four gun ship. And further, the estimate is founded upon the net quantities of materials required, without reference to the cost of those articles, which in making so large a selection as a seventy-four requires prove unfit and useless; or to the waste of cordage, staging, and utensils, which are consumed in the progress of the building, but which do not form a part of the ship. Nor is there in this estimate any allowance for the plunder which takes place in every dock yard in the kingdom, and which produces such numerous and expensive prosecutions. If these circumstances were taken into consideration, and included in the estimate, with a due allowance made for conducting public concerns, we might fairly make the assertion, that the public obtains three seventy-four gun ships from the private builders, for the same sum which two cost in the king's yard.

The East India company having been established in London, their shipping has always been supplied by the builders upon the banks of the Thames, except in one or two instances, in the commencement of the trade, when the company found it expedient to resort to Ireland, for two or three ships (which were not approved of,) to quiet the alarm which arose in the public mind, from a prevalent opinion

* The Royal William was planked under water with beech, which, if used before it becomes doted, answers the purpose quite as well as English oak, and so will elm or foreign oak: attention to this circumstance alone would occasion a very material saving of native oak.

that the ships which the company built were destructive of naval timber.*

To such an extent did this prejudice reach, that in a pamphlet of the day, in the year 1616, it was asserted, that a circuit of fifty miles round London, would not produce enough timber to build such another ship as the "*Trade's Increase*," which was about eleven hundred tons, and was lost on the first voyage. If there was the least foundation for such an assertion, what a difference in the state of timber at that time, and the present; since many parks in the vicinity of the metropolis contain, singly, a quantity sufficient for such a ship. The dread of scarcity has probably promoted the growth of oak, and the same principle will continue to operate, to an extent scarcely to be imagined.

Timber has recently borne so fair a price, that every landlord has become particularly careful to have the hedge-rows preserved, and this source alone will abundantly supply the current demands of commerce; and those reasoners can hardly be deemed friendly to government, who labour to excite and confirm apprehensions of scarcity when they have tens of thousands of acres of woodlands that only require protection. The substitution of cast iron instead of oak, in steam-engines, mills, bridges, &c. &c. materially lessens the consumption of large timber.

The ship-building establishments on the Thames having had their origin about the time of the commencement of the East India Company, have kept pace with the growing prosperity of the country, and having been accustomed to build large merchant ships, they have been constantly employed by government, during war, to build line of battle ships.

This regular succession of employment, in peace and war, has, at length, created a body of efficient artificers, equal to any demand or emergency; but should the system be pursued, of resorting to other countries for a supply of merchant ships, it will shut up the source of employment in peace; and as the public yards cannot maintain their full establishment in peace, when that event occurs, the workmen destitute of employment, will have no other alternative but dispersion

* In 1640 the East India company were offered a ship upon freight 25l. per ton. and as it appeared by a calculation that their own shipping stood them in 31l. per ton. she was chartered, and performed the voyage in eleven months, being the shortest that at that period had ever been known.—As this proved an advantageous concern to the owners, others were led by degrees to follow their example: so that the company's trade for a time was carried on partly by their own, and partly by hired shipping. The country at length being furnished with such a *stock of shipping*, that the company could rely upon being supplied with tonnage sufficient for their annual wants, by the hire of ships upon freight, they *relinquished* the practice of building their own ships, and sold their dock-yards; since which time, with but few exceptions, the East India company's capital has ceased to be invested in shipping.

or emigration. Also, as it will not be possible to rear young men in time of peace, in the private yards, without having ships to build, the State may be driven to the necessity of depending upon *Asia* for a supply of *shipwrights*, as well as *ships*, the former of which would make a deplorable figure on the lakes of North America, whither it has recently been deemed expedient that a number of fine young men should be *hastily* conveyed, as the immediate safety of our dominions in that quarter depended upon prompt relief. Now, if it were not certain that the places of these young men could be immediately supplied, by entries of shipwrights from the private yards, this measure might have occasioned some hesitation on the part of government, and in case the legislature should not deem it necessary to interfere in behalf of the Home Interests, the private building establishments will be so much reduced, that this resource will fail to government, in future.

The extent and importance of the establishments proposed to be sacrificed are perhaps but little known. Those on the banks of the Thames consist of extensive waterside premises, expensive to make, and burthensome to uphold in repair, the cost of a common single dry dock, being about fifteen thousand pounds, and that of a slip about three thousand pounds, the mold loft, sawpits, and other buildings, from ten to twenty thousand pounds, in proportion to the magnitude of the concern.

Four or five officers are constantly employed, besides watchmen, warders, and labourers, amounting to about ten men, besides from forty to fifty apprentices; this forms the establishment, and must be maintained at the builder's expence at all times; but when the yard has an average proportion of work, the number of men employed, including artificers and labourers, is upwards of two hundred, and in many cases five or six hundred, in proportion to the emergency. The apprentices are allowed by the builder to be taken into the yard, to assist the widows and indigent workmen who have boys upon their hands, and have no other means of maintaining them; these lads are paid in proportion to what they earn, and thus having a constant stimulus to industry and exertion, soon form a very efficient class of useful intelligent men, who in cases of great difficulty, and extreme danger, are more to be relied on for acting in concert (when the will goes with the deed) than any other set of men who can be procured. The constant habit they are in of working and carrying together, and assisting each other, and the nature of their employment, render them both strong and active, and it not being the practice, as it is in the King's yards, to use horses, the whole of the component parts of the ship is carried on the shoulders of the men; and were it not for that determined spirit (which nothing but long habit can give) of standing up under the greatest pressure, as long as bones and sinews obey the will, that accidents would be tenfold what they now are; and to those who are unacquainted with the method of doing the work of Ship-building in a merchant's yard, the fatigue which a shipwright frequently undergoes, would appear incredible.

Some persons have no notion of appreciating the different degrees of labour, and a stay-maker or a tailor, a plaisterer or a paper-hanger, is rated in the scale as high as a shipwright, and deemed worthy of as much daily wages, without considering that from the nature of the employment of a shipwright, it is only in the prime of life that he can hope to make much of his skill and strength; and yet each individual of the above classes earns more per day than a shipwright, and by working under cover is not subject to the vicissitudes of weather, and having a steady engagement is not liable to twenty weeks cessation of employment, which has lately been and is now the case with the merchant shipwright, whose only resource is going to sea, and thereby subjecting himself all the rest of his life to be impressed as a sea-faring man! His case is indeed a most deplorable one: having arrived at the termination of a war in which his exertions have been conspicuously useful, for by our naval superiority, numerically as well as heroically, the enemy has long since been beaten off the ocean; yet, as a reward, the shipwright is now thought to be no longer useful, and is to be cast off an exile and a beggar!

The apprehensions entertained for these great establishments and their numerous hands, are treated, by the Naval Philosophers of the new school, as mere idle chimeras, calculated to alarm the weak, but not to convince the wise. If the pressure of business during war has called from their usual employments millwrights, wheelwrights, house carpenters, joiners, all who could handle an axe, an adze, or an augre, they, it is supposed, may, when no longer wanted, fall back into their old ranks, if they find that others have fixed themselves in their places: the projector presents no remedy or alternative. The Shipbuilders, if their capital is unemployed, may seek to gain business, it is said, by doing a great portion of work at a low price. The artizan, it is affirmed, cannot migrate: America has more shipwrights than can find employment; and France more ships than she can man.

Were not these things seriously set down, it would be difficult to believe that they had entered into the human mind as reasons on a grave and important subject. If America is really so indifferent about seducing English subjects into the snare of citizenship, much injustice is done to her by those who have animated Great Britain to the present just and truly national war. If France has no need of shipwrights, she has been long and grossly calumniated by those who have affirmed that her present navy, such as it is, has been produced by the enforced service of all who could, and many who could not, handle the tools they were commanded to work with.

The evil deprecated by the ship-builders is more extensive, and of more general import, than the temporary desertion of their workmen. A momentary want might point out the means of a permanent supply; they fear such a diminution in the causes of employing their men, as will occasion the trade itself to be considered as one capable of affording permanent subsistence only to a few, will prevent it from being the proper mean for the engagement of a large capital, and

by confining hope, prevent that useful enterprise, which in every art, leads to the highest degrees of perfection.

And at what time is this to be attempted? Just then when government, sensible of the advantage to be derived from the union of science with manual skill and corporeal industry, have determined to derive from study, and philosophical investigation, all that can be obtained toward the perfection of ship-building. On this head, a principal opponent of the ship-builders furnishes a curious and valuable piece of information. "By the King's Order in Council, Sept. 20, 1809," he says, "a superior class of shipwrights' apprentices has been established at the dock-yard of Portsmouth. It consists of twenty-five young men of liberal education, who, before admittance, must be examined by the professor of the royal naval college, and the instructor in the theory of naval architecture. Their mornings are passed in the study of mathematics and mechanics, and in the application of them to naval architecture; in drawing the different parts of a ship, and making complete draughts and plans. The remainder of the day is employed under the master shipwright in the mould-loft, and in all the various kinds of manual labour connected with ship-building, as well as in the management and conversion of timber, so as to make them fully acquainted with the detail of the duties of a practical shipwright. The last year of their apprenticeship is to be served at sea, to afford them an opportunity of acquiring some practical knowledge in the steering, sailing, trimming, and ballasting: during which the order directs, they shall mess with the officers, and be treated, in all respects, as gentlemen. Nothing can be more judicious than such an establishment; and, we understand, that a number of young men of the highest promise have already been entered; among whom we may hope for future surveyors of the navy, who will excel the French in the science of naval architecture, as much as our shipwrights, at present, surpass theirs in the practice of the art."

May all such wishes be realized to their fullest extent! British talent wants only proper direction, and proper employ, to defy the rivalry of the proudest opponent; and, considering that it proceeds from the pen of an enemy, the praise in the concluding part of the extract is of no inconsiderable value. But should the project, at present so zealously pursued, succeed to the desired extent, there is every reason to apprehend that future surveyors of the navy will have few British shipwrights to enlighten with their knowledge, or guide by their judgment.

The fashionable air of raillery assumed by the opponents of the English Ship-builders, renders the use of some arguments rather difficult. An enumeration, derived from a very old and popular author, of the various trades which derive benefit from the equipment of ships, has furnished some topics of merriment. It was never meant to be said, that the measure now so eagerly pressed could ruin *all* these, but some will feel it most sensibly, and even vitally.

The removal of the building of ships for the East India Company to

the continent of Asia, will not only affect those persons immediately concerned in their building and equipment, but every landholder throughout the empire. The constant and uniform demand for timber has been hitherto chiefly owing to the East India ships being built in England, and the useful competition in the timber trade, which that measure has occasioned, has encouraged the proprietors of land, by the certainty of a ready sale, to promote the growth of timber generally throughout Great Britain. But should the transfer of building ships for the East India Company to India leave the agents of government the only purchasers in the timber market, then the grower of that article, being entirely at their mercy, will find the value of timber considerably depreciated. Oak timber being no longer in perpetual demand, will not bear a sufficient price to render it an immediate object of attention, and thus, from the very methods adopted, to prevent an imaginary evil, a real scarcity will be produced.

The ruin of the Ship-builders seems to be contemplated with triumph, as an act of justice, rather than with compassion, as one of hardship. Their interests are too worthless to be weighed in the scale by those who decree their destruction; but however harsh this judgment may seem, the evil which will befall them will be wide-spreading and general. Their interests are connected with the interest, safety, and glory, of the State, and the circumstances of the country demand that a strict and fostering attention should be paid to the well-being of a manufacture which cannot, without the most imminent danger, be suffered to languish in neglect, and fall into decay. Experience has shewn how important are the exertions of the private builders; the events which have already occurred, may be again produced by time and accident; and were Britain reduced to depend for her navy on the supplies to be derived from distant settlements, and from artificers whose prompt exertions she could not ensure, an age not far distant might see her attempting in vain to raise the Trident she could no longer wield, and fruitlessly endeavouring to reanimate those energies which have hitherto astonished and controuled the world.

Southey's Carmen Triumphale, and the Edinburgh Review.
To the Editor.

SIR,

The extracts lately inserted in your work, from the notes to Mr. Southey's *Carmen Triumphale*, must have excited some curiosity in your readers, to know how the editor of the *Review*, to which those notes refer, could defend himself against so powerful an attack. To me, I own, it appeared, that silence would have been his safest policy. The terrible manner, in which (to use a pugilistic phrase) he had been *punished* by the laureat, reminded me of the contest between Ulysses and Irus; and I thought, that having felt one blow of the weighty fist, he would have had little appetite for another. However, I perceive, by the last number of the *review*, which is just put into my hand, that he has again cited Mr. Southey to his

bar, to answer for the offence of poetic composition ; for you must necessarily have observed, Sir, that in the eyes of the northern critic, all authorship is a species of petit treason. His motto is *Judex damnatur cum nocens absolvitur*. He, of course, acts the part of the police magistrate of Parnassus himself, and assigns to every writer, in prose or verse, the character of the culprit. Where such is the spirit of judicial investigation, we can easily anticipate the sentence. Justice Midas, you know, condemned Apollo himself to transportation.

The reviewer sets out by declaring, that " if the Laureat had been contented with getting up an ode of the ordinary length, and had printed it, *in a quiet way*, in the newspapers," he would have let him off gently ; but, *alas !* the wicked bard has ventured to appear " in quarto," and *infandum dictu !* " with notes ! " *Hinc illæ lacrymæ*. The notes, the terrible notes, could not suffer the conscience of this virtuous *Angelo* to sleep ; and accordingly, with all due solemnity, he proceeds to examine into the offence.

The poem itself was sufficiently culpable. It told " the old story of the war in the Peninsula." One can easily understand, why *the old story* should so much disagree with the Reviewer's stomach. Besides, " it abused the French," and that " in a dull style." If one were to hint that the French had ever and anon been bepraised, in a style at least as dull, it would amount to no more than the figure of speech called in rhetoric a *Tu quoque* ; and after all, *de gustibus non est disputandum*. Some people will find all censure of our national enemy, a mighty dull thing ; and some will not be able to discover why he should always be extolled ; but one little error of the Reviewers it seems proper to notice. By the words France, and the French, he invariably means nobody but Buonaparte and his adherents. Now this, in some measure, detracts from that universality of application, which, I doubt not, the learned gentleman would desire his theorems to possess. Be it known to him, that there are a great many Frenchmen, who detest Buonaparte ; nay, who have even shaken off his yoke ; and I do not find, that Mr. Southey has at all abused them for it. On the contrary, it is manifest, that in this very poem, he has done what in him lay to prompt them to so manly and honourable a measure.

The Reviewer having decided on the " meanness of the materials of the poem," it was a thing of course that he should censure " the poorness of its execution ; " and he has certainly fallen on a mode of proving a part of his accusation, no less ingenious, than candid. In order to demonstrate that the poem is prosaic, he *ex officio* changes it into plain prose ; that is to say, he prints it as such ; and, in some instances, even helps the transmutation by a change of the very words. I have heard of a pious person, who, thinking metre a very wicked thing, took the pains to divest *Paradise Lost* of that ornament. His work began, somewhat in this way : " O heavenly spirit, relate the first disobedience of man, and his tasting the forbidden fruit." The motive of this pious transposer was, perhaps, more

respectable, than that of the critic ; but his labour was about as foolish. Nevertheless, after all that the latter has done to mar the beauty and grandeur of Mr. Southey's numbers, I think one may yet distinguish in these mangled passages the *disjecti membra poetæ*. Sure I am, that if the metamorphosed stanzas are to be denominated prose, they are some of the best prose I ever read in the *Edinburgh Review*.

It will be seen with half an eye, that whether the stanzas are poetical or prosaic, it was not they, but the notice, which procured Mr. Southey the honour of so early a notice. The editor thinks those notes were intended to have made him angry, and to have made him ridiculous. He assures us they have not made him angry ; and we are bound to believe a gentleman on his own word : but yet I cannot help calling to mind on this occasion a humorous character in a well-known play. I do not say that Sir *Fretful Plagiary* conducts the *Review* in question : but I am somewhat inclined to suspect it. He is "*afraid*," too, that the learned author will be held to have failed in making him ridiculous. I am afraid not. I think ridicule necessarily results from the contrast of pompous pretensions with mean and despicable performance. The *Edinburgh Review* is clearly neither more nor less than a political pamphlet, set on foot with the express purpose of writing up a certain set of doctrines. To do the authors justice, they have pursued their task with considerable ability of a particular kind, with thorough consistency, and with unshaken perseverance. I am even willing to allow, that until within these two years, they have really led the political opinions of a pretty numerous class of society. They gave out, that their studies were profound ; and they obtained credit from many who had neither leisure, nor inclination, to sound their depth. Nay, do they not still hold out the same profession ? " For our own parts," say they, " when we are seriously occupied with the *destinies* of Europe, or of mankind." — Is there any thing wanting to this mysterious and weighty phraseology, but a black cat, a white wand, and a long beard, to make them pass for political conjurers ? After a long course of such solemnity, after a series of oracular predictions, after repeated appeals to the exact accomplishment of what they had foretold ; it is really rather a hard measure to their credulous followers, to turn round with a trite remark on " fallible beings who deal in the hazardous trade of political predictions : " it is really too much to find fault with Mr. Southey, for having " taken pains to pore over their political speculations for four or five years back." I think, too, it is using their publisher somewhat unfairly, who has been at the pains to reprint their formal numbers, in order to make a library work of 20 volumes, which the *edax vetustas*, that so soon condemns other reviews to oblivion, may not be able to injure. Vain labour ! if the editor himself forbids us to look back beyond the current year ; if he aims but to rival the ingenious Mr. Moore ; in short, if his prophesies are only made to be believed, but not to be fulfilled.

But, says the Reviewer, *humanum est errare—dquando dormitat Homerus*, the passages selected by Mr. Southey are " insulated passages,"

gleaned with incredible industry from the vast mass of our works. Mr. Southey "thinks" they have been contradicted by subsequent occurrences. They contain some "supposed errors," and it possibly may be true, "that the course of events has not corresponded in *all respects* with what we at one time considered as probable." No, Sir, this is not Mr. Southey's objection. His objection is, that the Reviewer is wrong *toto cœlo*, necessarily wrong, wrong in every joint and member of his political system (at least as far as regards foreign politics), and that it is for this reason, that his predictions have been falsified, not in this or that minute particular, but in their uniform tenour, and whole result. This, Sir, I say Mr. Southey has proved. He has proved it as to the war in general, as to Russia, Germany, Portugal, Spain. Would any one desire a more satisfactory proof of the hollowness of any system? Can any one conceive the reputation of an established work to be more completely upset, or in fewer words?

The Reviewer at first "declines to vindicate" the opinions expressed in the passages selected by Mr. Southey; but immediately afterwards he bethinks himself, that on the subject of Spain a little argument may yet be maintained, and, though he will not descend to "a dull repetition of events which happened there *several years ago*" (viz. in 1808 and the following years, not quite out of the historical statute of limitations, one would think), yet he boldly ventures to assert, that he "retains his original opinion" with respect to the Spaniards. It is here, Sir, that I desire to meet him. I will not allow *him* to dwell on "insulated passages" or on insulated points in "the old story of the war in the Peninsula." I say his original opinion of that war was fundamentally erroneous, and at every stage of it his views were those of a shallow and incapable politician, narrow in the grasp of his intellect, and dead to the best feelings of the human heart. It required no "incredible industry" in Mr. Southey to collect proofs of the rashness and ignorance of this blind leader of the blind; but on a reperusal of the *Edinburgh Review*, (if the Editor will not be offended, that his works should receive a second reading, any person may easily trace its consistency in error. I shall take up the examination at the commencement of the Spanish war in 1808. When that glorious flame burst forth, which cheered every truly British heart with rapture, it would have been impossible for any public writer, or for any man, in any society in this country, to have avowed himself hostile or indifferent to its success. Certainly the *Edinburgh Reviewers* did not do this. They with some parade set forth the justice of the Spanish cause, and the ardour and enthusiasm of the people; but then they artfully contrived to throw a wet blanket over our hopes by the following judicious remarks:—"To all this we must *unhappily* oppose, the *French army* directed by the *French Cabinet*." "The enemy is at the head of half a million of the *best soldiers in the world*." "This tremendous engine it is, which, we own, does *appal* us."—"We *dread* the issue."—"Our *apprehensions* greatly predominate."—"The sounder opinion seems

to be, that the Spaniards *will be defeated*."—"In a few months the fortunes of France will have prevailed, over the most righteous cause that ever fixed the attention of mankind." Such was the animating encouragement with which the attempt to liberate a great country was greeted, in its outset, by these heroic worshippers of freedom and patriotism! Let us not overlook the incidental compliment to our brave army—but that was to be expected. They were periodical journalists, and therefore they had never heard of Egypt or Maida; they were Scotchmen, and therefore they knew not the names of Stuart and Abercrombie. If the army was depreciated, the government could hardly expect to escape that oblique sarcasm, so congenial to the taste of the writers in question. "If we could but see," said they, "any of the vices or follies of *old Governments* creeping into the French military system, we should be infinitely comforted,—but, alas! the dynasty of Buonaparte is yet too fresh for such blunders as these." What will the Reviewers now say to the talent at blundering, from which a tyrant and an usurper is so naturally and so necessarily exempt?

Such were the sentiments in July, 1808; but before the Review for October appeared, the glorious triumph of Baylen had taken place, and a large army of "the best soldiers in the world" had surrendered to the despised insurgents. Still the Reviewers (who in July had delivered an opinion that "in a few months," the fortunes of France would prevail) persisted in saying "we can discover no good cause for changing that opinion." Still they ridiculed "the romantic hopes of the English nation." Still they spoke, with awe, of that "consummate statesman," Buonaparte. Still they indulged in "melancholy forebodings that the combat would lead to the subjugation of the most gallant people in the world." "Whether Ferdinand or Charles be the Monarch," said they, "we care not; or whether (with elegant allusion to our own royal family,) *a new stock be brought from Germany for a breed*." "That Buonaparte will ultimately succeed is highly probable." "Think you that he ever doubts of success?" Then again they raved of his "constant, steady, and masterly policy;" so different from what it would have been "if his counsellors had been taken from the English political caste;" in which case, as they judiciously observed, he would take care to make war without the shadow of a pretext, and would put himself clearly in the wrong before all Europe.

The latter months of 1808 saw Buonaparte himself enter Spain, and advance to Madrid. This was sufficient for the Reviewers: "It is now obvious to any man of common understanding," said they, in the Review for January, 1809, "that events have more than *justified our worst forebodings*, and that *the curtain is about to drop* on the long and disastrous tragedy of continental subjugation."

The Review for April, 1809, had been preceded by the retreat of Sir John Moore, and the embarkation at Coruña. Then it was, that the Reviewers began to chuckle. Then they prided themselves on their superior wisdom. Then they (who are now so sore on the subject of political prediction) boldly cast in the teeth of their adversa-

ries the strict and literal accomplishment of their sinister oracles. But let us hear their own words. "When we first brought this interesting subject under consideration, the country was in such a tumult of hopes and expectations, that the *small voice of reason* had no chance of being heard." After some compassionating remarks on the folly of the "deluded people of England," and some congratulations on their being "at length awakened," the self-complacent writer adds:—"For ourselves, we have unhappily too good a defence in the *events that verified our predictions*."—They gravely remark, that "the Spirit of the Spanish people, however enthusiastic and universal, was in its nature uncertain and short lived," and that it was "likely to go out, of itself;" and lastly, they "repeat the *melancholy truth*, that very little hopes remains of Spain being liberated from the yoke of the savage invader."

Still the persevering Spaniards maintained the contest, and still the unteachable British nation would not be croaked out of a steady adherence to the Spanish cause. This brings us to July 1809, when the Reviewers in good round terms thus censured our national policy, "It would be blood-thirsty and cruel in us to foment *petty insurrections*, after the only contest is over, from which any good can spring in the present unfortunate state of affairs."—"France has conquered Europe. This is the *melancholy truth*. Shut our eyes to it as we may, there can be no doubt about the matter. For the present, *peace and submission* must be the lot of the *vanquished!*" Noble, heroic, glorious, resolution! Truly worthy of an Edinburgh Reviewer! Mr. Southey has made one extract from this Number of the Work, which I shall trouble you with transcribing, merely for the sake of showing what a *lucky hit*, a foreboding politician may sometimes make. "It would be as chimerical to expect a mutiny among the vassal states of France, as among the inhabitants of *Nantes and Bourdeaux*." In the same spirit, the Reviewers, in October, 1809, made themselves very merry at the idea of Lord W. Bentinck's having been really directed to convert measures for an invasion of the *South of France*, to be performed by the *combined armies of England and Spain!*" All which was of course numbered among the "frantic hopes of the British Cabinet."

In January, 1810, they asked scornfully, Is it allowed us to hope that Spain may yet be delivered; or that any co-operation of our's can do more than aggravate her subjugation? They admitted that there had been among the Spaniards "a deep-rooted national antipathy, a violent hatred of the French"—but that "this feeling was sure to wear away, after producing some *transient bursts* of indignation."

In the course of this year came the ever-memorable campaign, which raised the name of Wellington to the first rank in military annals. It was after the flight of Massena from Portugal, that the Reviewers, in May, 1811, said, "It is glorious for the Spaniards that it should be a *doubt* whether they will sink or swim." In August of the same year they began to cant about our "unprofitable laurels." And even down to July, 1812, we find them loudly exclaiming "let us hear no more objections to a Buonaparte ruling in Spain."

I have now, Sir, followed up these writers, until the moment when their hero crossed the unpropitious Rubicon of his glories. At this point, I take my leave of them, with a word of admonition, which, I trust, will prove not unseasonable. I have sufficiently shewn that they are consistent, I am willing to believe them sincere—to what then do I attribute their egregious and even laughable mistakes? Simply to an utter ignorance of the human mind, and especially of their own minds. Whilst Cato gave his little senate laws, he forgot that he was but Cato, a poor, short-sighted erring mortal. Whilst the Edinburgh Reviewers sit in fancied state, delivering their melancholy truths, and sad forebodings *ore rotundo*;

As who should say I am Sir Oracle,

And when I ope my mouth let no dog bark ;
they forget, that politics are not to be learnt by rote, like a school-boy's lesson ; that something more goes to the making of a statesman than a flippant style, a confident tone, or a string of threadbare sarcasms against men in power ; but above all (and oh ! more lamentable than all !) they forget, that the fate of empires, the rise and fall of nations, man's true greatness and his wholesome liberty, depend not on one engine of power, however mighty, nor on the word of a single tyrant, however artful ; but on the springs of action which pervade the minds of a whole people ; or on that cold, creeping, slavish apprehension of distant dangers, which it has been the constant labour of the Reviewers to inculcate. Nothing can show a more thorough incompetency to the task of guiding the public judgment, than their distinct and repeated admission, that the Spanish people entertained a national antipathy, a violent hatred against the French, that this feeling was enthusiastic, was universal ; and yet that it was in its nature uncertain and short-lived, that it would produce only transient bursts of indignation, and then would go out, of itself. Yet of such contradictory and inconsistent stuff as these are all the opinions of the Edinburgh Review, on foreign politics, composed. I have confined myself, for the present, to the Spanish question ; but there is just the same flippancy, and just the same absurdity, in what is said of Russia, of Germany, of France itself, and of its *destinies* and *dynasties*. However, I have, perhaps, said enough to convince most of your readers that Mr. Southey had no great difficulty in collecting the "supposed errors" of the Reviewers, and that the latter would in future act wisely by declining "the hazardous trade of political prediction ;" and under this impression, I beg to subscribe myself your humble servant,

PISO.

MISCELLANIES.

BAPTISMAL DOUBTS.

To the Editor of the Antijacobin Review.

SIR,

YOUR very elaborate investigation, and I think just view, of the case of Mr. Wickes, and the determination of Sir John Nicholl, induce

me to request your attention to my own case, and to hope for the advice of some of your able correspondents as to my future proceedings. I am a graduate of one of the English universities, and wish to offer myself a candidate for episcopal ordination : but upon collecting my papers for that purpose, I have met with an unexpected difficulty in not being able to find an entry of my baptism in the register of the parish where I was born, and in which I still reside. After much research and inquiry, I found that my mother, a very good woman, but who divided her attendance between the church and meeting house, with a partial leaning to the latter, had procured my baptism by the Presbyterian minister, in whose register I am formally enrolled. Now, Sir, how am I to be considered either as churchman or christian ? Am I admissible to the ministry of the established church ? Or what can I do to become so ? As a member of the university, I of course have frequently received the sacrament according to the forms of the church ; I was also *confirmed* by a bishop at a proper age. I have never been at a meeting house, nor held religious communion out of the pale of the church to whose articles I conscientiously subscribe. Your early advice in this, I assure you, real dilemma, will confer a substantial benefit upon, Sir,

Your constant Reader,

NONDESCRIPT.

April 4th, 1814.

In answer to our correspondent's inquiry, we beg leave to observe, that there appears to us to be a very easy mode of attaining his object. Let him present himself *now* at the baptismal font, and then every existing obstacle will be removed. *We* see no objection to this proceeding ; but we invite the attention of our classical readers to the subject, who, we doubt not, will indicate a better remedy, if such is to be found.—EDITOR.

Transubstantiation palpably refuted.

A gentleman was recently tempted to embrace the errors of popery, and leaving his wife and family, and all the cares of this world, sought consolation and satisfaction among the members of a monastic institution. His wife, after fruitless attempts to recover her husband, at length obtained an interview with him and his spiritual confessors, and consented to receive the mass, stipulating on one only condition, that she might be permitted to make the wafers. On the evening before the celebration, she desired a conference with one of the holy fathers, expressing some scruples of conscience, which she begged him to remove. The wafers, which she had prepared, were purposely laid on the table, and attracted the notice of the father, who objected to the colour. " 'They are only arsenic,' " said the convert ; " 'arsenic !' " replied the monk, with the utmost consternation ; " 'arsenic !' " " Yes, if what you teach is truth, they will do no harm : your prayer of consecration will immediately change them into the body of Christ." The monk renounced his proselyte, and the wife recovered her husband.

April 21, 1814.

C. E. H.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

HEAVEN be praised, at last, our predictions have been verified, our hopes and expectations have been fulfilled, and our most ardent wishes have experienced the most complete gratification. Paris has been entered by the allies, Buonaparte has been dethroned, Jacobinism has received its death wound, and the "stupendous monument of human wisdom," so bepraised by the Foxites, so revered by the *New Whigs*, has been levelled with the dust. Yes, the French Revolution, that fertile cause of every thing base, dishonourable, and destructive of human happiness, of human comfort, of religious and of social order, has terminated, in the only way in which it could *terminate*—in the restoration of the House of Bourbon to the throne of France. Our readers will do us the justice to acknowledge, that, from the first appearance of this work, on the very day on which our gallant countryman, NELSON, won the memorable battle of the Nile, to the present moment, amidst circumstances of the most discouraging nature, we have uniformly maintained that the only means of giving the *coup-de-grace* to the revolutionary spirit, not only in France, but in every part of Europe, of extirpating Jacobinism, and of securing an honourable, safe, and lasting peace, was the restoration of a legitimate government, in the person of Louis XVIII. It was the deep conviction of this truth, in our minds, which led us to condemn the peace of Amiens, and to censure the recent negotiations at Châtillon. But while, fearless of consequences, and little caring to whom, by a rigid adherence to our own principles, we might give offence, we manfully upheld our opinion; we are not ashamed to admit, that both these events have, ultimately, been productive of beneficial effects, though, in the latter instance, consequences have been produced, which were neither foreseen, nor intended.

By the peace of Amiens a great portion of the country became convinced that nothing deserving the name of peace, nothing partaking of the properties and qualities of real amity and concord, could be concluded between the two countries, so long as Napoleone Buonaparte should continue to usurp and exercise supreme and absolute power in France; and, from this conviction, the government were

enabled to call forth the resources and energies of the state and nation, in a greater degree, to a greater extent, than was practicable before that period. It, certainly, was a solid advantage, and as such it was privately acknowledged by that honourable and upright statesman, the late Mr. Windham. The negotiations at Châtillon, which had excited the most serious apprehensions in our minds, were so far beneficial, as they impressed on the minds of all the allied powers, the absolute impracticability of securing the peace and happiness of Europe while Buonaparte remained ruler of France. Previous to these negotiations, and during their continuance, not the smallest countenance was given to the French Royalists, or to the claims and rights of the King of France, by the allies. On the contrary, it is perfectly clear, that the most serious intention was entertained, and every effort made by them to give it effect, to conclude another peace with the *Corsican usurper*—for so we may now be allowed to call him without the risk of giving offence to the delicate sensibility of a certain *Quarterly Reviewer*. Lord Castlereagh, it must be confessed, was placed in a difficult situation; for whatever his own wishes, or the desire of the British cabinet, might be, and, however, from the high character of this country, as the grand instrument of cherishing the principle of resistance, and the sentiment of independence, in the subjugated or threatened states of Europe, that desire might be entitled to particular attention and respect; it is certain, that England could not in fact, and ought not in policy, singly to oppose and to counteract the views and decisions, of all the other members of the great confederacy against the existing government of France. The Emperor of Austria, too, was placed under circumstances of still greater difficulty; for, though master of his own actions, and having, from the proximity of his own dominions, a paramount interest, in curbing the power, and in palsying the ambition, of Buonaparte, yet the feelings of a father rose in opposition to the wishes of the monarch, and, naturally, led to a kind of temporizing conduct, not more adverse to decisive measures, than, generally, unproductive of a fortunate result. To this conflict of sentiment may, probably, be ascribed the weak and impolitic declaration at Francfort, and the subsequent negotiations at Châtillon. Neither of these, it is evident, produced either the expected, or the desired, effect. We are, therefore, more indebted to the obsti-

nacy of the usurper, than to the consistency, firmness, or wisdom, of the allies, for the present auspicious state of things.

Russia, however, and Prussia, must be exempted from any censure which may attach to either the Francfort Manifesto, or the Congress of Châtillon; for to the ultimate success of their plans the active and cordial co-operation of Austria might be necessary; and we can easily conceive that it could only be obtained on the express condition, that no means should be neglected which could lead to the conclusion of what Austria should deem an honourable peace for Europe. Of the sentiments of the Russian Emperor and of the Prussian monarch, not a doubt can be entertained; they had been convinced, by woeful experience, of the perfect impotence of treaties to bind the faith of a wretch who acknowledged no obligations, religious, moral, or political. The throne of the one had been nearly subverted, and his independence wholly destroyed, by the restless ambition, and domineering spirit, of the Corsican; while the dominions of the other had been invaded by his armies, for the avowed purpose of erasing the name of Russia from the list of independent monarchies. These Sovereigns, therefore, had every motive of legitimate resentment, of personal security, and of regard for the welfare and happiness of their people, to hurl the usurper from his blood-stained throne, and to restore a legitimate government to France. It is but justice, too, to admit, that their whole conduct, during the late momentous conflict, has been in unison with this feeling, and well-calculated to secure this object.

What, under these circumstances, must be thought of the conduct of Buonaparte?—within a month—‘one short month’—he has had it in his power to fix the crown of France upon his head for life, to obtain the acknowledgment of his title by all the great powers of Europe, and to secure the possession of a greater extent of territory than had ever been allowed to the legitimate sovereigns of France. When we consider who this individual was, and in what a situation he was now placed, the rejection of such an offer seems an act of insanity. But,

Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat.

Never, surely, did this ancient adage receive a fuller illustration! He has thus wantonly dashed the cup of prosperity from his lips, and

is, in consequence, consigned to that state of solitude and obscurity, for which nature and birth designed him. Even for this, is he indebted to the clemency of the allies, to clemency exceeding the celebrated forbearance of Titus, inasmuch as the latter could not have been avoided without violation of innocence, and a breach of morality ; whereas, the forbearance of the former deprived insulted justice of its lawful victim, and secured impenitent guilt from merited punishment. In the island of Elba this criminal exile will have ample time, and abundant food, for reflection ; and, if he possessed any of the common feelings of our nature, reflection would be the severest punishment which guilt could sustain. When prowling over this barren spot, encircled by the ocean, his mind might recur to scenes of perfidy unexampled, to deeds of horror, and of blood unequalled ; the ghosts of murdered millions ; countries laid waste ; countless multitudes devoted to wretchedness and mourning ; all victims of his insensate and insatiate ambition ; all marked for death or desolation by him ; might haunt him in his daily walks, disturb his midnight repose, might bring home to his flinty bosom some small portion of that corroding anguish, of that cureless misery which his merciless hand has so lavishly dealt forth to the inhabitants of those countries, which have been overrun by his arms, or which have been cursed by his *protection*. Had Napoleone Buonaparte, for his crimes, been brought before a tribunal, composed of all the nations in Europe, an unanimous sentence of death must have been his lot. There is no one country, in which he might not have been tried, convicted, and executed, by a legal process, for the greatest of all human crimes, deliberate, cold-blooded, unprovoked, *murder*. We talk not of those wholesale butcheries of his own countrymen, by various means, from the autumn of 1795 to Feb. 1814, from the massacre of the Parisians at the former period, to the wanton assassination of the emigrant nobleman at Laon at the latter ; but of private murders—such as those of a D'ENGLISH, a WRIGHT, a PICHÉREAU, a TOUSSAINT, and a PALM. Of these the number which he has committed, in different countries, almost exceeds calculation. If life, then, be really desirable to him, he has abundant cause for gratitude to the combined powers.

Two sums widely different have been stated as the destined re-

ward of this man's crimes, as the annual stipend which charity bestows on the wretch to whom charity was ever a stranger. It has been represented as 25,000*l.* sterling, and as 250,000*l.* sterling. The first is too much, but the last would be outrageously absurd; any thing more than a mere subsistence, indeed, would be objectionable, in more points of view than one. But, it is needless to pursue the subject without a more accurate knowledge of facts.

Thus has the revolution been terminated with more rapidity than marked the movements of its original contrivers; thus has the return from anarchy to order been more expeditious, than the progress from order to anarchy; and thus has the restoration of the legitimate government of France been effected with greater unanimity, or, at least, with less difficulty, than attended its downfall. Oceans of blood, indeed, have been shed during its continuance; the lawful monarch fell the victim of violence and rebellion; his faithful adherents maintained a long and desperate struggle; and the usurpation, raised by the sword, was supported only by the sword; but short was the conflict which preceded the disgrace of the usurper, and bloodless was the counter-revolution which drove him into exile.

The conduct of the Prince Regent, during the whole of these momentous transactions, has been above all praise. Uniform in his wish, and steady to his purpose, he has seen his arms crowned with success, in every quarter; and has enjoyed the more amiable gratification of rescuing a virtuous, but persecuted, monarch from unmerited exile and a private station; and, after soothing him in the hour of calamity, has now witnessed his restoration to his throne and country;—a restoration effected, in a great degree, by the strict adherence of his Royal Highness to those principles, and to that policy which his venerable father had pursued during the whole of his reign. The attention, the honour, paid to Louis the XVIIIth, previous to his departure from this country, not only by the Prince Regent, but by all classes and descriptions of people, was most creditable to the nation, and will, we feel persuaded, create a disposition in the King of France and his immediate advisers, to preserve the strictest amity, and the best understanding, with England. This cordial reception of Louis the XVIIIth, together with his restoration, marks the ultimate TRIUMPH OF ANTIJACOBINISM, demonstrates the pre-

valence of those conservative principles which this work has constantly promulgated, and which, indeed, it was established to maintain and uphold ;—of those principles which that illustrious statesman, Mr. PITT, made the rule of his conduct, and the guide of his policy.

Happy, indeed, supremely happy, must that great and good man have been, had it pleased a gracious Providence to prolong his existence to the present auspicious period ! Happy to see his councils wisely followed, his policy steadily pursued, by the son of his sovereign ; most happy to see them productive of their *legitimate effects*—of those effects which he so confidently predicted ! Yes, this would have been a glorious reward for all his political labours, for all the eminent services which he rendered to his native country, and, through her, to Europe. Yes, EUROPE HAS BEEN SAVED BY THE EXAMPLE OF ENGLAND ;—AND ENGLAND HAS REAPED THE SIGNAL REWARD OF PERSEVERANCE IN THE CAUSE OF VIRTUE, OF HONOUR, AND OF JUSTICE.

We are not disposed to analyse too closely, or to criticise too severely, the hasty sketch of a new Constitution which the senate of France has produced for the acceptance of the nation. We do not like the source whence this offspring of precipitation has sprung ; we could have wished that no decisive step of this nature had preceded the re-establishment and return of the King. It wears a revolutionary aspect. The new code is chiefly remarkable for the extreme selfishness of its parents, displayed, most disgustingly, in its principal features. The senate, it is known, received a certain stipend, payable out of particular crown lands appropriated to that specific object. These lands, by a vote of their own, which they have incorporated into the Constitution, are converted into freeholds vested in them and their heirs for ever ! And this act is rendered more glaring by their limitation of their own members, which confines the number of senators to *two hundred* ; now the present senators amount to *one hundred and thirty*, and these having monopolized all the property destined for the pay of the whole senate, the old nobility and others who may become members of the senate, will be either left without a salary, or must have one provided out of other funds. But this is not our greatest objection to the selfish regulation in question ; its constitutional defect, and its political tendency, aggravate its selfishness in a very high degree ; for it will be immediately seen, that the old sena-

tors, who were created by Buonaparte, have secured by it a constant majority in their own house.

We were sorry also to observe, that no *exceptions* were made to the general amnesty ;—that amnesty was certainly wise, politic, and indeed, necessary ; but surely it would have not been unwise, nor impolitic, nor, to us at least, does it appear, unnecessary ; to except, from its application those persons who voted for the execution of Louis XVIth ; of whom, we believe, about twenty remain in the senate and legislative body. Such an exception might easily have been suggested by the allied powers ; it was a tribute due, as well to humanity, as to justice ; and they would have found an apt precedent for such conduct, in the events of the restoration of CHARLES THE SECOND, in this country. The *regicides* were then excepted from the general amnesty, and such of them as did not escape from the kingdom, paid the just forfeit of their crimes on the gallows. Their trials have been preserved for the edification of future ages. But, possibly, it might be thought improper to attack minor culprits, after suffering *the great criminal* to escape ; we will not investigate the merits of such revolutionary casuistry ; it seems, however, to us, that the new government have not wholly rejected the doctrine of *proscription* ; for the CARDINAL MAURY has been sent out of the kingdom. Now, though none can condemn more strongly than ourselves, the cardinal's base prostitution of his sacred office to the venal adulation of the most atrocious of criminals ; though none can more despise the jesuitical sophistry* by which he sought to justify his apostacy, in becoming the creature and the eulogist of Buonaparte ; we cannot forget his intrepid defence of the monarchy against the early maniacs of the revolution, a defence which Louis XVI. acknowledged with gratitude, in a letter prefixed to the cardinal's book upon eloquence ; and which procured for him also the rank which he now holds in the church of Rome.

* The cardinal argued thus—I supported monarchical France, and opposed republican France ; because I was attached to monarchy and hated republicanism ; when Buonaparte, therefore, destroyed the republic, and restored a monarchy, I again attached myself to France ! The reign of an individual, then, was all that the cardinal cared for ; whether that individual was an *usurper*, or a *lawful sovereign* ; *cela lui étoit égal !*

Certainly we must contemplate such a man with very different feelings from those which the Abbé Sieyès, with his atrocious "*La mort et sans phrase*," excites in our bosoms. We cannot, for the life of us, perceive the justice of consigning the first to banishment, and of suffering the last to remain in the senate. This is a distinction of so extraordinary a nature that we cannot comprehend either its motive or its object.

There are writers in this country who praise the excellence of the new French Constitution for no other reason than because it bears a striking resemblance, *in form*, to our own. There cannot be a greater error committed in the science of politics, than the assumption that because a constitution is good for one country, it must, of necessity, be good for another. It has always, on the contrary, been considered, by the ablest writers on the theory of Constitutions, that in framing a Constitution for a state, attention should be paid to habits, disposition, and climate; and experience has proved, that different forms and modes of government are requisite to promote the happiness, prosperity, and good order, of different nations. Hence it is, that we have rarely, if ever, seen two Constitutions perfectly similar in all their leading features. And, surely, it will not be contended, in the present day, that the degree of civil liberty which is compatible with order, and necessary to the happiness of a people of sober habits, and reflecting minds, would be productive of equally beneficial effects on a light, frivolous, and mutable nation. We will not *apply* our principle, nor yet carry our remarks, at present, to a greater extent; they are here urged merely by way of *caution*.

The allies have acted with commendable consistency, as well in putting an immediate stop to hostilities, as in settling the preliminary bases of peace. Those bases are such as we ever wished to see established, in treating with the legitimate King of France. It is proper that he should enjoy the same degree of power, and the same extent of territory, as were possessed by Louis the Sixteenth; and these are obviously secured to him by what we should consider as the preliminary treaty of peace. We hope that Lord Castlereagh will not return to England until he has concluded the definitive treaty, which, though simple in its principle, must necessarily be complicated in its provisions, as it must embrace a variety of important objects. We trust that the future connection between the two coun-

tries will be formed on such a broad basis of reciprocal advantage, as will leave no room for discontent, or jealousy, in either, but which, on the contrary, will lead to the establishment of perfect harmony, sincere amity, and lasting concord. A new æra has arisen; Europe has received a most awful lesson; she has escaped a tremendous danger; and, in gratitude to that Providence which has, after so long and so painful a struggle, once more seated them firmly on their thrones, the different sovereigns ought to dismiss all former jealousies, and unite henceforth, with sincerity and cordiality, in promoting the happiness of their subjects, in maintaining a good understanding with each other, and in perpetuating the peace of the world.

It is much to be lamented, that the government of Paris did not take earlier and more effective means of communicating the intelligence of the counter-revolution to their armies in the south. By the exercise of due diligence in this respect, a great and useless effusion of blood would have been prevented. At *Toulouse* and at *Bayonne*, though our armies have acquired fresh glory, and our brave commanders have closed their gallant achievements in the field with a fresh harvest of laurels, still the loss of so many valuable lives, under such circumstances, is deeply to be deplored.

But for the unprincipled conduct of Mr. Madison, England might, at last, repose upon her laurels, and enjoy the grateful fruits of her honourable perseverance. Great in conscious integrity, greater still in the esteem, and confidence, and gratitude of emancipated Europe, she has attained the pinnacle of honest fame; and will, we trust, when she shall have chastised the perfidious government of Washington, and reduced Mr. Madison to a level with his master, enjoy, in a solid and permanent peace, the best and only legitimate object of war.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

C. M. is informed, that since the year 1798, when the first number of this Review appeared, both paper and printing have been nearly *doubled in price*;—that the Appendix has never contained, for obvious reasons, the same *quantity* of matter as the other numbers; that each number now contains *more* matter than any pamphlet which sells for five shillings;—and that the article to which he specifically objects, was inserted at the express request of some of our constant readers.—We cannot enter into further particulars here, or we flatter ourselves we could easily remove the doubts of our Correspondent.

THE
ANTI-JACOBIN REVIEW,
AND TRUE
Churchman's Magazine,

&c. &c. &c.

For MAY, 1814.

— Omnia hostes
Reddite nos populi—Civile avertite Bellum.

LUCAN.

Marsh's Review of Sir George Barlow's Administration.

(Concluded from Page 378.)

IN our last number, we closed our notice of this work with an account of the Governor's arbitrary conduct to Colonel St. Leger. Captain Marshall was complimented, by the secret examination of some Portuguese witnesses against him by the Governor, from whom, however, nothing could be extorted to criminate the destined victim of Sir George Barlow.

" Yet, in a private letter written on the 10th of April (the day before) to the Governor-general, and which letter was afterwards forwarded to England, as evidence against that officer, the Governor of Madras asserts the deliberate falsehood, that he had at length discovered that Captain Marshall was the author. This private letter was written for the express purpose of supplying the testimony he had failed in obtaining against this unfortunate officer. It was forwarded to the then chairman of the Directors. It was by him, with equal delicacy and honour, pressed against Captain Marshall, though it was falsified not only by the examinations of the Portuguese writers, but by the Governor's minute of the 1st of May itself, in which, so far from speaking of the fact as established or discovered, he expresses himself concerning it in language of the most indefinite conjecture. Even this secret inquiry, which was a mere mockery of judicial

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forms, and which possessed not any one requisite of a legal process, was not extended to the other officers, who were deposed and proscribed, and who are to this hour ignorant of the evidence by which they were condemned.

"Let it," pursues Mr. Marsh, "be distinctly perceived, that I am reviewing these abuses of authority as fit subjects of criminal animadversion. If an authority, though given by law, when vexatiously and arbitrarily exercised, falls within the fair scope of that animadversion, the position will, *à fortiori*, become applicable, when it is assumed in violation of the law. The power exercised by Sir George Barlow in these instances is manifestly contrary to law, because it is enacted by none. No intendment, no implication, can supply an authority so severely penal. The power of the Governors of India is not inherent in their persons or their office. It is the creature of the legislature. The successive acts of the government of India define their authority and its limitations. And not one of those acts will justify a Governor in sending an officer or soldier to England but by the sentence of a Court Martial, and according to 'the rules and articles of war, for the better government of the officers and soldiers in the service of the East India Company.' These articles were framed in pursuance of the 27th Geo. ii. c. 9, which is in the nature of a perpetual mutiny act for India, and constitutes with those articles the only penal judicature to which the Company's army are subject."

Either the power assumed by the Governor of Madras, to punish officers, at his pleasure, without a trial, and without even calling on them for their defence, must have been illegal, or else that Governor must have possessed a power superior to all law, exempt from all modifications or limitations, and subject to no control. Now the existence of such a power as this, in a British colony, is, we conceive, impossible, and therefore we must conclude, that Sir George Barlow's conduct was perfectly illegal, as it is, unquestionably, indefensible. The whole of Mr. Marsh's reasoning on this part of the question is unanswerable.

"With such humane precision is the delicate discretion of sending persons from India to England tolerated by the legislature, that, even in cases of an illicit correspondence with the native powers, (a crime subversive of the British power in India) it is fettered with many wholesome limitations. The 33d Geo. iii. c. 5. sect. 45., directs that, if on examination there shall appear reasonable grounds for the charge, the suspected persons are to be committed to safe custody, within five days to be furnished with their charge or accusation, and to be permitted to deliver their defence in writing, with a list of their witnesses, who are to be examined with those in support of the charge, before they can be sent to England for trial. Is it reasonable to suppose, that persons accused of a delinquency, approxi-

inating to treason, should be thus jealously protected from the colonial Governors, whilst these gentlemen, members of a British army, unheard and ignorant alike of their crime and their accuser, should, in the insolence of official pride, or in a fit of low-minded spleen, become subject to a sentence of degradation and exile?

"If then it has been shewn, that the powers assumed by Sir George Barlow, in the order of the 1st of May, were in violation of an unrepealed law, dictating a specific form of proceeding for all military offences, something, at least, is effected towards a candid and mitigated judgment upon the unfortunate commotions which followed. Nor is the argument weakened by the pretence, that the officers were transported to England to be tried by the Court of Directors. The Governor of Madras had no authority to send them hither to be tried. The Court of Directors had no jurisdiction to try them. The statute of Geo. II. had defined the form, the process, the crime, and the punishment."

No self-evident proposition appears more clear and satisfactory to our understanding, than the illegality of Sir George Barlow's proceeding, in interposing his authority to interrupt the regular proceedings of established courts, both civil and military; and, above all, in pronouncing condemnation and punishment without trial or defence. In no society whatever, except in an absolute and uncontrouled despotism, can such an authority subsist any where; and even in the despotic states where *stat pro ratione voluntas*—where the will of the sovereign is law, no such power was ever exercised by any but the sovereign himself; it never was delegated, in the degree, and to the extent, in which it was exercised by Sir George Barlow. Admitting, which can only be done for the sake of argument, that the law did vest in him the power to have recourse to all these arbitrary proceedings, still it follows, of necessity, that such power was to be exercised with discretion, and was subject to responsibility, as all delegated authority necessarily must be. In this point of view, then, his conduct would be open to animadversion, would call for a close and severe investigation, on the ground of discretion neglected and of power abused. Again, it is equally manifest to us, that a power, thus to dispense with all those forms and processes of law, which the constitution of Great Britain requires as necessary for the due administration of justice, for the conviction of guilt, and for the security of innocence, should not be vested in any one; and that if it really did vest in the Governors of our Indian settlements, this session of Parliament ought not to pass without a repeal of the law by which it was given; and without a general expression of abhorrence of the principle (if principle it could be called) on which it was

founded, and of the evils of which it had been productive. But it would be a libel on our country to suppose, for a moment, that its legislature could have conferred such unconstitutional powers on any man, or body of men, whatever. It has done no such thing, and the Governor of Madras has to answer for conduct, not only marked by tyranny and oppression, the most odious and disgusting, but by a violation of every principle of law, and of justice.

The army, now wrought up to a pitch of discontent, which prudence was inefficient to restrain, began to manifest their displeasure with the government in a manner not to be misunderstood; though their sole object was to induce the Governor of Madras to revoke his scandalous order of the first of May. Here, while we most pointedly condemn the unwise, vexatious, and irritating, system of measures which had produced this feeling in the army; we are called upon by the same regard to justice, and by the same anxiety to enforce a rigid adherence to law, and a strict discharge of duty, which lead us to reprobate that system, and the whole public conduct of Sir George Barlow in all these transactions, to enter our solemn protest against, and to express our unqualified censure of, the right thus assumed by the army, of becoming a deliberative body, and of adopting measures for compelling the government to forego any plan, or to abandon any measure, (no matter whether it were right or wrong, just or unjust) which it had thought proper to adopt and to execute. A right thus assumed destroys the very bond by which an army is connected with the state, while it is a gross and dangerous perversion of the use and object of an armed force; pregnant with difficulties and with perils which cannot be contemplated without horror. It will easily be conceived, then, that we shall never be found the advocates of insubordination, or of any acts bordering upon mutiny. But, in proportion to our disapprobation and dread of any such act, is our reprobation of conduct which has a natural tendency to produce it, by placing the feelings and the interests of an army in direct opposition to its duty. The man who, either from ignorance, spleen, or design, or for the gratification of any passion or object whatever, can deliberately adopt a system of which such a state of things is almost the necessary consequence, incurs a responsibility of the most dreadful nature, and should become the subject of a public prosecution. Why, it may be asked, did not the tremendous prospect which now opened itself to his view, but which he seems to have contemplated with all the coolness of a mercantile calculator, chained to his desk, and

poring over the probable risks and profits of his next adventure---why did not Sir George Barlow stop here ; why not pause, before he drove to desperation that army on which, he ought to have known, the British power in the East depended, not merely for its security, but for its very existence ? Enough surely had been already achieved for the satisfaction of jealous authority, for the manifestation of unbounded power, and the Governor might, with safety, have descended from the high tone which he had hitherto maintained, without fear of degradation, or dread of danger. The path of conciliation was open and easy ; mercy might have obliterated the feeling of recent injury ; and the adoption of mild and moderate measures might even have effaced the remembrance of past tyranny and injustice ; accordingly, as Mr. Marsh informs us,

“ It was at this period, that the respectable and thinking part of the community looked with much solicitude for an opposite system of measures. They thought that the authority of government would not be impaired by healing and moderate measures ; or that the rescue of so many individuals from ruin and dishonour, ought even to have been purchased by condescension and forgiveness. Neither the habits, nor the temper, of Sir George Barlow encouraged such auguries. Sent out to India at an early age, without the advantages of a liberal education, he had carried through the graduations of the Company's employ, a mind exercised only in the little formalities of office, and guided in all its movements by the rules and prescriptions of the service. Man and his nature he had surveyed only from his desk, or in the shrunken dimensions and fettered attitudes of oriental servitude. The slightest disturbance of the dull routine along which his faculties had soberly and slowly travelled, created as it were a new world, for which his mind was wholly unfitted. To a mischief generated by an obnoxious exertion of authority, neither his theory nor his experience suggested any other remedy, but that of repeating the very measure which had generated the mischief. It was, therefore, to Lord Minto that every eye was turned ;—but turned in vain.”

Lord Minto's mind had, unfortunately, been prepossessed by the emissaries of Sir George Barlow, who did not require his Lordship's presence at the scene of these disorderly proceedings, but only besought him to address a letter to the army, to convince *them* how *wrong* they had been, and how *right* he had been. The Governor General politely complied with this modest request, and, piquing himself on his tried epistolary powers, he penned a most curious letter, on which Mr. Marsh thus animadvert.

“ A paper calculated for such an end is obviously exempted from the jurisdiction of the Critic. Offensive to taste, or at variance with

the general rules of composition, had it restored tranquillity, it would have been above animadversion. But if it was equally dull and inefficacious; verbose and useless; if its doctrines are as dangerous as its language is languid and heavy, such a piece at such a time, is entitled to none of the respect due to the character and station of its author. I have already pointed out, in the exposition of General Macdougall's quarrel with Sir George Barlow, the fallacy of some of the positions of this memorable paper. I now shortly advert to that ridiculous heresy, subversive of all military subordination, which it preaches in defence of the conduct of Sir George Barlow towards his Adjutant-general and his Deputy, for obeying the orders of the Commander-in-Chief. Its obvious absurdity will shew that Lord Minto, repudiating the sacred character of arbiter, assumed at this momentous period that of the sophist and the advocate. Not that the error has been seductive. By the Court of Directors, by the Board of Control, by every military man, by every well-disciplined mind, it has been rejected and reprobated.

"For this most problematic of his measures, Sir George Barlow himself, resting its defence on a mere temporary expediency, sought not the aids of artificial reasoning. This was reserved for his Lordship. It had been uniformly held as an undisturbed axiom, that military men were bound to obey the orders of their superiors. Obedience to orders, such as military life requires, must be prompt, and independent of all deliberation on their qualities. Like every obligation, the military obligation has its limits in the paramount and higher duties of morality. If the military order was at variance with natural or municipal law, it would be destitute of all obligation. But the immoral or illegal quality of the order must be written in a letter too broad to mistake or overlook.* With this modification, the principle of implicit obedience in military law is universal. The universality of the proposition, indeed, is admitted by Lord Minto, subject only to the exception, that criminal orders are not to be obeyed. But between Lord Minto and the common-sense of mankind, there is an irreconcilable variance as to that which constitutes a criminal order. Plain understandings might suppose, that a criminal order is an order to commit an act which the immediate suggestions of reason and justice pronounce to be criminal. In this production, however, orders of which the criminality is dubious and problematical, are classed in that category. Applied to General Macdougall's order, which is called seditious, (Lord Minto toils through fifteen paragraphs to prove it to be so) the question is, whether the seditious quality of it was plain and unambiguous? But it would seem impossible to appreciate its qualities, without entering critically into the disputes then pending between the Governor and the Commander-in-Chief,

* "The order of a naval commander requiring his lieutenant to leave one of his crew on an uninhabited island, falls within this exception."

on the extent of their respective rights, involving mixed and multifarious considerations of fact, law, and policy.

"It was a question, therefore, which could only have been decided by an examination of the provisions of various statutes defining the limits of the civil and military functions; so that, while the army are solemnly told that they owe an unhesitating obedience to their superiors, they are enjoined to deliberate with the subtlety of lawyers, and the nicety of casuists, before they carry their orders into effect. Such is the logic by which the Governor-general attempted to maintain what he calls a new modification of the military principle. In the same breath he promulgates the law, and dispenses absolution from it. For every officer and soldier is (are) distinctly told in this homily of insubordination, that they are absolved from military obedience whenever disputes arise between a local Governor and a Commander-in-Chief, and that it is their duty to pause and deliberate, if they discern, or think that they discern, any thing extraordinary or portentous in the times and seasons when they are called on to obey."

We take it for granted that the letter of Lord Minto is here truly represented by Mr. Marsh, though we should have thought it impossible that any man of common understanding, of ordinary knowledge, and of the least experience in the world, could broach a doctrine not merely so subversive of all military discipline, and so repugnant to the plainest dictates of common-sense, but, in its immediate application and tendency, so utterly destructive of the only security for the durability of the British government in the East. With such a theorist as Lord Minto, and such a practical politician as Sir George Barlow, the work of ages might be overthrown in a month. But were these men blind to the obvious truth, that their doctrine went *necessarily* to render the army a *deliberative body*, to make it, indeed, their *duty* to become so; and, therefore, afforded them the best possible excuse, (and, indeed, the only excuse they could possibly have) for the only part of their conduct which required an excuse. If it was the duty of a subordinate officer to deliberate on the orders which he had received from the Commander-in-Chief (to say nothing of the punishment to which he must have been subjected for such disobedience by the articles of war); it was equally the duty of the officers to deliberate before they obeyed the orders of the Governor of Madras, of the 1st of May. The right to deliberate, too, of necessity implies the right of exercising the judgment, and of being guided by its dictates. Now the judgment, even of sensible and of conscientious men, may differ on a point not very difficult of decision; and, *a fortiori*, on a point which is full of difficulty, and on which a great difference of opinion might fairly be expected to subsist; and

this being the case, the result of such deliberation might be different; some officers might feel it their duty to obey, others to disobey, the orders received; and hence confusion, discord, and every feeling might be experienced, and every act committed, subversive of military discipline.

We scarcely expected to be called upon, in the nineteenth century, to prove that *passive obedience* is the *golden rule* of the army; that rule which constitutes the fundamental principle of an armed force. Without it no army can subsist, or can fulfil the purposes for which alone it must subsist. The rule must be admitted in its full force, broadly and unequivocally, without qualification, modification, or reservation. Circumstances may possibly occur, which may justify a deviation from the rule; but *exceptio probat regulam*; and the possible occurrence of exceptions will never form an obstacle, in the eyes of a wise and provident legislator, to the adoption of any necessary general rule of conduct. Indeed, to legislate for possibilities would, were it practicable, be an act of supreme folly; in the present case, disobedience to the orders of a superior officer could only be justified by the circumstance of such orders being contrary to some known law, divine or human; and it is not to be presumed, beforehand, that any officer, entrusted with military power, would ever issue such orders. The rule, then, must be general; and, if ever an exception should arise, it must be provided for by the wisdom of the moment. The safety of the state depends on the generality of the principle, and much less inconvenience and danger would occur to the public welfare from its strict application to circumstances to which it ought not to be applied, than would result from the subjection of the principle, in all cases, to the discretion of those whose conduct is to be regulated by it, leaving it to them to decide to what cases it is applicable, and to what it is not applicable. In framing the constitution of a country, did ever legislator think of defining the cases in which rebellion would be justifiable? or was it ever left to the governed to decide what cases would justify resistance to their governors, and what would not? Could any government exist for a twelvemonth with a constitution so formed? And yet this is precisely the principle contended for by Lord Minto, and acted upon by Sir George Barlow.

A man anxious to sow dissension in a state, and solicitous to produce a mutiny in an army, could not select a more efficient instrument for the accomplishment of his design, than this doctrine of Lord Minto. Aptly, indeed, though inadequately, is this doctrine termed, by Mr. Marsh, "*the homily of*

insubordination." It certainly is so, but it has infinitely greater efficacy, for it not only would produce insubordination in the army, but rebellion in the state, and the destruction of that safeguard without which the government of a few thousand foreigners over sixty millions of natives would not subsist for a day.

And what must we think of the wisdom or the policy of that supreme government who could issue such a letter at such a moment; that is, immediately after the order of the 1st of May had been sent forth, to spread consternation and dismay among the troops. Instead of being the messenger of peace, he thus became the harbinger of discord. He sought to allay irritation, by vindicating the measures which produced it. His letter had the only effect which a man of plain understanding would have expected it to produce. It increased the discontent of the army, and the arrogance of the Governor of Madras.

"No impartial mind will be slow to discern, or reluctant to acknowledge, that, from this period, Sir George Barlow's counsels were directed to one object; that of driving the army into violence, in order to deduce from that violence the justification of his former measures, and the necessity of the new ones he had contemplated. Advisers of high rank and estimation in the service were not wanting to him on this occasion. The universal prevalence of these discontented and gloomy passions, which the order of the first of May had diffused, was strongly urged by Colonel Malcolm, who, in the middle of May, had arrived at Madras. Conciliation, not concession, was recommended, while so many brave and meritorious officers were yet on the brink of crime and of ruin.* But other counsels prevailed, and produced, by the natural conjunction of cause and effect, that heaped measure of guilt and suffering, which has irrecoverably destroyed the army of Madras.

"The favourite scheme of policy now in contemplation at Madras was the distribution of the native corps at such stations as to place them under the check of his Majesty's regiments, a measure by which the European officers would be delivered up to the resentments of the Governor. It was a scheme which, having been betrayed by ungarded communications, was soon known to the army, and produced its correspondent impression. The incidents which shortly afterwards occurred at Masulipatam, leave no room to doubt, that these were actually the intentions of the government. They are a memorable commentary on the predestinated obstinacy and folly of its counsels."

* "See Colonel Malcolm's Narrative, p. 67.

Such was the consummation of this notable plan for opposing, in the first place, troops to each other, always but too much disposed to jealousy and envy, though on the existence of a perfect harmony between them the whole fabric of British power in India depends; and, in the second place, for separating the European officers of the native regiments from their men, though every motive of policy and security combined to enforce the necessity of confirming, by every possible means, that influence on the one hand, and that spirit of subordination on the other, which had ever subsisted between the European officers and the Seapoys, and to which may fairly be ascribed all that vast extension of power, wealth, and territory, which the East India Company have acquired within the last fifty years. One is lost in wonder in contemplating the bold temerity of that unballowed hand which dared to shake the pillars of a fabric which, if watched with care and guarded by wisdom, might long continue to flourish, but which even the breath of a fool, injudiciously applied, might blow into atoms.

The intention of disbanding the Madras European regiment, in garrison at Masulipatam, was well known, and a trifling event tended to increase the discontent which this knowledge naturally excited. Lieutenant Forbes of this regiment gave as a toast at the mess, "The friends of the Madras army;" when a Lieutenant Colonel Innis, who is represented as a weak and peevish man, and whose conduct on the present occasion certainly justifies the representation, objected to the toast and left the room. Had he stopped here, his conduct might have escaped any other reproach than that which folly is apt to extort; but the next day he thought proper to send a letter to head-quarters, boldly stating what had occurred at the mess, but meanly *desiring that no notice might be taken of it*. Now the circumstance either deserved notice or it did not; in the last case his officiousness in reporting it was culpable; in the first, his desire of concealment was worse. The consequence of his communication was an immediate order to Mr. Forbes to repair to the very unhealthy fort of Condapilly as "a punishment for indecorous conduct at the mess, and as a warning to the corps." A more malicious act than this the records of tyranny scarcely unfold; and whatever Sir George Barlow, or his miserable sycophants, may think or may say, if Lieutenant Forbes had actually repaired to this place, which was famous for its insalubrity, and had been removed thither, by the mandate of the Governor, as a punishment, inflicted without trial, and contrary to law, and had died in consequence of such removal, the Governor would have been liable to be brought

to trial for his *murder*; and whatever doubt could have been entertained of his guilt by lawyers, a moral conviction of it must have been impressed on every man's mind. His place of punishment, however, by one of those impulses of caprice, which appear to have constantly operated on the mind of this weak and perverse being, was exchanged for Penang. Lieutenant Maitland for the high crime of drinking this toast was removed from the staff in which he held the post of Quarter Master! Both these officers applied for a Court Martial, but their application, though for that which they had a right to demand, and which the Governor had no power to refuse, was rejected with contempt. The situation vacated by this removal another officer of the corps was *compelled*, by Mr. Innis, the Lieutenant Colonel already noticed, to accept. The views of the government were now placed beyond the possibility of a doubt, and the officers, alarmed beyond measure, addressed a remonstrance to head-quarters, "soliciting the benefit of regular trial and military usage, and complaining of the unmerited and disgraceful punishments which were dispensed on private accusations, without the privilege uniformly indulged by law and policy to accused persons of establishing their innocence."

It was a part of the constant practice of Sir George Barlow to insult the men whom he had injured, and to wound their feelings after he had injured their fortunes. In pursuance of this generous system he resolved that a large portion of the regiment at Masulipatam, which had incurred his displeasure, should serve as marines—a service from which they were peculiarly averse—and that Lieutenant Maitland, the dismissed Quarter-master, should command the detachment. The evil consequences of this resolution were clearly pointed out by Colonel Malcolm, but the Governor, in the gratification of his resentment, cared little about consequences. He disregarded the warning, and braved the danger. Colonel Innis, who, forgetful of what he owed to the service, to his brother officers, and to himself, not only read a letter from the commander-in-chief, a very different man from General Macdonall! containing a threat to disband the regiment, but, in order to enforce the odious measure of sending the troops to serve as marines, directed his Adjutant to inform the officers—"that he had sent a requisition to the frigates for part of their crews, and to call in his Majesty's 59th regiment, to enforce their embarkation to serve as marines, and that the artillery at the cantonment were in readiness to assist them."

How any officer, holding the rank which Mr. Innis held in

the army, could prevail upon himself, or suffer any other person to prevail upon him, to send a message so insulting, so insolent, and so wholly unofficer-like, to his brother officers, it is difficult to conjecture. It was tantamount to a direct *challenge*, it was a haughty defiance held out to them in the form of a mean unworthy threat, injurious to their feelings, and derogatory from their character. It is not, indeed, easy to persuade one's self that it was not *intended* to produce the effect which it did produce. At all events the officers must have been, on this as upon another occasion, either more or less than men, if they had not felt the insult, and if, feeling it, they had not, in some way or other, pointedly resented it. It is indeed to be lamented, but not to be wondered at, that they should have instantly resolved to resist this ungracious order, and even to repel force by force. Though this resolution cannot be justified, though, indeed, it must be condemned, still it must have been expected by Colonel Innis, who was inexorable, and disregarded every entreaty of his officers to withhold the degrading communication. The rubicon was now passed; the system of severity had produced its natural effect, and the men flew to the parade with their arms, and declared their resolution to use them to the last extremity. Even this had no effect on Colonel Innis, who seemed prepared to suffer the direful extremity to take place, sooner than relax, in the smallest degree, or under any possible circumstances, from the system resolved on. As there appeared to be no alternative, but either to withdraw the offensive orders, or to carry them into effect by force, and consequently to produce an effusion of blood, in the most odious of conflicts, necessity was allowed to supersede discipline, Colonel Innis was put under arrest by the next officer in rank, Major Storey, who immediately dispatched a messenger to Madras, to inform the government of all that had passed, and to assure them that he only held the command till their pleasure should be known.

Sir George Barlow began now to experience something like alarm and fear; and, under the influence of these feelings, he sent Colonel Malcolm, Lieutenant Colonel Berkeley, and Major Evans, on an embassy of conciliation to Masulipatam. The commission with which these gentlemen were entrusted was discharged in a manner which reflected honour on themselves. They soothed the irritated feelings of the army and brought them back to their duty, without compromising the authority of the government. But no sooner had the fears of Sir George Barlow subsided, than he returned to his old system, and even "treacherously disavowed" Colonel Malcolm.

The army in other places being treated in the same manner took the alarm, and resolved to disobey the arbitrary mandates of the governor. And now it was that this insensate governor determined to execute that part of his plan which went to the separation of the native troops and officers from their European superiors. And for the accomplishment of this object he selected a very proper instrument, in that Colonel Munro whose conduct was the original cause of all these disturbances

"On the 23d of July, a brahmin, in the employ of Colonel Munro, informed a native officer of cavalry, of the name of Secunder Khan, that he was sent by his master to tell the native troops that their officers had petitioned for greater allowances, and had resolved to mutiny, because Sir George Barlow had refused to grant them; that the native troops ought therefore to support the governor. The brahmin also assured Secunder Khan, that *if the demands of the English officers were complied with, the native officers and seapoys would lose a proportion of their own pay.* Secunder Khan, the native thus tampered with, was promised a handsome *jaghire*, as the price of his bringing over the native officers and men.* There is abundant evidence to shew that Munro had sent other emissaries with similar instructions to other native corps at various stations.

"The officer commanding the cavalry, Colonel Rumley, convinced that these machinations had received no countenance from the governor, demanded a conference with him. His reception, however, convinced him, that the intrigue had been sanctioned by his authority. He returned to the mount, and imparted the result of his mission. The disgust, horror, indignation, excited by this low and unmanly stratagem, may be well conceived.

They may, in truth, and the cause which requires falsehood to support it must be radically vicious. The governor now resolved to make all the officers in the service subscribe a *test* devised by himself, and expressive of their attachment to himself, and declaratory of their unqualified obedience to himself. A General Gowdie—a name we never before heard, and hope we shall never hear again, — the Commander-in-Chief, assembled the officers at Fort St. George on the 26th of July, and after disgracing, as far as *he* could disgrace, the king's troops by a fulsome panegyric on their conduct, and honoured, as far as *he* was capable of conferring honour, the company's officers, by calling them "*traitors to their country, and mutineers*;" he conveyed the orders of the governor to take the test, or be dismissed the service! The same scene was acted at the mount.

* See Colonel Malcolm's Account, p. 31.

At Trichinopoly the eloquence of General Gowdie was improved upon by an officer in *his Majesty's* service, a Colonel Wilkinson, of the 30th regiment of foot. The officers, to whom the test was proposed, offered to take it with the simple qualification of restricting their obedience to the precious governor's *legal* orders. This Colonel, offended at the suggestion, immediately called out a portion of his regiment by whom the officers were surrounded, ordered his men to load, and added, "If a rescue is attempted, my orders are that you put every one of them to death." They were then marched to the barracks and there put into confinement till the next day, when they were capriciously liberated! No military process; no offence charged against them!

"The whole substance of this shameful abuse of authority was stated afterwards to the Governor-General, with an application for a court-martial on Colonel Wilkinson. It was refused upon grounds that cannot be very satisfactory to that officer; that an amnesty (of which the company's officers were exclusively deemed to have been the objects) having been granted, Colonel Wilkinson's acts were comprehended within the terms of it."

Mr. Marsh's reflections on the consequences of these outrageous proceedings are too judicious, and too important, to be omitted here. Speaking of the business of the 26th of July, he observes,

"It is not fated to die with the occurrences themselves. These have passed away. If they are not destined soon to be forgotten, still the passions they have engendered may sink into repose. The gloom may be brightened by better days, and dispersed by milder administrations. The oppressor himself, retiring from the public scene, hissed and hooted from the stage, may find in obscurity not indeed the quiet by which wearied virtue is refreshed, but the oblivion in which his crimes and his follies may be veiled. But when his name is raised from the memory of man, the policy of that day will be remembered in the bitter fruits of dissension, and enmity, and distrust, which may sooner or later subvert the British empire in India.

"Of this measure the mischief derived a peculiar malignity from the discord planted between the two services, by the manner in which it was executed. Once competitors in fame, companions in enterprise, partners in danger, they are now rivals for profit and emolument, and mutually impatient of each other. It is a fact capable of the strictest proof, that the trifling jealousies which occasionally existed between them, before that period, are now sharpened into a lively animosity. Could it be otherwise when, in the face of all Hindustan, the army of the East India Company was proclaimed to be traitors and rebels by the successive proclamations of Fort St. George; and his Majesty's troops, on whom all their bounty and

patronage were poured, complimented with the monopoly of all the fidelity and allegiance, on which the weight of the empire reposed.

" Yet the measure of that day has consequences that strike much deeper. The ancient connection between the native soldiery and their officers is dissolved. That mysterious link, the master-piece of Indian policy, which rendered military duty a habit of affection, and placed military obedience amongst the sacred endearments and cherished instincts of life ; which, to the strength it acquired as a prejudice of education, added that which it derived from the feelings of the heart, has been snapped asunder. The respect and awe, tempered by attachment, which once formed the most interesting features of the relation between the Sepoy and his European officer, are gone as a shadow. A chain has been broken which can be replaced by no substitutes, and repaired by no artificer.

" It is not the bungling and wretched politicians of Madras, who in one hour consented to abolish the work of years, and within whose horizon nothing but the present is discerned ; it is not these persons who can be made sensible of what they have lost ; but they who, on many signal occasions, have seen the charm at work in the defence of the empire, must recognize with indignation and horror, in what is now left of the army of Madras, the husk and shell of what it was before it was debauched and vitiated by this fatal experiment. Considered as merely remedial of the evils to which it was applied, it was a coarse, unskilful artifice. It could neither reclaim the violent, nor satisfy the discontented, whilst it alienated and disgusted those whose fidelity ought not to have been suspected. It involved all in one indefinite suspicion, and one undistinguishing censure, while it shewed the real weakness of government in revealing the dangerous secret, that more than four-fifths of its army were animated with resentment and hostility against it. It drove those who, though they were infected with the general feeling, were yet within the confines of submission, into actual revolt, by confirming, beyond all contradiction, the intentions they imputed to the Madras government."

We cannot add either to the justice or to the strength of this representation, by any comment of ours : it exhibits a gloomy picture, drawn by a masterly hand. Let the East India Company, let the Board of Controul, let the British Government, contemplate it long and attentively. It holds out an impressive lesson, and demonstrates not only the folly, but the danger, of entrusting to a weak and uneducated mind, the command of an army, and the fate of an empire. Such a solecism in government, such an anomaly in politics, the history of the world scarcely presents. We trust that the King's regiments in India, which were rendered the instruments of these disgraceful proceedings, and all those officers in particular, of whatever rank, whose offensive and brutal conduct was de-

grading to the military character, have been removed from India, and men of more temperate minds, of more decent deportment, and with more correct notions of duty, sent to replace them. Justice and policy alike dictate the necessity of such a measure.

At Seringapatam, scenes of still greater violence and injustice, if possible, were displayed; and some blood was shed, by the improvident attack of a large body of Seapoys, by a detachment of the Mysore cavalry, and some of the King's troops. At length the approaching arrival of the Governor-general, which had been too long protracted, inspired the sanguine hope of a speedy accommodation; though a very little reflection might have convinced those who entertained it, that it was founded on a sandy basis.

Amidst all the aberrations of the army, however, their resentment was limited to one object—the Governor of Madras; their resistance to those orders only which had for their object the separation of the European officers from the native troops. All other military duty was strictly performed. And to the honour of the officers, it must be told,

“That they concealed from the native soldiery their dissatisfactions and their grievances. They knew that an instrument was within their reach, which they might have wielded to a severe retribution; but not even during the strongest sway of the vindictive passions, did they once imagine a measure so fatal to the repose and interests of their country.”

On the 11th of August, the Governor-general arrived at Madras, not, however, as had been fondly expected, as an impartial judge, but as a determined supporter of Sir George Barlow's authority. On the 25th of September he published his definitive judgment.

“This piece, objectionable on the score of its unnecessary prolixity, and the redundancy of those common-places with which the writer habitually enforces and illustrates his matter, contains also a most unbecoming selection of topics, calculated to arouse the decaying resentments, and the almost dormant passions, which his interposition was expected to allay. On this occasion, they were peculiarly unreasonable; for his Lordship ought to have remembered, whilst he was declaiming on the crimes of those whom he had selected for trial, that those crimes remained to be judicially proved; and that it was an unfair mode of influencing the feelings, and biasing the understandings, of the Court-Martial, who could not come with equal and impartial minds to the trial of prisoners whose guilt had been already proclaimed from the seat of authority. But his Lordship not only infers the guilt, but anticipates the sentence. For after enumer-

rating the persons, whom he hands over to a military tribunal, he takes credit for having limited the number of *punishments*; a precipitate, and by no means a decorous insinuation, that there was so strong a conviction of their guilt in his own bosom, that their trials and their punishments were correlative terms. "Lest this document should not be felt in all its severity by the army, they are tortured with panegyrics of Sir George Barlow, expressed in a phrase peculiarly tumid and extravagant."

How could Lord Minto thus openly betray a perfect ignorance of his duty upon such an awful occasion? How dared he thus take a decided part between the accuser and the accused? How durst he, when declaring his resolution to bring so many officers of approved loyalty and talents to trial, thus seek to prejudice their judges against them, by expressing his conviction of their guilt, by anticipating their conviction, and by prescribing, as it were, their different degrees of punishment? Could Lord Minto be ignorant that such conduct as this, in any individual, within the jurisdiction of an English court, would be a misdemeanour, subjecting the offender himself to a criminal prosecution? And if a prosecutor be guilty of a criminal act by seeking to bias the jury who is destined to try his cause, how much more culpable must a man be, holding the situation which Lord Minto held at this period, in whose breast it rested, whether the objects of prosecution should be prosecuted or no, who should thus dictate to the military jury and judges, who were to try the parties, and after the country had witnessed the punishment of jurors, on recent trials, for daring to make their own conscience, and not the will of the government, the rule of their conduct, and the ground of their decision? Lord Minto ought to be told—aye, and the proudest peer of the realm should be told by us, under similar circumstances—that his conduct was highly unconstitutional, and such as ought not to be tolerated by men living under the British constitution. His panegyric on Sir George Barlow, too, under such circumstances, was a libel, not only on the army, but on justice itself.

"By a sort of ill-timed pleasantry, it (the document) is styled by the noble writer, an amnesty. Never was that sacred word more outrageously prostituted, than by its application to a document, denouncing for prosecution and punishment, twenty-one officers, opening an investigation not only into the principal transactions of the mutiny, but all the preceding acts and counsels of the government, and refreshing all the slumbering passions and discords which they had generated. In the selection of these officers out of the aggregate delinquency of their brethren, caprice and fancy and whim

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seem to have been peculiarly sportive : every maxim of sound policy, reason, or judicature, is kept at a most contemptuous distance. Offenders and offences are classed, not according to the degrees of guilt, but according to the accidents of personal rank and station. Three officers compose a distinct class of delinquents, liable, as his Lordship hinted to the courts martial that were to try them, to sentences of higher severity than it was in his contemplation to extend to the whole number of those who were submitted to trial. Some extraordinary delicacy restrained the Governor-General from dictating, in express terms, the punishment of death on the officers comprehended in this class. The court-martial, however, could not be unmindful that the selection itself implied that such an infliction was meditated, and anxiously desired by the government. But on what principles are these officers discriminated from the rest of the army? 'The officers in command of garrisons, or a considerable body of troops, will be separated, on the grounds of higher responsibility, from the commandants of corps. The former will be subjected, at all events, to trial. The latter will be allowed the option of a trial, or dismissal from the service.'

"In his discrimination we look in vain for conspicuous guilt ; for priority in rebellion ; for greater activity in treason, or for those ordinary indications of a criminal mind, without which external acts will not warrant a legitimate inference of crime. The distinction is made as with the rule and the compass. Officers whose rank and seniority placed them in command of garrisons, and large bodies of troops are thrown into this class, by the mere devolution of command during this troubled period. Every rule of justice was inverted by this distinction. As it was abundantly proved at the trials of these gentlemen, the authority of rank and station was wholly overborne. The commanding officers were studiously kept ignorant of the proceedings that were going on. Instead of being the leaders of revolt, they vainly sought to interpose, on several occasions, their barely nominal authority to its progress ; and in many instances, checked and retarded, in other instances actually averted and prevented it.

"What were the grave considerations of jurisprudence or policy, or common sense, that were present to the mind of his Lordship, when he gave his second class of delinquents their option to be tried, or to be dismissed without trial ? The first class was selected for the highest punishment, which is death. The others, whose guilt, according to his own principles, was secondary in degree, must have been visited with the more lenient penalty of dismissal. The alternative, therefore, of self-dismission, without the chances or the benefits of a trial, as might easily have been discerned, would have been embraced by none : every one accordingly made his election in favour of a trial."

Thus as a *judge* and an *arbiter*, Lord Minto shone equally conspicuous. The court-martial for the trial of these officers met at Bangalore on the first of November. It consisted

partly of the Company's officers, who had taken no part in the late transactions, and partly of the King's officers, the latter of whom formed the majority. No suspicion of partiality to the accused could attach to a court so constituted. For the higher offence, designated by Lord Minto, Lieutenant-colonel Bell, Major Storey, and Colonel Doveton, were tried. But, notwithstanding the hint so humanely given by the Governor-general, the two first of these officers were only dismissed the service, the latter of them, too, being strongly recommended to mercy, and the last, Colonel Doveton, was "most fully and honourably acquitted."

It may naturally be supposed, that the government of Madras, as well as the Governor-general, would not only respect the sentence of this legal tribunal, but rejoice to perceive that the court had found, in the circumstances of the cases submitted to their consideration, the most powerful reasons for inflicting the slightest punishment which the law had awarded to offences of that description. But our readers have already heard so much of the outrageous proceedings of that government; they have already seen with how little respect the sentences of civil tribunals had been treated by them; they have already witnessed the oppression exercised on prosecutors and jurymen for discharging a duty which they owed to themselves, and to their country, that nothing of a similar nature can now, we are persuaded, excite their surprise. The Judge-Advocate, who had, on former occasions, appeared in the odious light of a tool and a parasite to Sir George Barlow, was now destined to stand forward in a light still more odious and exceptionable.

"At Madras, where the sentence on Colonel Bell had arrived about the 12th of December, 1809, a sentence awarded after a patient trial, and after the Judge-Advocate had been copiously heard in support of the charges, and in reply to the defence: after an interval of deliberation that by no means softens the moral character of the proceeding, a letter on the 22d of February, in the following year, is written by Lieutenant-colonel Leith, to the Deputy Judge-Advocate officiating at the trial, by the direction, as he tells us, of the Commander-in-Chief. This Colonel Leith, a mere stranger to the court, holding no office in it, and having no official right to interfere with its proceedings, after animadverting in low and scurrilous terms on the language of the defence, hints to the court, that 'instead of lessening the crimes he (the prisoner) was to answer for, it only proved more fully the malicious disposition under which he acted.' He scolds the prisoner for his animadversions on the measures of the government, and insists on their being expunged."

Wretched and miserable parasite ! who could swerve so widely from the path of duty, to calumniate men more deserving than himself !

“ He calls the attention of the court to the nature of the sentence which has been passed on Colonel Bell, and enters into an elaborate declamation, in which facts are mutilated to correspond to his reasonings, and reasonings introduced which have no facts to support them ; all terminating in this mild and sober deduction : “ His crime, therefore, includes every thing that is treasonable in a subject, wicked in a man, or infamous in a soldier.” Again follow still more abusive observations on the defence. The court are roundly told, in something more than insinuation, that the officer commanding the army *was led* to have looked for a *different* kind of judgment ; and at last they are reminded that, in two other cases of mutiny, which are specified, *all the prisoners were capitally convicted, and that some of them suffered accordingly.*”

This proceeding was worthy any of the public accusers, in France, under the sanguinary reigns of Robespierre and Buonaparte ; it was, we suppose, the first time, and we are sure it ought to be the last, that a man, holding a situation under the government of any portion of the *British* dominions, ever dared so to degrade a public station, to be insolent in order to be inhuman, to interfere without the shadow of a right, or even a colourable pretext, for the *honourable* purpose of inducing, in the most irregular, and most unjustifiable manner, an act of barbarity, an act which, had it been perpetrated, would have placed him in a worse situation than the prisoner, whose conduct he presumed to arraign, in a manner which strongly marked the *generous* feelings of his heart, and the *elevated* principles of his mind. To render this magnanimous proceeding consistent in its parts, the Judge-Advocate’s letter was not read in open court, and, consequently, the prisoner had no opportunity to detect its *falsehoods*, if any it contained, or to expose its ignorance, if any it exhibited. It was published, however, by the upright government of Madras, it seems.

“ What could be more adverse to humanity, as well as law, than this daring attempt to turn back the stream of mercy ? Was such an attempt ever heard of amongst men trained even to the wildest and most imperfect notions of jurisprudence ? The Governor General, and the Commander-in-chief, calling to the aid of their own powerful influence, the hired sophistries of an advocate, to prevail on a court-martial to convert a lenient and merciful sentence into a sentence of death ! The court, however, with a virtuous firmness, adhered to their judgment, and the blood of this excellent and venerable man was not shed.”

The same *honourable* attempt was made to convert the dismissal of Major Storey, who had been specially recommended to mercy, into a sentence of death ; and to exchange the acquittal of Colonel Doveton for a similar sentence !!! Fortunately it was treated with the contempt which it deserved. And, as if the end and object of this proceeding, and the temper and disposition of the government, had not been sufficiently manifested ; the moment it was found that the court-martial would not become an instrument to gratify the sentiment of any man, or set of men, it was dissolved, and another appointed to try the rest of the officers. This was a most honourable testimony to the just and conscientious conduct of its members !

Resolved, however, that Colonel Doveton should not escape, but that power should effect what law could not, the Commander-in-chief, in the most arbitrary and illegal manner, issued a general order, in which

“ A punishment of no ordinary severity is inflicted on this officer, for the very crime from which he had been honourably acquitted by a court chosen and appointed by his prosecutors. In this order, the Commander-in-chief recommends to government, that Lieutenant Colonel Doveton should be removed from the exercise of all military functions, till the pleasure of the Court of Directors should be taken. Conformably to this arrangement, a government order shortly afterwards announces the suspension of that officer from his military functions.”

We should be glad to see actions brought in the Court of King's Bench, against the obsequious Commander-in-chief who so far forgot his duty as to recommend, and against the Governor who inflicted, this arbitrary, unjust, extra-judicial, and illegal, punishment,—a punishment that bore no one feature of justice, but every symptom of malice and revenge.

The new court-martial, appointed to try the remaining prisoners, was constructed in a way which could not leave a shadow of doubt, on the mind of any man, as to the nature of the service which it was confidently expected to perform. The very Lieutenant Colonel Wilkinson, whose brutal conduct has been before noticed, and who was only screened from trial himself by the acknowledgement of his guilt by the Governor General, who described him as a fit object to be comprehended within the amnesty, which could not have been the case, had he not been guilty of conduct which subjected him to punishment, was appointed *President*, and as the articles of war required two-thirds of the court to concur in a sentence of death, just two-thirds of this court martial were composed of

his Majesty's officers. This fact requires no comment. It is sufficient of itself to characterize the conduct of the Madras government, in the eyes of any man who is not wilfully blind. The officers who were to be tried by this court, having witnessed its composition, and seen that acquittal, however honourable, or however decided, could not screen them from punishment, wisely accepted the proffered alternative, and were voluntarily dismissed from the service ; to which, however, they have, most of them, been restored by the Court of Directors, who, by that one act, passed a sentence of condemnation on the conduct of their Eastern Governors—*general and local*.

Mr. Marsh, having thus brought his narrative of these most extraordinary transactions to a close, thus sums up the principal objects of inculcation.

“ It will appear, that a stern, unyielding spirit of authority has presided over his counsels from his first contemptuous refusal to transmit the respectful representations of the army to the Court of Directors, in strict conformity to the usage of the service, down to the final consummation of that perverse system, the expedient of the 26th of July, which drove a gallant and heroic army into despair and crime ; that this interval was filled up with every thing of odious in power, insulting in authority, and foolish in policy ; that military laws were subverted, and military duty perplexed, by the punishments of officers for having obeyed the orders of their superiors, those punishments inflicted without the slightest forms of inquiry, and without any of the solemnities of trial ; that before the army had recovered from their first surprise and alarm at these monstrous proceedings, a considerable number of their most revered officers* were proclaimed to be traitors, as in the tables of a public proscription, and sent from India as vagrants, without any trial, and possibly without any accusation ; that while writhing with the torture, though still patient under the oppression, they were treacherously surprised and separated, with every circumstance of disgrace and indignity, from the native corps which they commanded ; and that this fatal expedient *first* drove them into those excesses, which every good man must equally deplore and censure.

“ The most minute inquisition into this mass of discord and tumult, will not discover any wanderings from the paramount allegiance they owed their country. It was the cold, unfeeling temper of Sir George Barlow, his personal enmities, capriciously and cruelly indulged ; his inflexible and adamant obstinacy ; his contempt of military law ; his violation of military usage, that arrayed against him every feeling that glows in the heart of man. And it will mitigate the sternest judgment which can be passed upon them for their

* They have all been since restored by the Court of Directors.

temporary departure from duty and discipline, that, in their most perturbed moments, they abstained from seducing the soldiery into the participation of their wrongs and resentments.

"But if these are not sufficient illustrations of the temper and policy of Sir George Barlow, they are amply supplied by the transactions already detailed, amounting to a daring and oppressive interference with a court of law. In that part of his administration he stands forward the avowed patron of convicted criminals; perverting his authority to the punishment and ruin of men, who had been guilty, as he himself specifically admits, of no other offence, than the prosecution of these criminals in the King's court of justice."

In short, in whatever point of view, or under whatever aspect, Sir George Barlow's administration is considered, in connection with these transactions, it appears equally weak, odious, and oppressive; it exhibits a man, filling a high situation, for which he is wholly disqualified by birth, education, and habits, making no rule of justice, no maxims of law, no principles of policy, the guide of his public conduct, but allowing himself to be carried away by every gale of caprice, by every wind of passion. But no disqualification of whatever nature can exempt a public officer from blame or punishment for gross violations of duty; though it be certain that a very considerable portion of censure must attach to the individuals to whom such officer was indebted for his appointment. And, on this subject, Mr. Marsh concludes his very able dissertation, with some very suitable and appropriate admonitions, with which we also shall conclude our remarks.

"The mischiefs, however, which it has been the singular fortune of this gentleman to diffuse so prodigally about him, impart some value to the lessons they have bequeathed to us. They give us some negative admonition as to the future selection of persons for the station, to which *his* incompetency is recorded. To the Board of Control and the Directors they furnish an instructive hint, that for the future it will be as well to choose a man, who by nature, education, and temper, is not absolutely unfit for any trust affecting the happiness of any portion of mankind; that the desk of the secretary is not the school, where the science of government, or the knowledge of mankind, can be profitably studied, and that he who is invested with any delegated portion of British authority, is but imperfectly disciplined to his function, unless he has been nurtured amidst the forms and maxims of the British Constitution.

"In this may the very germ of Sir George Barlow's misfortunes, the original sin of his policy, be discovered. What could have been augured of a man, who had been trained for a place of almost unlimited power in the trammels of official life; of a man, whose moral

horizon had been narrowed to the petty sphere of official duty ; and who could have gleaned no more of the art of governing his fellow-creatures, than he had collected during the drudgery of his apprenticeship, from the bye-laws of a trading corporation ? The finished and graduated doctor of such academies is but an infant in the affairs of the world ; and, like an infant, arbitrary, peevish, petulant, and capricious."

The Victim of Intolerance, or the Hermit of Killarney. A Catholic Tale. By Robert Ferrers, Major in the Royal Marines. 12mo. Pp. 928. 20s. Gale and Curtis, 1814.

THIS tale is evidently written to promote the cause of what is absurdly, though designedly and mischievously, termed *Catholic Emancipation* ; and, for this purpose, with the true zeal of a disciple of Ignatius, the penal laws which have been long repealed are made by the author to be productive of every misery and of every evil, to the hero of the piece. There could be but one motive for pourtraying vexations which can no longer occur ; for depicting evils which have ceased to exist ; but it is a motive which we are most unwilling to impute to a man who has the honour to bear his Majesty's commission. The book is dedicated to the *people of Ireland*—to a people whose credulity is easily misled, and whose passions are easily inflamed—and it contains matter peculiarly calculated to mislead the one and to inflame the other ; and having said this, we shall leave our readers to form their own opinion of the author's motives and object.

We could easily expose the weakness of his positions, the inaccuracy of his facts, the fallacy of his arguments, and the injustice of his conclusions, but, to use a homely French adage—*Le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle*. There is no error, either of style, or of reasoning, which the most superficial reader will not easily correct.

The hero is, most ridiculously, called, the *Victim of Intolerance*, for, in point of fact, he is the victim of *ambition* and of *family pride*. He becomes enamoured of a girl, whose father is a great politician and a staunch Foxite, and who, having lost his only son, whom he destined for prime minister, resolves that the man who marries his daughter shall take his name, and enjoy the honours intended for his son. This man approves the principles of the hero, and has no objection to him as a Papist ; but refuses to let him marry his daughter, because he cannot obtain a seat in parliament, and become a professed politician. It is, therefore, the pride, or rather the

vanity, of the father that drives the hero mad; for mad he becomes, and then acts as a leader of the rebels, after which, having narrowly escaped the gallows, he turns *Hermit*.

Whoever has a taste to be gratified by a strange political, parliamentary, and philosophical, medley, may repair to the *Hermit's* cave. There they will find copious extracts from the Parliamentary Debates, on the subject of the war, and of the Catholic Question, well seasoned with misrepresentations, and with the bitter effusions of party-spirit; and also a long disquisition on the principia of Newton, intended to prove the existence of a Deity from the laws of gravitation. The author seems not to be aware that the doctrine of gravitation, as maintained by Newton, has been seriously questioned, and an ingenious attempt made to overturn it; now, if it were overturned, what would become of his triumphant proof of the existence of a God? Nothing is more silly, nothing more dangerous, than to quit a strong guard for a weak one, to defend a cause by a weak argument, which may be defended by a train of reasoning absolutely irresistible. If the abilities of the pretended Atheist, who draws forth these arguments from the hero, had been equal to his zeal, he would have found very little difficulty in vanquishing his feeble opponent.

Mr. Pitt's sentiments on the Catholic Question are grossly misrepresented, either through ignorance or design. His speech, indeed, previous to the union, is correctly given, but the most unwarrantable conclusions are drawn from it. The style of this tale is inflated; and some of the amatory descriptions are rather worse than enthusiastic; but we have neither space nor inclination to notice all its objectionable parts, not the least of which is the notable discovery that the *Nouvelle Heloise* of J. J. Rousseau, instead of being a stimulus to vice, is an incentive to virtue!!!

Ode to Napoleon Buonaparte. The fifth Edition. 8vo. Pp. 17.
1s. 6d. Murray, 1814.

Buonaparte. A Poem. 8vo. Pp. 15. 1s. 6d. Murray, 1814.

Ode on the Deliverance of Europe. By J. H. Merivale, Esq.
8vo. Pp. 12. 1s. 6d. Murray, 1814.

THE first of these Poems has been universally imputed to the noble author of the *Corsair*, and the imputation has never been repelled. If it really be the production of his lordship's muse, his forbearance to acknowledge it must be ascribed to the recent declaration of his intention to write no more, for some years. The present unexpected occasion, however, might

fully justify a departure from such intention, without subjecting him to the charge of inconstancy. However men may differ on great political questions, or upon matters of internal economy, no difference of opinion it is conceived, can subsist, among those who are friendly to civil liberty, and to the best interests of society, on the downfall of one of the most odious tyrants that ever disgraced human nature. The poet has been particularly happy in his selection of a motto for his ode.

“ The Emperor Nepos was acknowledged by the *Senate*, by the *Italians*, and by the *Provincials of Gaul*; his moral virtues, and military talents, were loudly celebrated; and those who derived any private benefit from his government, announced in prophetic strains the restoration of public felicity.

* * * * *

“ By this shameful abdication, he protracted his life a few years, in a very ambiguous state, between an Emperor and an Exile, till——

“ *Gibbon's Decline and Fall*, Vol. VI. p. 220.

Surely we may say, with justice, to Buonaparte, *mutato nomine, de te fabula narratur*. Never was a motto more appropriate; it would almost seem to have been written in the spirit of anticipation, with reference to the present times, instead of being the language of History, describing past events. The ode opens with a spirited apostrophe to its immediate object.

“ 'Tis done—but yesterday a King!
 And arm'd with Kings to strive—
 And now thou art a nameless thing
 So abject—yet alive!
 Is this the man of thousand thrones,
 Who strewed our earth with hostile bones,
 And can he thus survive?
 Since he, miscalled the morning star,
 Nor man nor fiend hath fall'n so far.
 * * * * *

“ The Desolator desolate!
 The victor overthrown?
 The arbiter of others' fate
 A suppliant for his own!
 Is it some yet imperial hope
 That with such change can calmly cope?
 Or dread of death alone?
 To die a prince—or live a slave—
 Thy choice is most ignobly brave!”

This keenness of sarcasm, and this vein of irony, are admirable ! And yet there are miscreants still in France to exclaim *Vive L'Empereur !* Aye, and there are still greater miscreants in this country to deplore his downfall, and to sigh for his restoration ! We wish that the stanzas we have quoted were translated into every living language, and circulated over the whole continent of Europe. How will the slaves of France, and the crowned minions of the tyrant, shrink beneath the poet's lash.

“ And earth has spilt her blood for him,
 Who thus can board his own !
 And monarchs bowed the trembling limb,
 And thanked him for a throne !
 Fair freedom ! we may hold thee dear,
 When thus thy mightiest foes their fear
 In humblest guise have shown.
 Oh ! ne'er may tyrant leave behind
 A brighter name to lure mankind !

“ Thine evil deeds are writ in gore,
 Nor written thus in vain—
 Thy triumphs tell of fame no more,
 Or deepen every strain—
 If thou hadst died as honour dies,
 Some new Napoleon might arise,
 To shame the world again—
 But who would soar the solar height,
 To set in such a starless night ?”

The poet has well-pointed the moral of his tale, in drawing an useful inference from the degrading fate of cowardly ambition “ fallen from its high estate.” Having thus descanted on his fall, and its effects, he tells the guilty exile to hasten to his drear abode.

“ Then haste thee to thy sullen Isle,
 And gaze upon the sea ;
 That element may meet thy smile,
 It ne'er was ruled by thee !
 Or trace with thine all idle hand
 In loitering mood upon the sand
 That earth is now as free !
 That Corinth's pedagogue hath now
 Transferred his bye-word to thy brow.”

The two last stanzas (particularly the last) want simplicity and perspicuity. The mixed allusion to sacred and profane History, to Prometheus and to Satan, is not consistent with that

classical taste which marks the rest of the ode, which is creditable to the author's talents and principles.

The next "*Poem*" before us, bearing the comprehensive title "*Buonaparte*," for, though but a single word, that word speaks volumes, is composed in heroic verse, and displays the same patriotic spirit which marks the "*Ode*." It opens with a reference to Buonaparte's declaration, a short time previous to his dethronement, that he never would consent to fill an humbled throne. Then, reflecting on the events which have so rapidly passed, since that declaration was made, the bard comes to contemplate the present wonderful, and providential change.

" Yes ! Yes ! 'tis come—the great, the wond'rous, day !
 The gloom of years at once has pass'd away !
 No gradual dawn unveils th' auspicious light ;
 But noontide splendours burst upon the sight :
 The shock so instant, and so full the blaze,
 Joy wakes not yet, and man can only gaze.—
 But, lo ! beneath that blaze what glories rise !
 What gorgeous fabrics climb the glowing skies !
 See, empires, late in smoking ruins spread,
 Start from the dust, and lift the towery head !
 See, thrones, no more with blood of kings besmeared,
 Shine in new pomp, triumphant and revered !
 Around, in crowding ranks, the nations kneel :
 Victors and vanquished burn with kindred zeal.
 There, as in grateful praise they reverent bend,
 See, from mid heaven the dove of peace descend !
 Soft from her hovering wings, and olive wreath,
 Fall drops of healing on the hosts beneath.
 And, hark ! a voice of more than mortal sound,
 Wafts the glad tidings of deliverance round.
 Oppression wide unfolds each ponderous gate,
 In dubious joy th' unfettered victims wait ;
 Exulting commerce spreads her every sail ;
 Justice aloft extends the golden scale ;
 The peaceful arts their ancient cares resume,
 And wasted realms with fresh luxuriance bloom.
 But he—so late the world's unconquer'd lord,
 By monarchs dreaded, and by crowds adored,
 Where, where is he—the wonder of his age !
 The brave ! the great ! the hero ! and the sage !
 What proud achievement graced his closing doom !
 What heaps of slain attest the warriors tomb !"

This apostrophe is followed by another addressed to the heroes of old, between whom, and the mock-hero of Elba,

a contrast is exhibited. A tribute of justice is next paid to the allied monarchs, who shared in all the dangers of the field, and who conquered but to save ! From them the bard returns to his principal ' personage.'

" Go, then, poor breathing monument of shame !
Immortal infamy shall be thy fame !
Live—while thou canst ; the muse recalls her pray'r ;
Thy fate she seeks not ; 'tis beneath her care.
Too mean for vengeance, and for fear too low,
To thy loneisle, and cheerless mansion, go !
Yet think what dire attendants wait thee there :
Terror, Remorse, Derision, and Despair.
The veriest wretch, by chance compassion fed,
No mud-built roof to shade his weary head,
Shall pass thee by with look of conscious pride,
And laugh to scorn th' unscptred homicide.
Another race, ere long, shall vainly seek
In thy wan beamless eye, and faded cheek,
One trace of him whose fiery spirit pour'd
From realm to realm the deluge of the sword."

Thus for one bard that sang the praises of this man, there now spring a dozen to record his infamy. Fortunately for the fame of this country, it never produced more than *one* bard whose muse was prostituted to so base a purpose ; and her abortion was duly castigated in one of our early volumes. The following compliment to the French emigrants, who preserved their loyalty and their faith, amidst scenes of unexampled distress, is richly deserved.

" Ye, too, much injured band ! whose duteous love
Not death could daunt, nor years of exile move ;
Illustrious remnant of the faithful few !
Take the high meed to suffering patience due :
Let glory's trump with loudest note proclaim,
Each secret act, and long-neglected name ;
O'er earth's wide bounds the welcome blast shall roll,
And time record it in his deathless scroll."

Nor among those to whom praise is justly due, does the bard forget his native land--a land raised by high-spirited perseverance, by magnanimous disinterestedness, by every quality which ennobles nations and dignifies thrones, to a prouder pre-eminence of fame, than modern history records.

" But thou, blest land, whom grateful foes revere,
First in the sacred cause, to virtue dear !

Thou ark of safety in the shoreless sea,
 With what fond rapture turns my soul to thee.
 Friend of th' oppressed ! thou world's palladium, say,
 What peerless guerdon shall thy toils repay ?
 Not fame—for bankrupt fame can yield no more ;
 And wealth and liberty were thine before.
 But love unstrained, and many a cheek bedewed
 With the pure tear of speechless gratitude.
 The proud remembrance of surmounted ills ;
 The heart at others' bliss that nobly thrills.
 The sense of pow'r well us'd, and conscious worth,
 These are thy joys, and of celestial birth !"

These are good lines, written with feeling and with spirit. The benevolent muse, at the close of her song, wishes to find an excuse for dropping a generous tear even on the fate of Buonaparte ; but honestly confesses that such an excuse is not to be found.

" Vainly she strives, with curious search, to find
 One spot less curst, less hateful in thy mind ;
 There *all* is evil, and unlovely waste,
 By nature branded and by power debased ;
 Fruitful of wrong, and mischievously wise,
 Grov'ling in dust, yet grasping at the skies."

It may, assuredly, be asserted, without any violation of candour, that the life of Napoleone Buonaparte has been perfectly consistent, one regular, uniform, unremitting scene of crime.

Nullâ virtute redemptum.

And yet this man was called *Great* ; he who never performed one virtuous, one generous action ; whose mind never harboured one elevated sentiment !

Mr. Merivale's ode, the last of the loyal trio issuing from the prolific press of Mr. Murray, prolific in splendid and in useful works, honourable to the literature and to the genius of the age, is entitled to as much praise for its spirit as either of the preceding poems noticed in this article, though, perhaps, inferior in genius to that ascribed to Lord Byron. We shall select, as a fair specimen of his productions, his apostrophe to the spirits of those departed statesmen, especially to that of the ever to be lamented WILLIAM PITT, who resolutely opposed the revolutionary torrent which threatened to overwhelm all civilized states.

" Ye tenants of the grave,
 Whom unseen wisdom gave

To watch the shapeless mist o'er earth extending,
Yet will'd to snatch away,
Before the appointed day
Of light renewed, and clouds and darkness ending,
Oh ! might ye now permitted rise,
Cast o'er this wondrous scene your unobstructed eyes.
And say, Oh, thou whose might,
Bulwark of England's right ;
Stood forth the might of Chatham's lordly son :
Thou on whose burning tongue,
Truth, peace, and freedom hung."
When freedom's latest sand had almost run ;—
To the deliver'd world declare
That each hath seen fulfilled his latest, earliest, prayer !"

Oh ! indeed, that the spirits of Burke, Windham, and Pitt. were permitted to visit this world, and to witness the present most auspicious moment, which their enlightened minds, and generous labours, so much contributed to produce ! Happy, supremely happy, were they allowed to partake of mortal feelings, would they be, on contemplating the scene before them, on seeing all their expectations answered, all their wishes crowned, and all their hopes fulfilled !—We shall extract the last stanza of this ode, and then, with thanks for their patriotic efforts, bid adieu to the poetical trio.

" Vaunting ambition ! mourn
Thy bloody laurels torn,
And ravished from thy grasp the sin-earned prize ;
Or, if thy meteor fame
Yet wins the fool's acclaim,
Let him behold thee yok'd with cowardice,—
Then pass with a disdainful smile,
The blasted scorn'd poor man of Elba's rocky isle.*

Letter from Sir Philip Francis, Knight of the most Honourable order of the Bath, to Earl Grey. 8vo. Pp. 27. Ridgway, 1814.

THE first part of this letter really induced us to suppose, that this good Knight of the Bath was in his dotage, and had totally lost one of his faculties, at least, his *memory*. We pass over the metaphysical observations on the censorial power of the press, and the right of opinion to controul power. We are not disposed to dispute these points with him ; we proceed to more *tangible*, and less equivocal, matter. The Knight

* " The blind old man of Scio's rocky isle."—*Bride of Abydos*.

reminds the peer of the happy period of their political intercourse, March, 1798, when they—"drank pure wine together," and when—"I was not superannuated;" so that our readers will perceive that we were not very far from the mark when we conceived Sir Philip to be in his dotage. But other circumstances marked this auspicious period, in the eyes of this hoary politician; he and his colleague then "cared but little by what majorities the nation was betrayed, or how many felons were acquitted by their peers." Here are two assertions, which, though put negatively, are sufficiently direct to call for distinct notice, and sufficiently false to require a flat contradiction. The great crimes committed by the majorities of that day, in the eyes of Sir Francis, was the firm barrier which they interposed to the attempts of the opposition to betray the nation; for those majorities, he must bear to be told, by the steadiness of their perseverance, paved the way for that happy state of things which, it has pleased Providence, that we should live to witness. As to the felons acquitted by their peers; we know of none who were stigmatized as acquitted felons, but certain reforming worthies who were tried at the Old Bailey, and who were warmly patronized by all the leaders of the opposition of that day. Governor Hastings had, indeed, been acquitted, and honourably acquitted, some time before; but, though Sir Philip's sense of delicacy did not restrain his eager desire to become one of the ostensible prosecutors and accusers of a man with whom he had had a personal quarrel, which had terminated in a duel, nor even prevented him from dividing the House of Commons on the question, we cannot suspect him of carrying his animosity so far against his ancient enemy, as to apply so vulgar and so inappropriate an appellation to him. To whom then he does mean to apply it, we must leave him to explain. He goes on to remark, still in reference to the same period,

"In England and Scotland, the general disposition of the people may be fairly judged of by the means, which ARE said to be necessary to counteract it; an immense standing army, barracks in every part of the country, the Bill of Rights suspended, and in fact a military government."

When we consider the strength of the enemy which we had to encounter, and the extent and magnitude of our operations, the immensity of our standing army, as it is foolishly and falsely denominated, may be easily accounted for, without any reference to the disposition of the people. As to the suspension of the Bill of Rights, by which, we suppose, is meant the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, it was a measure by no means

unprecedented, and certainly necessary : and though it did not shew, as artfully and wickedly asserted, *the general disposition of the people*, it certainly manifested the existence of a disaffected spirit in a portion of the community, for the suppression of which extraordinary measures were requisite. It was at this precise period, be it remembered, that the *rebellion in Ireland* broke out, to which country Sir Philip has found it convenient not to refer. A military government must signify a government either established or supported, by the sword, or both ;—a government, in which all the public offices are filled—as recently in France---by the military. That Great Britain was not, either at the period alluded to, or at any other period in modern times, a military government, either in form or in effect, or in any of the senses here affixed to a *military government*, is a fact so notorious as to need no proof, and so certain as not to be overturned by the ipse dixit of an old querulous, wrangling, discontented, politician.

The surrender of Norway to Sweden is termed, by Sir Philip, *in limine*, a “flagitious project,” but to this we shall attend presently. We have to notice some preliminary statements. In the boldness of his zeal, he refers to some characters, who have been connected with the government of the country, and audaciously says---“Their true character and merits are already on record, and shall be kept in preservation, *like reptiles in spirits*, for the wonder of posterity.” He then quotes Sheridan who, we know not on what occasion, said---“It is not possible ; you might as well expect a serpent to take the direction of an arrow.” Now, standing thus by itself, the observation has no earthly meaning, yet this sapient commentator adds, “That speech would have made him immortal, if, *as he ought to have done*, he had died at the end of it, *de curru descendens teutonico*.” If poor Sir Philip would descend, not from his Teutonic car, but from the literary stilts which he has mounted, so as to become intelligible, we should have been able to appreciate his remarks. Who the “reptiles in spirits” are, we know not ; but, as the Knight is fond of this kind of preservative, he will probably order his own body to be embalmed for the benefit of posterity. Why Mr. Sheridan “ought to have died” when he had finished his speech, or *when* he made this which should have been *his dying speech*, we are wholly at a loss to conjecture.

Sir Philip now takes a bird's eye view of the war, not in imitation of his friend Erskine, tracing its causes and consequences, but to substitute his own misrepresentations for facts. He begins by boldly stating that the war of 1793 was resolved
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on long before it was declared, meaning, *by this country* ; he then observes—

“ The original war itself was professedly *undertaken*—with what sincerity it would now be superfluous to inquire—for the avowed predominant purpose of resisting the propagation of French *principles, destructive of all order and society*, to support the cause of morality and religion, and, above all things, to assert the hereditary right of succession in every country, where a royal government had been established, and in any family, which might happen to have been long in possession of the crown.”

Now all this is told as gravely as if it were really matter of fact, whereas it is any thing but truth. To overthrow the whole of this flimsy fabric, it is only necessary to remind our readers of one plain fact, which they may verify by a reference to any of the public papers of the day ; namely, that the war was not *undertaken* by us at all, but was declared against us by France, and on the very day appointed by a French General to open a friendly conference on the subject of negotiation with the British ambassador at the Hague. Consequently, it neither was, nor could have been, ‘ *resolved on long before it was declared*,’ by this country. On our part it was a war purely defensive, and, therefore, both just and necessary ; and ‘ the avowed predominant purpose’ for which he would have his readers believe the war was undertaken, did not exist at the time, though certainly the war was rendered by the French, essentially, a war of *principles*, though not for the universal assertion of that hereditary right which he has falsely imputed to it. He proceeds in the same style of loose declamation :

“ It was a pious crusade against republicans, usurpers, democrats, and regicides, past, present, and to come. The war has lasted so long, that these pretences, whether real or not, are very little known or remembered. Young men may have heard such things talked of, when they were children. *Old men have but a feeble memory, when they have any.*” (The superannuated knight has afforded us a notable illustration of this truth !) “ In the intermediate stages of life, I see nothing but indifference. Their knowledge of what happened twenty years ago is imperfect, and, as to what may happen hereafter, the *universal panacea* is to banish care at all events. How strictly and how long the avowed principles and objects of the war were adhered to, may be sufficiently collected from a few of the inconsistencies which soon occurred in the conduct of it, and which showed how little the consequences of engaging in a *voluntary war, without necessity or reason*, and still less its possible duration, had been previously considered. Mr. Pitt, as I believe, had persuaded himself, or been persuaded by others, that it would be successfully concluded in one campaign.”

It would be the extreme of cowardice to enter the lists, in an historical combat, with an old man who has avowedly "but a feeble memory" if he have *any*; but false assertions must not be suffered to pass without contradiction. Once more, then, we say, the war was not a *voluntary war*, without necessity or reason, since it was a war declared by the French against us, and, it will scarcely be contended, that it was not reasonable or not necessary, to defend ourselves against the attacks of an enemy. The *consequences* of the war had not only been considered, but *predicted* by Mr. Pitt himself, who expressed his conviction that the example of England would prove the safety of Europe;—and it has so proved; such have been the consequences of the war, that not only its real objects, but even the objects imputed to it by Sir P. F. himself, have been accomplished. Mr. Pitt's alledged persuasion of its speedy termination was unknown, we believe, to any one but the Knight, and assuredly to Mr. Pitt himself. There was a period, indeed, when a single campaign might have terminated the contest, in the same way in which it has now been terminated, by the conquest of the capital. The present Lord Liverpool was ridiculed by all the opposition, and by all the jacobinical prints in the country, for what was termed the Quixotic notion of a *march to Paris*. That march, however, was as practicable then, as it has proved to be now. The allied armies, it is true, were less numerous, but their relative force to that of the French was to the full as superior at that moment, as in 1814. All doubt, therefore, on the subject is, happily, at an end; the march to Paris is no longer a matter of political speculation, but an historical fact. And when the Prussian and Austrian armies, commanded by the Duke of Brunswick, first entered the plains of Champagne, had the same unity of object, the same cordial co-operation, subsisted, as have subsisted since, the same result might have been produced. It follows, then, that had the persuasion which the Knight ascribes to Mr. Pitt, been really entertained by that statesman, which it never was, it would not have been so chimerical or so groundless as he, judging, as all shallow politicians are too apt to do, solely by the *event*, evidently supposes it to have been.

Having laid down his own data, and imputed his own objects to the war, he, by no great exertion of either talent or ingenuity, proceeds to state—for he does not descend to *argue* a single point—that all subsequent negotiations with the French government amounted to an abandonment of principle, and a dereliction of the original objects of the war.

Without meaning to contest this point with him, we shall simply observe, that it might have occurred to this hoary politician, that the incessant clamours raised by the party of which he was, though not an inactive, a most insignificant, and even impotent, member, for his opinion was despised whenever offered, and as to influence he had no one requisite to command it, might render it prudent, and even necessary, in a wise and discreet minister, to convince the public of the ignorance or the falsehood of those, who daily asserted, that peace might be instantly made, on fair and honourable terms, with the French regicides, by opening negotiations for the purpose of bringing those assertions to the test. The attempt, it is known, was made and failed; and it well becomes, truly, those wretched partisans, those degraded politicians, those detected and derided prophets, who constantly urged the necessity of the attempt, to censure his Majesty's ministers for making it!

The Knight is so little accustomed to plain-dealing, that he cannot state a single fact, without misrepresenting or perverting it, in some way or other. Thus, having mentioned the peace of Amiens, concluded in 1802, he goes on to say. "In 1803, that peace was *discarded*, and the same war *renewed on its original terms, for the security and defence of morality and religion.*" We appeal to our readers whether a fact of this nature was ever more grossly misrepresented. Never, indeed, was the word *discarded* so applied by any writer. The truth is, he wanted to throw the whole blame of this rupture, with the true spirit of modern patriotism, on his own country; but his feelings, possibly, were a little awkward on the occasion, and, therefore, he had recourse to an ambiguous expression, which, he thought, might escape observation. To discard, however, is to perform a voluntary act, an act, optional with the party performing it, to cause, perform, or to omit; if the peace, therefore, to adopt his own jargon, were actually *discarded* by us, we voluntarily renewed the war, which we need not have renewed if we had not chosen. Now, when the question is thus simply stated, it necessarily involves the British cabinet in great criminality, for to plunge the nation into a war which might have been awarded without a sacrifice of honour, of principle, of interest, or of security --- all which must necessarily be understood where the act of going to war is made the ground of an *accusation* against any country, as is the case here, is to incur the most fearful responsibility which can possibly attach to men in their civil capacities, under any circumstances; nay, is to be guilty of as great a

crime as men can commit. The question, then, reverts to this point; was the renewal of war, in 1803, a necessary act for the security and interests of this country, or was it not? This old man's memory is so conveniently feeble, that he had probably forgotten the scandalous invasion, by Buonaparte, of the rights and liberties of independent nations, during the existence of that hollow-armed truce, fancifully denominated the *peace* of Amiens. But though, in his old age, he betrays the most acute sensibility to the political sufferings of any country which is to be taken from the allies of France, he never manifested, during the whole of his political career, the smallest regard for the rights or the happiness of any people who have been sacrificed to the ambition of Buonaparte. It would have been but fair, but honest in him, in his cursory review of ministerial crimes, to state the grounds on which he has presumed to attach censure to the government for the renewal of war in 1803. But he knew, from experience, that it is both safer and easier, on such occasions, to deal in assertions, than to have recourse to proofs. Treacherous, or rather accommodating, as his memory is, he could not have forgotten the great sacrifices which the ministers of that day had made for the attainment of peace; that, so desirous were they that it should prove durable, and so convinced were they of its durability, that the First Lord of the Admiralty, a man *deservedly* dear to Sir Philip and his friends, not only abandoned all the contracts which had been made for naval stores of every description, but disposed of every thing in the dock-yards, so, at least, as to leave them in a state of destitution, wholly unexampled in our naval history. Prosecutions, too, were threatened, and actually commenced, against public writers, for the novel offence of portraying the character of Napoleone Buonaparte in the colours of truth. These, and other facts, fresh in the recollection of all who chuse to remember them, supply the most unequivocal proofs that can be exhibited, not merely of the sincerity of ministers in making peace, but of their firm and fixed resolution to maintain it. Those ministers, then, cannot be said to have *discarded* the peace, in 1803, (in the only sense which can be affixed to the term) without a violation of truth.

Equally loose and incorrect, too, is Sir P. in characterizing this new war. He boldly asserts, that "the same war was renewed on its original terms, for the security of morality and religion." He knew this to be false at the time he made the assertion; for he knew that by acknowledging the new French government, the Cabinet had abandoned what he (Sir Philip)

had stated to have been one of the leading original *terms* or *objects* of this war; nay, according to him, the prominent, the paramount object of the war, superior to the cause of morality and religion, namely, "*above all*, to assert the hereditary right of succession in every country where a royal government had been established, and in any family which might happen to have been long in possession of the crown." The truth is, that the war had now become (though, in our opinion, it ought never to have so become) a war of an ordinary nature, though attended with extraordinary circumstances. All obstacles to negotiation, on account of the change of government in France, had been removed, and peace had been concluded, and would be concluded again, upon the same terms as were usual between contending nations, and without any reference to the new state of things. The war, therefore, was not renewed on its original terms, and the knight knew the fact.

But he has introduced the words *morality and religion*, in the last instance, for the sole purpose of indulging a sneer at the government for their attack on the Danish capital, and their capture of the Danish fleet. For the convenience of his own argument, he chuses to describe Denmark as a "neutral power, but at all times the friend and ally of this country." Now it happens to be very well known, that this, so far from being a correct description of Denmark, is at direct variance with the fact. For Denmark had been the close and intimate ally of the French Regicides, from Robespierre to Buonaparte, and was so closely linked with the latter, at the period in question, that the king of Denmark had actually engaged to deliver up his fleet to the French to be employed, hostilely, against this country. There is, indeed, scarcely a power in Europe, whose conduct has been more reprehensible, and more inimical to the interests of Great Britain, than that of Denmark.

"When this execrable act was accomplished, one would think we had done enough to prove our zeal in the cause of morality and religion. But the yearnings and cravings of such piety as ours, are not so easily satisfied. Something yet remained to be done to *blast the name of England*, and to hold up to the *everlasting scorn and detestation of mankind*, those base pretences, which were said to constitute the character of a *just and necessary war*."

That *something* which was thus to blast the name of his native country, and to consign her to eternal infamy, was the part which her government has taken in the treaty between Russia and Sweden, for securing the cession of Norway by

Denmark. But he prefaces his discussion of this topic, with a few remarks that call for previous, and particular, notice.

"In the year 1810, the then reigning hereditary king of Sweden was dethroned and banished. In truth, it was an act of absolute indispensable necessity, and ought to have been done much sooner. It saved Sweden, however, from utter destruction, which his madness and vanity would soon have accomplished."

The presumption of this *public accuser* of crowned heads and cabinet ministers, is intolerable; for he takes it for granted that his assertions are to be received as facts without the smallest attempt at the production of proofs to support them. We deny his assertion, that the dethronement of the king of Sweden was an act of necessity; we deny that it saved Sweden from destruction, and we dare him to the proof. It becomes, truly, this vain, arrogant, and superficial old man, who has never rendered the smallest service to his country, in the course of a long life, to tax an unhappy prince with madness and vanity. He has not had the candour to state his *real* objection to the monarch; it is pretty evident that the ground of his hatred to *that* king of Sweden, was his known enmity to the regicidal government of France; his noted abhorrence of the wretches who had dethroned their innocent sovereign, and brought him to the scaffold. *Hinc, iræ, hinc, lachrymæ.* But his cowardly calumnies on this prince do not finish here.

"He would fain have passed, if he could do so without danger, for another Charles the Twelfth, with the omission of a single ingredient only in the composition of the original, viz. personal courage. His uncle was nominated king, and one of the satellites of Buonaparte, *established* by the king, and the states-general of his kingdom, to be his successor, who, since that time, has had the title of Crown Prince."

Sir Philip Francis is the first man who ever presumed to call in question the personal courage of the late *lawful* king of Sweden. He had several opportunities for the display of his courage, and the testimony of those who witnessed his conduct sufficiently proved that such opportunities were eagerly embraced. Indeed, he was a man of great gallantry, he might possibly have some romantic notions of honour, but though his magnanimity never betrayed him into a duel, it preserved him from the disgrace of seeking to become the public prosecutor of his personal enemy; a disgrace which it would have been well for his accuser to escape. But there is something singularly curious in the construction of the moral

feelings of Sir Philip Francis. He can contemplate with the most stoical apathy, with the most heroic firmness, a king and a nephew, deprived of his hereditary rights, dignity, station, property, and throne, by a subject, and an uncle ; by one who had been specially entrusted with his education and guardianship, by his murdered father, on his death-bed. If there are not circumstances in this transaction to excite the compassion, and to rouse the indignation, of virtuous minds, we must have very much mistaken the nature and character of moral actions, and moral feelings. For our part, we have ever been accustomed to consider this deed as one of the foulest stains to be found in the history of Sweden. And, that *scorn and detestation*, which the author so readily indulges for his native country, we feel for the cold calculating creature of a party, who can record such a transaction as this, not only without an expression of the smallest disapprobation or concern, but even with exultation and applause." But we have not yet done with the subject.

" Whether the selection of this person was judicious or not, is no affair of our ours. *The Swedes exercised their right to dethrone and appoint*, and as to other nations, *the fact is a precedent*, especially since it has been sanctioned by the *heartfelt* approbation and concurrence of all the crowned heads and hereditary monarchies of Europe."

Here Sir P. F. has avowed himself the rival of Buonaparte, the child and champion of Jacobinism ; for what did the Jacobins, the Robespierres, the Maratists, and the Painites contend for, but the right of subjects to dethrone their sovereign whenever they pleased, and to appoint another in his stead ! And this, the offspring of the most common and vulgar understanding, is the adoption of a grave, antiquated, politician, grown grey in the service of party ; such is the result of the profound reveries, of the political lucubrations of Sir Philip Francis, Knight. He has studied and has acted, in Asia and in Europe, only to steal a leaf or two out of the productions of Thomas Paine, and the French code of Jacobinism ! And this is the reformer of our political morals ! The accuser general of kings and statesmen ! *Where*, or in what book, or what law, sacred or profane, (except in the publications just referred to) did the knight discover this boasted *right of dethronement and appointment* ? It is a right compatible with no form of human government ; and the exercise of which is proscribed by religion. The Duke of Sudermania and the states of Sweden, substituted physical power for political and moral right ; and a wise logician starts up to prove the existence of the right from

the exercise of the power. He might defend a highwayman, or an assassin, on precisely the same principles. It is somewhat late to broach this doctrine; it has been already asserted, tried, and condemned, in the face of Europe. Not content with a *petitio principii*, he draws another false conclusion from his premises; for, though he tells us what the Swedes have done "is no affair of ours," that is, no affair of any foreign power, yet, with a puerile consistency that cannot be too much admired, he concludes, that the deposal of the King of Sweden is a precedent for all other nations, because those nations did not oppose that with which, according to him, they had no concern whatever, and acquiesced in what they had no right to prevent! After these preliminary observations, which render his folly, his ignorance, and his dotage, indisputable, he comes, at last, to the question of the cession of Norway to Sweden.

This man, whose religious and moral feelings were not in the least offended by the deposal of a king by a subject, by the seizure of a nephew's throne, and property, by an uncle, now insists that the treaty by which the possession of Norway was secured to Sweden, was "in its nature, and by every principle of morals and religion, which ought to bind mankind, void *ab initio*," and he distinctly calls it a "**FELONY**." Now, when it is considered, that the parties to this treaty were the Emperor of Russia and the King of Sweden, and that the King of England had afterwards become a party to it; and that all parties in a felony are, unquestionably, *felons*, we are not a little surprised at an attack, which we should scarcely have expected to proceed from the pen of any man, except that of the late Thomas Paine, or the no less celebrated, Joel Barlow, the worthy representative of citizen Madison. We wonder, however, that the peculiar claim which the King of Sweden (late Duke of Sudermania) had to the affection, favour, and protection of this volunteer champion of the right of deposal did not screen him, at least, from this charge of *felony*. But whoever opposed Buonaparte, and whatever tended to defeat his views, appear to excite the unqualified and unrestrained rage of Sir Philip Francis.

Because England consented to assist, with a naval force, the fleets of Sweden and Russia, in their attempt to secure Norway, the author soundly asserts, that she (England) had "no conscience, no sense of justice or honour." But he studiously keeps out of sight the real situation of Europe, and the circumstances of the combined powers, at the time when this treaty was concluded; a situation and circumstances

which gave rise to the treaty, and which, considered as a question of policy, justified its conditions. Admitting it to be an evil—and we are by no means disposed to defend the abstract right of transferring a people, without their knowledge and consent, from one sovereign to another—was it, or was it not, to be submitted to for the avoidance of a still greater evil? If it were the only means of securing the co-operation of Sweden in the grand coalition for restoring the independence of Europe, and for the emancipation of enslaved nations from the oppressive tyranny of Napoleone Buonaparte; and if such co-operation were necessary for the accomplishment of the object, it may surely be defended, even on the ground of political morality; because, putting it in the *worst* point of view, it is unquestionably better for the general good, that one nation should be enslaved, than that many should remain in a state of slavery. But we do not mean to concede the point, that the Norwegians will be enslaved by becoming subjects of Sweden. So far from it, that they are positive slaves under the king of Denmark, whose will is law, within the whole range of his dominions; and the king of Sweden has offered to them a free constitution.

The author has recourse to much miserable sophistry, in order to maintain that Denmark is not at war with the allied powers; as if aware of the inference to be drawn from the fact of the parties being at war. Now the truth is, that whatever the case may be, with respect to England, Russia and Sweden are undoubtedly at war with Denmark, whose continental dominions their armies have been directed to subdue. And there can be no doubt of the right of one power who is at war with another, to conquer any part of his dominions. The Swedes and Russians, then, have a right to conquer Norway; and if Norway were actually conquered by them, they would, according to all the acknowledged laws of war, have a right to reign over the Norwegians, and to keep their dominions in perpetuity. We confess ourselves to be among those who wish, with Mr. Canning, that this treaty had never been concluded, but who are of opinion that, having been concluded, it ought to be observed.

Still there is an *argumentum ad hominem*, which we cannot resist the temptation of employing against Sir Philip Francis, and his correspondent, Lord Grey. Since the commencement of the revolutionary war in 1793, the French have, at different times, subdued several of the minor states of Europe, destroyed their forms of government, and made them, either in words, or in effect, provinces of France, and, most certainly, not only

without asking the consent of the people, but with a perfect knowledge of their disapprobation and dissent. And yet, in no one instance, within our recollection, and our memory, thank God! is not yet *feeble* through age, have these persons, or has either of them, publicly or privately, by their mouths or their pens, protested against such seizure as an invasion of right, as a violation of *every principle of morals and religion which ought to bind mankind*, much less as an *execrable act*—as a *felony*. Not the smallest disapprobation have the party ever manifested at any acts which tended to aggrandize France, and to gratify Buonaparte. Nay, the very cession of the *Isle of Elba*, and its inhabitants, by powers who had no right of sovereignty over it, to a man whom all sovereigns agree in thinking and in representing as wholly unfit to govern, has not extorted from Sir Philip Francis, nor from any member of the party to which he belonged, one single expression of dissatisfaction, though certainly it is attended with circumstances well calculated to excite and to justify the most marked censure. Why have the people of *Elba* less claim to the commiseration and protection of our patriots than the Norwegians? *Why* are the rights and happiness of the former less dear to them than the rights and happiness of the latter? *Why* is *Elba*, cursed with the domination of the greatest tyrant that ever reigned over subjugated nations, to be viewed with perfect indifference, and to be passed over in silence; while the transfer of Norway from Denmark to Sweden, from an absolute to a comparatively free government, excites the most lively sensibility, and calls forth the most bitter invectives? We confess we cannot reconcile this opposite conduct, on analogous occasions, to the satisfaction of our plain, unsophisticated, minds. We do not understand that accommodating system of morality, which can try similar acts by different scales. And, to say the truth, we give no credit to those fine feelings, which are so sensibly acute when a clamour is to be raised against ministers, by their public gratification; but which are perfectly dormant in the pursuit of a subject, less fertile in popular applause, but more pregnant with circumstances which ought to call them into play. There is too much of spiritual juggle in all this contradiction to satisfy plain men.

The last pages of this splenetic production are devoted to a needless discussion of the question—whether there is any thing “in the character, in the exertions, or in the transcendent personal merits of the Crown Prince, which give him a claim of right, or of gratitude, to all the wrongs that can be done to exalt him; and, among the rest, to *our* special support,

in annihilating the hereditary succession, in the royal government of Denmark, to almost half of its dominions.

Now what *wrong* there could be in concluding a treaty with Denmark, by which she agreed to surrender one portion of her dominions, in order to recover another portion which had been conquered, and, moreover, a portion of the dominions of Sweden also, it would puzzle a much wiser politician than Sir Philip Francis, Knight, to discover. The right of Denmark to give up Norway to Sweden, even the Knight has admitted, and he is therefore guilty of a gross contradiction, and advances a foolish charge, in imputing to Sweden as a *wrong*, the annihilation of the hereditary succession of Denmark to Norway.

As to the personal character of *Bernadotte*, who is but a secondary personage in the transaction, since the treaty was made with the King of Sweden, we are not at all anxious to defend it against the attacks of our author; nor do the merits of the question at issue depend on it in the smallest degree. We so far concur with the author, as to give implicit credit to the accounts which Sir Robert Wilson and others have recorded of his military skill and courage. We could even add considerably to the catalogue of his misdeeds. The following anecdote, however, is new to us, and we wish Sir Philip Francis had quoted his authority for stating it.

"About the 9th of October last, Buonaparte made a demonstration, which *Marshal Blucher* knew to be a feint, of quitting *Dresden*, and marching upon *Berlin*. *Bernadotte*, the moment he heard of it, determined to retreat with the whole force under his command, of which but a small portion were Swedish, for fear, as he said, of being cut off from *Stralsund*, and from his resources in *Pomerania*. *Marshal Blucher* sent repeatedly to tell him, that such a step would defeat the otherwise certain success of the campaign, that no military man could think it possible that so great an officer as *Buonaparte* could take so absurd a resolution, as to remove a great way further from *France*, and cut himself off from all his reinforcements and supplies. *At all events, it is time you should shew yourself, and you must do it.* In what terms these messages were conveyed to him, I cannot presume to state; but I affirm, with certainty, that they did pass, in substance at least, and were not very complimentary in the form."

We have further heard, but how true it may be, we profess not to know, that even at the battle of *Leipsic*, *Bernadotte* was so tardy in his movements, as to excite very considerable suspicion of his intentions, and as even to have extorted from the veteran *Blucher*, a direct charge of cowardice.

"It is also well-known," adds Sir Philip, "that *Sir Charles*

Stewart paid him a visit on this occasion, and urged him to join the allies near *Dresden* or *Leipsic*, by arguments not often used to princes, and which a man of spirit could not very well hear without resentment, insomuch that it is universally believed on the continent, that *Sir Charles Stewart*, at the close of this conversation, whatever it was, thought it necessary to make him a tender of personal satisfaction, which the other, still sacrificing his private feelings to an heroic sense of higher duties, thought it equally necessary to decline. Speaking only from report, I may have been misinformed as to particulars, though not in the main. One thing only, I think, may be asserted with certainty, that *Sir Charles Stewart* is of all men the least likely to spoil or defeat a resolute communication by a feeble delivery. This difference of opinion appears to have been reconciled, and the Crown Prince advanced to cover Hanover. On the 28th of October, his Royal Highness published a bulletin, praising *Sir Charles Stewart*, and wrote him a letter, saying he had advised the King of Sweden to decorate him with the Cross of the order of the SWORD."

Granting all this to the author, we still persist in our denial that it bears at all upon the great question at issue, on which we have differed from him in the main, and in the detail. He lastly condemns the Prince Regent for degrading the crown by condescending to style such a man as Bernadotte "*good brother, cousin, and friend.*" Here we agree with him in his premises, but differ from him in his conclusions. We concur with him in his opinion, that the Prince Regent, acting in the name and behalf of the King, cannot do any thing which he knows, or conscientiously believes, the King himself would refuse to do, if he were in full possession of his faculties. But here we must retort his arguments on his friends, by asking with what grace, or for what purpose, Lord Grey, Lord Grenville, and others of his party, can call upon the Prince Regent to accede to the emancipation of the Papists, although the Prince knows, and they know too, that the King would never consent to it, but declared that he should consider his assent to such a measure, as a violation of his coronation oath, and although there is every reason to believe that the Prince himself entertains the same sentiments with his father on that subject? Though we wish, as cordially as the author himself, that no such treaty had been formed, and that there had existed no necessity, on the part of the Prince, to treat Bernadotte on a footing of equality,—still, as he could not refuse to employ the usual terms of courtesy to a man who had been raised from obscurity to an elevated station, without giving offence to Russia and to Prussia, who had acknowledged him, and treated with him, in his new character, we cannot think that the Prince

has either degraded his father or himself, or betrayed his duty, by the conduct which he has pursued. Princes are bound, on many occasions, to sacrifice their personal feelings to their sense of public duty ; royalty is a state not of indulgence, but of privation, as a King reigns not for his own gratification, but for the good of his subjects. Hence it is, that greater sacrifices are required of him than can be demanded of any subject ;—he is a creature of the state, none of whose actions can have an exclusive reference to himself, but must be rendered consistent with the great object of his life and reign : men, who observe in a throne, nothing but splendour, magnificence, and enjoyment, take but a very superficial view of it ; it will be found, when closely inspected, to be encompassed with thorns and briars ; if it impart rights pleasing to exercise, it imposes duties difficult to discharge ; and, where there is so much disproportion between the happiness and the misery which await a conscientious monarch, he must have more resolution than judgment, more eagerness of ambition, than love of tranquillity, who voluntarily grasps a sceptre.

If these be the last words of Sir Philip Francis, the termination of his political career, his exit has been marked by neither honour nor distinction. He has not reasoned like a statesman, but declaimed like a dotard. He appears not only to have suffered the opportunities of age to have passed away without improvement, but, as he has advanced in years, to have receded from wisdom. How his spleen has been excited at this late period of his life, it is scarcely worth while to enquire ; but the known disposition of his mind towards Mr. Hastings renders the recent elevation of that gentleman to the rank of a Privy Counsellor too probable cause of excitement to be passed without notice, or to be noticed without reproach.

Last Trifles in Verse. By the Rev. Charles Edward Stewart. Author of a Collection of Trifles, in Verse ; Critical Verses ; the Regicide, the Foxiad, and Charles's Small Clothes. 4to. Pp. 116. 7s. 6d. Sudbury, printed ; Bickerstaff, Hatchard, and Asperne, London.

WE hail Mr. Stewart, as an old friend, to whom we have been indebted, in the course of our political and critical labours, for much amusement, and for no trifling assistance in that cause which we have uniformly supported. We have derived much pleasure from the perusal of those, which he denominates his *last*, trifles ; we hope they will not prove his *last* ; but that we

shall see many more such trifles from his pleasing and instructive pen. We cordially sympathize with him in the insulated situation which he, so feelingly, deploras; his loss is great; but much remains for consolation to himself, and for gratitude to Providence; and we trust that the evening of his life will be as cheerfully serene, as its morning and noon have been supremely happy. An expression of disappointment, and a vein of melancholy, which we were sorry to perceive, mark many of the pieces in this volume. They appear, indeed, in the very preface, where, after noticing his obligations to his son, (Lieutenant Edward Stewart, of the Royal Navy) and to his "friend GARDNER," he subjoins;

" Having balanced one account, errors excepted, with the lovers of sunshine of both sexes, I shall open another, and begin, as usual, with borrowing, of *Colman*, not his money, for that is the only valuable article in which, I am told, he is deficient, but a small part of his admirable 'Reckoning with Time,' and apply it, a little altered, to my present situation and last wishes.

" Tho' old, (and time makes most things worse)
Tho' few subscriptions line the purse,
My ragged muse has netted.
Still, honest CHRONOS, 'tis most true,
To thee (and faith to EDWARD'S* too)
I'm very much indebted.

" For thou hast made me gaily tough,
Inured me to each day that's rough,
In hopes of calms to-morrow;
And when, old mower of us all,
Beneath thy sweeping scythe I fall,
THE BEST OF SONS will sorrow.

" Then if my 'Trifles,' prose, or rhyme,
Should half an hour outlive me, Time,
Pray bid the tomb-engravers,
When I am laid, at length, in COLNE,
Simply to chisel on my stone,
'Thank time for all his favours.' "

Under the head "Remembrances," (the pieces are all classed under distinct heads) are some lines on the late Mr. Pitt, which we shall transcribe, for their double-merit of good poetry, and good principles; indeed, Mr. Stewart's writings have a general claim to this character.

* " My brother-in-law and truly valuable friend."

" PITT."

" O THOU, in every form of danger tried,
The nation's ornament, support, and pride,
E'en in the crisis of impending fate,
The guardian angel of the sinking state ;
Thou, who didst war and famine's horrors brave,
Rebellion, treason, and thy country save ;
Died, as thou liv'dst, and with thy parting breath,
" Protect my country, Heaven," exclaimed in death ;
Thine were the virtues, on the largest plan,
That form the statesman, or adorn the man,
Superior wisdom, scorning aid from art,
The clearest judgment, and the purest heart ;
Unshaken fortitude, unwearied zeal,
Health, life—devoted to the public weal.
" These are thy merits, PITT, and these thy claim
To matchless honours, and immortal fame ;
No venal muse this heartfelt tribute pays,
Nor friendship's feelings dictate partial praise ;
An humble bard, who hails no rising sun,
But reverent bows to thine, whose race is run ;
To thee a stranger, to the world unknown,
Inscribes with tears thy monumental stone."

This is not the language of a parasite, but the honest tribute of true patriotism to a genuine patriot. Some of the pieces in this volume are the productions of the author's son, a lieutenant in the navy, who seems to have inherited his father's principles, and his father's talents. Indeed, there is a strain of loyalty, and of filial affection, visible in the effusions of this young man's muse, that reflect infinite honour on his heart, as well as on his understanding. We shall extract a naval ode, written on the battle of Trafalgar, in 1805, which places his poetical abilities in a very favourable point of view.

" All nature wakes, and poets sing,
How tuneful larks on airy wing,
Salute the rising morn ;
Display the various scenes of life,
The busy care, the anxious strife,
Of man, to labour born.

" But such are not the themes for me,
My views are bounded by the sea,
A naval scene I shew ;
Aloft the skies my prospect bound,
The wide horizon all around,
And glassy waves below.

" Bright shone the morn, and from the East,
The sun, in matchless splendour drest,
 Rose flaming into day ;
Reflecting, as along they weep,
Upon the bosom of the deep,
 The trembling sun-beams play.

" 'Twas such a morn, when Nelson 'spied
The hostile fleet, in warlike pride,
 Display a crescent's form ;
His dauntless heart, with hope beat high,
And the keen lightning of his eye
 Foretold the coming storm.

" The British fleet now cuts the seas,
Their lofty sails confess the breeze,
 High towering to the skies ;
Old ocean feels each warlike prow,
The subject waves their masters know,
 Lo ! Britain's ensign flies.

" In two strong lines close formed, the fleet
Advance, their foes combin'd to meet,
 The space each moment's less :
With willing hearts and skilful hands
The sailors execute commands,
 And to the action press.

" O what a sight ! in gallant pride,
Two hostile fleets the ocean ride,
 In all the pomp of war :
Loose to the breeze, their ensigns fly,
Their lofty pendant's flout the sky,
 High beaming from a far.

Fierce in the van, before the rest,
Bold Collingwood the Sovereign* prest,
 is flag displayed on high ;
Dreadful he comes, his daring course
Shall soon the destin'd passage force,
 Omen of victory.

" With such a speed the lover flies,
To meet the darling of his eyes,
 The mistress of his soul ;

* " The Royal Sovereign, Admiral Collingwood's flag ship, in which he most gallantly led the fleet into action.
No. 192, Vol. 46, May, 1814. R k

When angry storms deface the sky,
Not with more speed the light'nings fly,
And flash from pole to pole.

" Each following ship with ardour glows,
To hurl her thunder on the foes,
The echoing shores resound,
Volumes of smoke obscure the sky,
The shiver'd masts in splinters fly,
And wounds and death abound.

" Where most the doubtful battle bled,
The way to conquest Nelson led,
And war's whole system tried ;
Lock'd in their broken line he lay,
There fought the well-contested day,
He conquered and he died.

" 'Tis o'er—the mighty warrior's dead,
To the blest realms his spirit's fled,
Who shall lament his doom ?
Death, where was then thy sting, thy power ?
Nelson's good genius chose the hour,
To send him to the tomb.

" Make me but Lord of such a day,
Such honours let me bear away,
Then give me such a death ;
Tho' I might live full many a year,
What brighter moment could appear,
When to resign my breath ?

When Rome, alarmed, confessed her fear,
To every God prefer'd a prayer,
'Twas then the time to die ;
But Pompey saw Pharsalia's plain,
His friends dispers'd, his soldiers slain,
Himself inglorious fly.

" Behold, on Egypt's barren sands,
The victim of assassin bands,
His mangl'd limbs are thrown ;
Yet he in triumph rode the sea,
And freed the shores of Italy,
And raz'd the Pontic throne.

" Above all Greek, all Roman fame,
Stands Nelson's never-dying name ;
At Nile's Cape, the Nile ;

Pale Copenhagen's dire dismay,
And Trafalgar's unrival'd day,
Form the stupendous pile.

" Around thee, stretched on honour's bed,
Proud trophies of thy fame are spread,
The flags of France and Spain ;
Attending Princes grace thy tomb,
A weeping people mourn thy doom,
And almost Heaven arraign.

" *Edward Stewart, R. N.*"

We must not indulge much more in quotation, though we should not do justice to the author if we did not extract a specimen or two of each species of composition which his volume exhibits. From the "*Epistles*," then, we shall transcribe one to the worthy Bishop of Lincoln, which appears to have been written in consequence of a living presented, without solicitation, by that prelate to the author. It is a tribute of gratitude, well deserved, and, we doubt not, well received.

" With no poetic powers endued,
Inspir'd alone by gratitude,
I pour the willing lay ;
Nor you, my Lord, the verse refuse,
That feeling dictates, not the muse,
And duty bids me pay.

" Near twenty winters in the Church,
Left by some patrons in the lurch,
While others were obdurate ;
I thought myself, (and oft' complain'd)
By fate and bishops too ordained,
To live and die a curate.

" The parent tree, whose branches round
O'erspread and beautify the ground,
Owes to their weight decay ;
So I, with many a child o'erprest,
Felt, by their growing wants distressed,
My substance melt away.

" Then Lincoln (Heaven reward the deed)
Came in the trying time of need,
A guardian angel came ;
With liberal hand the means of wealth
Bestow'd unask'd, did goodly stealth,
And blushed to find it fame.

K k 2

" For this, while memory holds her seat
Till this torn heart shall cease to beat,
This vital stream to flow ;
My gratitude shall pour the lay,
And own what I can never pay,
The mighty debt I owe."

In one of his *Prologues*, for there is scarcely any species of poetry which this prolific bard has left untried, he has compressed, in a very few lines, the *moral* of two *favourite* and *most popular* plays.

" But Kotzbue comes, the German bard divine,
To change our moral system, and refine.
" See, perfect purity, the wife ador'd,
Quit, with his friend, her family and lord ;
Her lord to feeling, honour, manhood, dead,
Takes back the wanderer to his social bed.

" See lov'd Elvira, always in a rage,
Drive tame Pizarro up and down the stage.
A tyrant's strumpet, freedom's, virtue's friend,
Begin a wanton, and a murderer end.

Pretty examples these to hold up to the imitation of the rising generation, who are told, forsooth, in prostitutes and assassins, to behold themselves, *veluti in speculum*. This, 'tis true, may be holding "the mirror up to nature ;" but, with due deference to the dramatic sages who preside over the entertainments of the stage, all natural exhibitions are not either very instructive, or very decorous ; and without being very fastidious, we may be allowed to observe, that the modern art of making vice amiable and interesting, is not very well calculated to improve the morals of our youth, or to make the next generation better than the last. It would seem, also, from some other specimens here presented, that as we recede from decency, we do not advance in wisdom.

" Of nature tir'd, we seek and find relief
In Morton, Holcroft, Dibdin, and O'Keefe.
We ask not now for trifles long forgot,
Style, humour, manners, incident and plot.
Give us, ' Push on,' — ' Keep moving,' — ' That's your sort,'
' I like it vastly,' — ' That's accounting for't.' "

As connected with this subject, we shall transcribe a couple of epigrams upon a dramatic pedant, whose abominable affectation and assurance deserve most richly the application of the critical lash.

THE INQUIRY.

Poor Kemble draws his words out so,
 He seems as cold as any stone is ;
 Pray is he very ill ? O no !
 Some trifling a-ches in his bo-nes.

QUESTION AND ANSWER.

" Say, can there be a greater curse
 Than fevers, fits, and agues ?
 Yes, Kemble's *baird* and *a-ches* worse
 Than pestilence or pla-gues."

KEMBLE has certainly great merit as an actor ; for, by study and art he has softened, though not subdued, the defects of nature. But his pedantry is impertinent beyond toleration. KEAN, on the other hand, is the child of nature, and whenever he summons art to her assistance, it is the perfection of art—*ars est celare artem*. The art he uses is never visible ; nature alone appears ; and if she had been more bountiful in bestowing on her favourite greater powers of voice, he would be, beyond all comparison, the greatest actor who has been seen on the stage since the days of Garrick.

The volume of *Trifles* before us closes with the author's political *Trifles*, of which we shall subjoin two specimens.

" THE DOG AND THE DUUMVIRI ;

OR,

THE SHADOW AND STICKS.

" When the dog in the shadow too eagerly chopp'd
 What he held in his mouth, he unluckily dropp'd,
 As the fable his folly records ;
 And if greedy and grasping, the *Grenville and Grey*,
 For three household white sticks, three whole realms threw away,
 Which was wisest, the dog or the Lords ?

" THE DICTATORS' DISASTER ;

A FARCE

As performed at the Theatre Royal; Carlton House,

WITH NATIONAL APPLAUSE.

" Let the Muse, ever loyal, the downfal unfold
 Of an Earl so aspiring, and Baron so bold,

Gentle **Grenville*, and soft-smiling *Grey* ;†
 Who, ere they'd comply with his highness's wishes,
 Determined to catch all the loaves and the fishes,
 And have none, but unlimited, sway.

" When his highness at first was his government planning,
 With their lordships he wish'd to join *Wellesley* and *Canning*,
 But to share they refus'd in a huff ;
 When the whole of the state he next offer'd *carte blanche*,
 They demanded his court, to their principles staunch,
 All the state was not offer enough.

" But at last when he found he must buy their support,
 With the power of his state, and the pomp of his court,
 He a system, more firm, thought about ;
 Like a man with a house, which he wish'd to divide,
 For his friends and himself he reserv'd—the inside,
 And gave *Grenville* and *Grey*—all the out.

" There let them remain, with the TALENTS about 'em,
 Your highness and kingdom are better without 'em,
 And the muse, ever loyal, shall pray,
 That your highness may govern the realm, uncontroll'd,
 By an earl so aspiring, and baron so bold,
 As dictators, lords *Grenville* and *Grey*.

In taking leave of our bard, it is in the hope that these trifles will not be his last—but that we shall have the satisfaction of meeting again, with an *old friend*, whom, we are very sure, we shall never meet with a *new face*.

* * Hereditarily gentle. His father was ' the gentle Shepherd.'

† † *Dulce ridens et dulce loquens.*" We suspect that this appellation is given to Lord Grey, for the same reason which gave birth to the Latin appellation of a Grace.—*Lucus*—a non lucendo ;—thus ridens, a non ridendo.

The Political Memento; or Extracts from the Speeches, during the Last Six Years, of near a Hundred of the most distinguished Members of both Houses of Parliament, on the Policy, Conduct, and Probable Result, of the War. By a Parliamentary Reporter. 8vo. Pp. 530. Longman and Co. 1814.

By way of introducing this work to the notice of our readers, as also with a view to interest them in favour of its manifest design, we had purposed to preface our extracts from it with some general remarks on the subject. But as the author himself has, in his introduction, not only pre-occupied the ground which we should else have taken, but has thence afforded a far ampler and clearer view of his scope and purpose than we could give, we think it will prove more just towards him, and of more important service to the public, that the subject should rather unfold itself in his language than in ours. The only task we shall impose on ourselves will be that of endeavouring to select some of the happiest specimens of prophetic eloquence from these reported speeches. Our truly patriotic countrymen will assuredly derive from them not only amusement and instruction, but a source of proud exultation and heartfelt triumph. Delivered as we now are (under the superintending goodness of almighty Providence) by persevering wisdom and pre-eminent valour from all further apprehension of the calamities, in recent times so direfully predicted, our thanks are due to this author for the retrospect he has given us of the opinions that prevailed during the continuance of our late arduous warfare.

“ INTRODUCTION.

“ Publicity is one of those essential qualities of the British constitution which materially distinguish it from that of most other nations. It is this which in a great measure communicates, even to the people at large, that manly frankness which is so estimable a trait in the national character. To the suspicions and the jealousies that are inseparable from secret proceedings of state, we are in England strangers; and the meanest peasant in the land has the opportunity afforded him of knowing the internal politics of his country, as well as the part which she is taking in the general affairs of the world. It cannot be denied that there are inconveniences attendant on the openness of the British councils; but all who have duly considered

the subject must acknowledge that those inconveniences are greatly overbalanced by the advantages which result from it.

"Of that publicity which contributes so justly towards the patriotism of Englishmen, the freedom of access to the two houses of parliament, and the means which we thereby enjoy, on all questions of important interest, of ascertaining the sentiments of our immediate representatives, as well as those of the hereditary counsellors of the crown, form a principal feature. Within the last twenty or thirty years, the value of these facilities has been much increased by the implied permission that has been given to the regular and undisguised publication of the debates in both houses. It may be truly said of the reports of those debates, that they furnish us with a portrait, singularly faithful in its resemblance, of the mind of every eminent public man in the country. Errors of an insignificant nature may occur in them; but it would be as unjust thence to infer that they are not generally authentic, as it would be absurd to declare that a mirror does not reflect a true image because its surface may have slight and rare deviations from the plane, or that the earth is not globular, because the rotundity of its form is occasionally interrupted by the comparatively trifling inequalities of hills and vallies.

"These reports, however, are very voluminous; and the compiler of the following sheets conceived that his humble industry could not be exercised more advantageously for the community, than by extracting and combining such passages as would exhibit, in a comprehensive form, the opinions and expectations of public men, with regard to public measures, during the last six years. He has confined his labours within that period, because, although much useful instruction might be derived from a more extensive retrospect, yet, unquestionably, the space of time alluded to sufficiently abounds with lessons of the highest practical utility.

"During that period, at least, the war has been single in its character. It has been the contest of freedom with slavery—of the oppressed with the oppressor—of the true and legitimate rights of man with the arrogant and presumptuous pretensions of a despot. It is fitting, therefore, that Englishmen to whom freedom—to whom resistance against oppression—to whom the true and legitimate rights of man are dear, should have their attention recalled to the sentiments, on those subjects, of individuals whom they have been accustomed to regard as their guides in public difficulty and danger, that they may recollect, and impress on their minds, and on the minds of their children, by whom those sacred considerations have been occasionally deserted—by whom they have been unceasingly maintained.

"The crisis which England has just passed, was one of no ordinary magnitude. Our objects were not, as in former instances, the possession of a sugar island, or the enjoyment of an uninterrupted commerce in furs. Every thing dear to us as individuals, every thing valuable to us as a nation, was at stake. Republican France, it is true, was no more; but the spirit by which she had been animated had

passed into the body of an absolute monarchy, and had lost nothing of the violence and the danger of its character in the transmigration.

“ Under such circumstances, one would have thought that the usual vigilance of political opposition might have somewhat relaxed, and that if no assistance were offered by the party out of power to the party in power, at least as few impediments as possible would be thrown in the way of the successful termination of a struggle, the unsuccessful termination of which must have involved all parties in general destruction.—But no !—Influenced by some unaccountable infatuation, many of our public men, having, at a former period, been the enthusiastic advocates of licentiousness, when that licentiousness was in avowed hostility to their country, now looked insensibly on the efforts of liberty, when by their country those efforts were applauded and encouraged. The genial warmth of true freedom in Spain and Portugal was uncherished by those who, but a few years before, had madly admired the delusive splendour of that fatal conflagration, which, having destroyed all that was estimable and venerable in France, threatened to extend its ravages over the whole earth.

“ It will be said, and it will be said with truth, that most of these individuals professed themselves to be very friendly to the cause of the Peninsula. Let the following pages shew how their friendship was manifested. Every thing which the British government did for that cause was condemned ; every thing which the British government proposed to do for that cause was deprecated. If aid was afforded to the Peninsular nations in the shape of money, the dilapidated state of our resources, and their inadequacy to so improvident an expenditure, were pathetically lamented. If our brave soldiers were sent to their assistance, Ministers were sneeringly asked, if they thought Great Britain could cope with France as a military power. Did our gallant army achieve a victory, their valour was praised, but their laurels were declared to be barren. Was our immortal commander induced, with a view to ulterior operations, to make a temporary retreat, it was loudly declared that the presumptuous threat of the French vulture, that he would drive the British leopards into the sea, was about to be accomplished. We were told, that the honourable and chivalrous feeling by which men in private life ought to be actuated, had nothing to do with nations, whose duty it was to adopt a more cautious and calculating policy. The vocabulary of reproach was exhausted on his Majesty's government, who were characterized as the most inefficient ministers that had ever held the reins of state, and who, in a tone of arrogance, as offensive then, as it has since proved ridiculous, were pronounced to be obstinately persevering in a hopeless contest, and plunging the country into irretrievable ruin. Year after year, through all the vicissitudes of a conflict the most generous, but the most tremendous in which England was ever engaged, ridicule, misrepresentation, menace, and prediction, were the weapons used by the party against sound argument, and the dictates of a noble and determined spirit. Buonaparte, that Juggernaut of the Western Hemisphere, that foul idol, besmeared with the blood of millions of victims, was with many of them an object of enthusiastic

admiration. In their perverted imaginations, he was invested with the divine attributes of omniscience and omnipotence. It is difficult temperately to speak of such opinions and such conduct. Every generous and patriotic feeling is excited in their reprobation.

"On the contrary, it is impossible to recollect the measures of the present Administration, and of the administration at the head of which was that virtuous, public-spirited, and universally-beloved individual, of whose services the hand of an assassin deprived his country, ere, in the consummation of the hopes cherished in his warm and loyal breast, he could experience the highest reward of which such a nature was capable, it is impossible to reflect on the mighty difficulties which they have had to encounter; without, a foe not only of unexampled physical strength, but whose extraordinary career of success had almost enabled him to triumph over the human mind, and to render doubtful the eternal and immutable principles of justice and honour; within, the complicated embarrassments arising from stagnated trade, scarcity, and the hostility of rivals, who, however incompetent to great affairs, were sufficiently dextrous in seizing on matters of a subordinate nature, and converting them into the means of petty but teasing annoyance; it is impossible to contemplate the firmness with which, under such arduous and unprecedented circumstances, they maintained the system of policy on which they had so wisely resolved, undaunted by external or internal opposition, their attention steadily fixed on the glorious goal to which their efforts have at length happily brought them, without sentiments of the highest admiration and respect. It is not the pilot who in fair weather and smooth water guides the vessel entrusted to his charge, that claims any large portion of our applause and gratitude; it is he who, in storms and in darkness, lashes himself to the helm, and, undismayed by the perils which surround him, by the furious waves without, or by the insidious leak within, conducts his gallant bark in safety to her destined port.

"What a contrast is presented between the existing situation of England, and that to which she would have been reduced, had the counsels of the opposition unfortunately prevailed!

"She is now on the pinnacle of national glory. Her fidelity towards her Peninsular allies preserved inviolate, she has bravely rescued them from the grasp of a ruthless usurper. By her alone was kept alive that spark of resistance to tyranny, which at length burst into flame, and consumed the power of her inexorable foe. She has been the star that has led the continental nations to the redemption of Europe. By an imitation of her magnanimous example, that horrible military despotism, not less oppressive to France than dangerous to other countries, has been overturned; and a moderate and legitimate authority has been restored. Instead of the feverish rest of an armed truce, a peace has been established, which promises, when the swell that is the natural consequence of the late violent tempest has subsided, repose no less permanent than profound. The commerce of the country, long pent up by the operation of that system so utterly destroyed, is now flowing forth in a thousand various channels, and her manufactures are rapidly diffusing themselves over continental Europe.

The revenue, in consequence, is flourishing beyond precedent, and affords the certain prospect of a speedy and important reduction of those burdens to which the people have hitherto cheerfully submitted, in consideration of their necessity. Those energies, which, for so many years, have distinguished Great Britain in the field and on the ocean, are about to be directed to other objects—to science—to literature—to the fine arts—to all those liberal and enlightened pursuits, in which the expectation of long and uninterrupted tranquillity can permit a great nation to indulge.—All is hope and happiness !

“ In what condition would she now have been, had the prematurely pacific, the tamely-acquiescent, the resource-husbinding policy been adopted ? Her armies would long since have been withdrawn from the Peninsula, and the brave Spaniards and Portuguese would have been left to their fate. Appalled at their discomfiture and subjugation, the other nations of the Continent would have shrunk from any generous and powerful effort—too happy if allowed to remain in the tranquil possession of their respective governments and territories. With Buonaparte we should have made a peace—with Buonaparte, his victorious troops released from other occupation, and himself the master of the whole coast of Europe, and of ample opportunities, therefore, of creating a naval force of irresistible strength ! Unless we had chosen immediately to submit to the conqueror, we must have maintained—nay, if possible, we must have augmented our naval and military equipments. But in vain. In vain, too, should we from time to time have humbly endeavoured to soothe the irritability of our over-powerful neighbour by the present of a colony, or the abandonment of maritime right. Our trade would have been gradually annihilated by his commercial edicts and regulations. Our means of resistance would have been insensibly, but certainly diminished. Our whole state would have been “ cabinn’d, cribb’d, confin’d—bound up in saucy doubts and fears.” The catastrophe of this dismal tragedy would ultimately have been developed. Every thing prepared, any occurrence, however insignificant, would have served as a pretext for renewing hostility ; and England—old England—assailed on all sides, would not have been able, even by the sacrifice of the heart’s blood of all those of her sons who prefer death to slavery, to save herself from a foreign yoke.—All would have been desolation and despair !

“ Such is the difference between that which we are, and that which we might have been. Let us FORGIVE those who would have realized the latter description, but let us NOT FORGET them.”

EARL OF ABERDEEN.

Feb. 12, 1811.—On moving the Address.

“ THE high and gallant spirit of the Spanish nation still existed ; the determined hatred they bore to their invaders continued in undiminished vigour ; the ardent desire of maintaining their liberty remained in unabated force. The sacred flame of liberty and independence had been, it was true, partially obscured, but it still con-

tinued to burn ; and he hoped and believed it was never to be extinguished by the oppressions of the enemy.

“ With regard to Portugal, the character of the war in that country was of a much greater magnitude, and of a much sounder complexion. It gave us great reason for congratulating ourselves on the events that had passed, and afforded us many grounds of hope for those which were to come. What had already occurred there, had been of the greatest advantage to the common cause, and had done the highest credit to our gallant army and its brave and skilful commander. If he were to be asked what we had done by our campaign in that country, he would answer, that we had withdrawn a numerous and formidable army from the country of Spain, commanded by one of the most eminent and most fortunate of the Generals in the service of France ; that we had baffled the first attack of that powerful army so commanded, and gained a glorious triumph ; that we had preserved from the invaders the capital and a large portion of the country of Portugal ; that we still presented to them the formidable front of defiance, and held them in a state of disgraceful inactivity ; If their Lordships recollected the various gloomy predictions of ill-success which had been delivered in the course of last Session, it must be admitted, that the result of the last operations in Portugal had surpassed even the general hopes. What we had still to do depended on future occurrences. They might expect, on this subject, a repetition of all those melancholy prognostics and forebodings which they had already heard ; but he was ready to say, that instead of giving in to such prognostics, he should much rather adhere to the hopes derived from the accounts of our brave commander, Lord Wellington, himself, and the expectations and high spirits of his whole army. However he might be induced to pay every respect to the wisdom, the talents, and foresight of others who entertained gloomy opinions on this point, he must be permitted to indulge strong doubts of the correctness of such opinions after the failure of former predictions, and upon any fairer view of what had already passed. To continue, therefore, to afford every assistance to the nations of the Peninsula was, he contended, not only sound policy, but the most effectual mode of promoting the best interests of this country.”

MR. BANKES.

March 9, 1810. --In the debate on taking the Portuguese troops into British pay.

“ He lamented the state of difficulty and embarrassment in which the House was placed by this motion ; but that state was owing to the conduct of Ministers.

“ He could never persuade himself to assent to such a motion ; and, among many other reasons, for these two, that were obvious ; first, that we had not a million of money to spare ; and secondly, that if we even had, this was not the way in which we ought to dispose of it. For any efficient purpose of war, he really believed that 3,000

British soldiers would be of more use than 30,000 Portuguese ; and why then should the country be burthened for the support of such a force ? He very much doubted whether our conduct toward both the Spaniards and Portuguese, was not calculated to induce an opinion among those people, that every thing was to be done for them, and nothing by them. It would probably have been better if not a single British regiment had been sent to the Peninsula, and that means had been taken to excite these people to struggle for themselves, than to take so much of the struggle into our own hands.

" The enemy were now, perhaps, in the possession of Cadiz, which, in fact, escaped immediate capture only through an accident. All the calculations of Ministers had been disappointed all their predictions were falsified."

" In fact, nothing that Ministers promised were fulfilled—nothing they speculated upon was successful ; and was it then possible, that the Committee, with such ample and recent experience, could consent to invest Ministers with the means of engaging in any farther hopeless speculations ? That which we had learnt from past experience, we should now adopt prospectively for our future policy. It appeared to him quite romantic to expect, that a British army of 20 or 25,000 men, even with whatever co-operation Portugal could give, would be able to maintain a war on the Spanish Peninsula as principals against France. He should, therefore, recommend to the Committee and to his Majesty's Ministers, to husband the resources of the country for our own defence ; and, looking upon that as the soundest line of policy, he felt himself bound to oppose the motion."

EARL BATHURST.

November 8, 1813.—On moving the Thanks of the House to the Marquis of Wellington, for the Victories of the Pyrenees, &c.

" In thus reviewing our successes in the Peninsula, he could not but recal to their Lordships' recollection the share that Britain had had in bringing about the glorious events that had occurred in Europe, and which at length opened a prospect of its attaining that independence which had been so long and anxiously looked for. If this country had in one respect contributed more than another to the glorious results that had at length been achieved, it was not so much in the extent of our exertions, for these had been equalled by others, and by one country exceeded ; it was not so much in the skill of our officers and the gallantry of our troops, for, after the splendid victories that had been recently obtained, we could only say that the exploits of our own great Captain had not been surpassed ; it was not in the extent of our privations, for in this respect, God be thanked, we had been saved from the sad pre-eminence ; but it was in our perseverance in the contest in the Peninsula, under every circumstance, however unfavourable ; in the pertinacity with which we persisted in maintaining even a corner of it, until circumstances led to more auspicious events, and thereby holding out a clear and bright flame amid the darkness that overspread the nations of Europe, that soon rose into a pillar of fire to light them on their way to security, independence, and peace."

MR. BENNETT.

June 23, 1813.—In the Debate on the Army Extraordinaries.

"He took the opportunity to animadvert upon the further prosecution of the war in the Peninsula, which tended but to plunge this country into augmented expenditure and difficulties. He begged leave to ask the Noble Lord opposite, what where the expectations of success which he entertained? What was the prospect of success which presented itself? And was the war to be prosecuted by exhausting the heart's blood of Great Britain, under the delusive hope that the Spaniards might look for ultimate success, because they had been occupied for three hundred years in effecting the expulsion of the Moors!"

"He must enter his protest against the prosecution of a war, which would wrench the last shilling from the pockets of the poor, and plunge every family in the country into distress. The success of this war was, to say the least, problematical; the ruin and loss certain and dreadful."

VISCOUNT BERNARD.

January 23, 1810.—On moving the Address.

"While empires were sinking, either by their own weight, or were hurled down by the rude hand of power, this country had defied the insults of ambition, and had remained uninjured amidst the calamitous desolation of the Continent. His Majesty's sentiments on the Spanish war were suited to his dignity. While that brave and martial people fought with the spirit and perseverance of freemen, he did not stand aloof; he offered his aid to their first exertions. In the day of their difficulties, he would not withdraw that aid which he had offered to their early cause."

MR. BRAND.

January 23, 1810.—In the Debate on the Address.

"Were the affairs of any country likely to be attended with success when planned and executed by such Ministers? He insisted upon it, that it was a want of policy to send troops to Spain, where they must conform to new habits of living, and where there was not the least hope of ultimate success. Whenever we succeeded by land against the French, they were in an isolated situation, where their chief had no means of reinforcing them; but into Spain he could at his pleasure pour his legions, and compel us to retreat."

SIR F. BURDETT.

December 3, 1812.—On the Motion for Thanks to Lord Wellington, for the Victory of Salamanca.

"Far was he from wishing invidiously to detract from the merits of men who had devoted their exertions to the service of their country, or to withhold from them any recompense which it was in the power of the House to bestow; but when he heard it stated, that the victory gained over the French forces in Spain, was more important in

its consequences than any which had been achieved in former times, and that the victory of Salamanca was equal to that of the Duke of Marlborough at the battle of Blenheim, in which the enemy lost 20,000 men, had their General, Marshal Tallard, taken, and thirty or forty squadrons driven into the Rhine; and to other great battles, which had completely changed the aspect of the whole affairs of Europe, though not desirous of undervaluing the merits of the great General whose achievements were meant to be extolled, and whose character and ability no man could more sincerely admire than he did, yet he could not suffer such delusions to go forth uncontradicted; the more especially, when he considered that they were calculated to plunge the country, under the direction of the same persons, still more deeply in a destructive and ruinous war. He contended, that after these boasted and overpraised victories, we were still as far from our object as ever."

"Under all the circumstances of the contest, it appeared to him, even upon the Minister's own shewing, that we were unable to find sufficient means to support the campaign; and that after Lord Wellington's retreat, he had only the two fortresses of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz left to him as the fruits of his campaign in Spain. What! were we to be satisfied, after all the splendid victories that had been gained in the course of the present campaign, after the exhausted state to which the French troops had been reduced by their incursion into Russia, and more particularly, after the glorious, important, and unparalleled victory of Salamanca, so highly advantageous in its consequences to the general affairs of the Peninsula, were we to be satisfied with a retreat? Were we not to take advantage of all those gratifying and cheering circumstances? Were we to suffer the French troops to recover from the effects of their discomfiture and exhaustion, and to wait until the tide of good fortune, which had attended us, flowed back on its source? It seemed to him that such propositions were totally inconsistent with the obvious rules of common sense and reason; and yet, where now was the Marquis of Wellington? In what direction were we to look for the glorious results of the campaign? In what manner was the diminution of the French power in Spain evinced?"

"There must be blame somewhere; and some defect existed, which called loudly for inquiry. It was somewhat extraordinary, as well as mortifying, that after all the means which had been placed in the hands of his Majesty's ministers, and the liberality with which those means had been dispensed in the course of the Spanish war, the country had not reaped some of the fruits of the great victories, some of the benefits of the exertions which had been detailed. Nothing, however, seemed to have resulted from all these advantages, but calamity and distress; which give rise to the natural proposition, that either Lord Wellington was not entitled to the praise which the House was called upon to bestow, or that the fault of our failure was attributable to the gross negligence and imbecility of the ministers of the crown. He could not see how they could get rid of this dilemma.

It was not, however, for the purpose of going at length into these topics that he now rose; all he wished to do was, to protest against the system of delusion which had been observed by his Majesty's government for the last nineteen years, sixteen of them under his own observation, and to which the Noble Lord's (Lord Castlereagh's) speech formed a sequel. In every speech which had been delivered on occasions similar to the present, the same prospects of success were held out, the same panegyrics were passed upon commanders, the same panegyrics upon Ministers themselves; ending always in disappointment, and calculated to engage them more deeply in expence and war. Other and more fit opportunities would occur for the discussion of these subjects, which he now wished to avoid, as he was very unwilling to dissent from any vote of thanks or gratitude, which might be proposed to the present commander in the Peninsula. He could not help thinking, however, that it would have been better if the question had not been brought forward quite so early, and that time might have been allowed to go into some inquiry into the general conduct of the campaign, before the House were called upon to give their votes. The Noble Lord, in the plenitude of his satisfaction, had not merely confined himself to Spain, but had travelled out of his course, and had taken the House to Russia, where, in the destruction of from two to three hundred thousand human beings, in the burning of Moscow, and in the devastation of an immense track of Russian territory, he found new causes of congratulation, new sources of national pride and gratitude. He had called the attention of the House to the difficulties with which the emperor of the French was surrounded in his endeavours to reach winter quarters, and that he had considered as a matter of great triumph on the part of the emperor of Russia. Would he be equally inclined to consider it a matter of triumph, if Buonaparte should extricate himself from these perils, which, in his opinion, was more than probable; and, after having found good winter quarters, return to the contest, with renovated ardour, in the spring? Could he believe it possible, that Russia could continue such a contest, and undergo a repetition of similar dreadful experiments and sacrifices? Supposing he marched to Petersburg, which seemed to be his ultimate intention, would the same mode of defence as at Moscow be adopted? Could Russia burn another Moscow to prevent its occupation by the enemy? Would she burn Petersburg too? The Russian General Kufusow, speaking of the battle of Borodino, said, that he did not follow up the results of the battle, because he should, in that case, risk both his own army and the safety of Moscow. The event of the capture of Moscow did, notwithstanding, take place. He, for one, could not greatly admire the magnanimity of burning that, the preservation of which ought to have been fought for; nor could he see the shining character of the Emperor Alexander, who was not, like the emperor of the French, personally sharing in the dangers of the war. He could not subdue the conviction which arose in his mind, on viewing all these things, of the utter impossibility of the emperor of Russia feeling any

exultation whatever. On the contrary, he thought that unfortunate individual must be oppressed by a view of the irreparable calamities to which himself and his people had been, and were likely still further to be, exposed."

MR. CALCRAFT.

February 2, 1809.—On the second reading of the Militia Enlistment Bill.

"He did not look to our acting any great military part on the Continent, and hoped, that before we attempted any such operation, we should maturely weigh the circumstances, and the scene upon which we should have to act."

February 16, 1810.—In the Debate on the Motion for granting an Amnity to Lord Wellington.

"Would any one look to what was the state of the army at present, and say that a victory had been gained at Talavera? It was, in truth, no victory. It had been swelled into a victory only by the influence of political connection, in order to get Lord Wellington advanced to the Peerage. It was a piece of Ministerial foppery. It was an object with the Right Hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Canning) and his Majesty's Ministers, to obtain the support of Marquis Wellesley, and consequently they were anxious to pay court to that Noble Lord."

"A month hence, the whole fruits of Lord Wellington's victories and campaigns would develop themselves to public view. He was sorry and alarmed to hear that Lord Wellington had declared that he could defend Portugal with 50,000 men, provided 30,000 of them were British troops. All he knew was, that if the French were in earnest in their design upon Portugal, before three months, Lord Wellington and his army would be in England. Would to God they were in England at this moment!"

MR. CANNING.

January 31, 1809.—On moving the Address on the answer returned to the overtures from England

"It was said, that whenever Buonaparte had resolved on any measure, and declared that he would accomplish it, such a declaration should be received as the fiat of a superior being, against which it was folly to oppose any kind of resistance! He never pledged himself to any thing but what he could carry into execution! His resolves were insurmountable! His career was not to be stopped! We were, therefore, to submit to dependence if he declared such to be his will and pleasure; and so far from daring to stand gloriously forth the champions of the Continent, we were not even to think of defending ourselves against this irresistible leader! Such might be the opinion of some; but such was not his opinion, nor the opinion of the British people. Even were the ship in which we were embarked sinking, it was our duty to struggle against the boisterous elements. But he never could acknowledge that such was our state; we were riding

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proudly and nobly buoyant upon the waves. Of those who entertained such desponding, such unmanly, sentiments, he was sure the number was very small."

"It certainly had been possible for us, at the commencement of the Spanish war, to have remained neutral, and said to ourselves, 'We are glad to see discord springing up between France and her Allies;' but the voice and feeling of the British nation declared loudly and vehemently against such a course. When we had then gone into the more high and elevated line, we were bound to adhere to it with the more vigour and perseverance."

MR. PERCEVAL.

*March 9, 1810.---On moving for a Grant of 980,000*l.* to enable His Majesty to take 30,000 Portuguese troops into British Pay.*

"If the House was still influenced by that noble sympathy which had hitherto so strongly interested them in the cause of the Spaniards suffering under the perfidy, atrocity, and usurpation of France, he was persuaded, that there could exist no disposition in the committee to resist his motion. He was well aware, at the same time, that it might be said, that the measure he had to propose, related not to Spain, but to Portugal. He must contend, that the interests of both could not be separated; that whatever should be done to give strength to Portugal, would add to the means of Spain; and that to provide for the defence and security of the former country, would be to promote the general interests of the Peninsula, and the particular success of the Spanish cause. It was incumbent upon him, however, to admit, that if France should ever succeed in establishing a secure and tranquil government in Spain, it would be impossible for Portugal, with even the assistance which this country could afford, effectually to resist the attempts of France. But if this country should still continue to hold Portugal, pending the struggle in Spain, and thereby menace the French forces in that country, he was sure it would be admitted, that we should by that means effectually promote the cause of Spain, and consequently the interests of all parts of the Peninsula."

"He was persuaded, even, that if the House were now, for the first time, called upon for any opinion upon the subject, so far from regretting their former opinion, they would be actuated by the same sentiments and feelings, which were not more congenial to the character and honour, than conducive to the best interest of the nation."

"As long as there should remain a hope of success in Spain, it was obviously the best policy of this country to keep up the spirit of resistance to French usurpation in the Spanish nation. The power of France could never be completely confirmed, or really secure in Europe, until that power should be established on the ruins of the independence of Spain: because so long as the Spanish nation should continue to resist the usurpation of France, it would be necessary for that power to direct a great proportion of its strength and disposable

forces against Spain. It was, consequently, the duty as well as the policy of this country, to foment and keep alive in the Peninsula, that spirit which alone could hold out any hope of success to the cause, which might thus, perhaps, eventually become the germ of the liberty and independence of the world."

"The real question to be considered, therefore, was, whether, in possession of Portugal under such circumstances, the House should adopt the proposition, either to support those who were disposed to continue the struggle in that country, or, by withdrawing the British army, to leave them to their fate, and abandon their cause altogether? The question he should repeat, really was, whether that House should determine to sustain the cause of the Peninsula in Portugal, or, by deserting it, leave that country to be overrun by the enemy; in doing which they would surrender to France the most convenient station, and the most important instruments of hostility against this country. Was that a question which Gentlemen were prepared to accede to?"

"If they should now think fit to withdraw their army; if they should, in this instance, not feel those sentiments which made them express to his Majesty their approbation of his having entered into a treaty with Spain after her reverses; if, in the contemplation of the present difficulties, and without a just regard to the prospective interests of the cause of the Peninsula, they should determine to abandon Portugal altogether, sure he was that it would be in effect to abandon the cause of this country, as well as to tarnish the character and honour of the nation. When he looked back to that feeling which induced Parliament to approve of a perseverance in support of the Spanish cause, after the difficulties and reverses which had been sustained in Spain, he could not bring himself to suppose that any indisposition would be shewn on this occasion still to maintain the cause of the Peninsula. At a period when the hopes of Spain were so reduced, when the cause of that country was to be sustained almost within the walls of Cadiz, was it, he would ask, for the interests of the surviving energies of the Spanish cause, or for the immediate advantage of the cause of this country, that we should withdraw, or profess to withdraw, the British army from Portugal? What consequence could result from such a course, but the inevitable subjection of Spain and Portugal, and the necessary augmentation of the enemy's means of hostility against this country?"

"But what were they to think of the sentiments of those gentlemen who were always of opinion that it was impossible for Spain to hold out so long; they who told the House so often that the cause was hopeless; that it was vain to send out British troops to sustain it; that if Spain was to succeed at all, she must succeed at once; and that she could never maintain a protracted contest against the disciplined armies and enormous resources of France? Spain had continued the struggle hitherto; however; and, whatever might be the gloomy aspect of her affairs at present, the cause of the Peninsula, according to his opinion, ought not to be abandoned. He was san-

guine enough thus far to think, that it would be extremely difficult for France to establish a tranquil dominion in Spain, unless Great Britain should separate herself from the cause of that country. But a secure and tranquil government France could not erect in Spain without much difficulty, nor easily make any effectual application of the means of the Peninsula in her hostility against this country, whilst we continued to assist its efforts. She might occupy Spain with an army, but her power would be confined within the limits of her military posts; and it would require nearly as large an army to keep possession as to make a conquest of Spain. There never had existed a nation capable of subduing a population possessing the mind, and heart, and soul of the Spaniards. They might sustain reverses; but the very victories and the triumphs of their enemies would teach them discipline and infuse into them a spirit which would ultimately be the ruin of their oppressors. Under these circumstances, he should put it to the House, whether it would be prudent or wise to abandon Portugal? The last Austrian war had arisen in a great measure out of the contest in the Peninsula. During the progress of that war, however calamitous its result had proved, it would be in the recollection of the House, that one other day's successful resistance of the French army by the Austrians, might have overthrown the accumulated power of the enemy. That such events might again take place, was not impossible. No man could anticipate what might arise of this description in the course of a short period, and under all the circumstances of the world; but as long as the contest was or could be maintained in the Peninsula, he considered it the best policy of this country to support and promote it."

MR. SHERIDAN.

July 21, 1812.—*On moving for Papers relative to the Overture for Peace from France.*

"He must hear some very strong arguments to the contrary, before he would be convinced that the late offer of negotiation from France did not deserve the character which he had given to it on a recent occasion—that it did not deserve to be called perfidious, insidious, and insulting. Perfidious, because it called upon us to be guilty of the grossest perfidy to our allies. Insidious, because it was evidently written with the conviction, that the proposal which it contained could not be accepted, and was not meant as a *bona fide* offer to us; for he exonerated the policy of the emperor or ruler of France (he cared not which he was called, and considered any dispute upon that point as a matter of silly etiquette) from the imputation of holding our understandings in such contempt, as to imagine we should be induced to believe for a moment, that the French government thought or meant, that their overture should really be acceded to by the British. Insulting, because it affected, on certain flimsy pretences, to induce the British government to depart from the most sacred and honourable engagements, and to abandon her characteristic faith with her allies. To the reply of our government the ruler of France returned no answer. Some people were surprised at this. It by no

means surprised him. Buonaparte never cared for any answer to his original proposition. The fact was, that when that proposition was made, he was in the heat of a negotiation with the Russian government, and feeling that the negotiation was not going on so successfully as he could wish, he sent to Great Britain the overture which we had received, hoping that an impression favourable to his views might be made on the Russian Cabinet, when they should find, that to obtain peace with England, he was willing not to push the boundary of his dominions beyond the Pyrenees, to guarantee the independence of Sicily, &c. but certainly not entertaining the insulting expectation that this stratagem could deceive the British government."

"He was persuaded that Napoleon would laugh at those who thought he seriously meant to carry on a negotiation for peace with Great Britain. If we could penetrate into his thoughts, we should find the course of them running thus -- 'I will send to the Russian cabinet, to terrify them with the prospect of my concluding a peace with England, entirely disadvantageous to Russia. I am compelled to go to war with Russia, and, for the purpose of intimidating that power, I will desire the acquiescence of Great Britain in a pretended negotiation for peace. I want 150,000 men out of Spain. I will tell England, that I wish she would release them by withdrawing her troops, that I may use them in my designs against Russia. The answer of England will be--'What is your quarrel with Russia?' I reply---'Because she inexorably refuses to assist me in destroying her maritime strength, and those maritime principles, on which alone your existence as a great nation depends. Because Russia will not join with me in destroying the sinews of your power, I make war upon Russia; I ask you, England, to lend me your assistance; and when I have achieved my object, I will come back to Spain, and shall be very much obliged.' For his part, he could see no proper answer to a proposition which veiled such intentions as these, but precisely that which the Noble Lord had given."

"If ever there was a time at which Great Britain might and ought to make a grand struggle, it was the present."

"It was a libel false as hell, to say, that Great Britain ever foully availed herself of her maritime superiority. If there be those (continued Mr. S.), who think that any portion of these rights might be advantageously surrendered, I tell them, that I for one, and I am sure that I am only echoing the sentiments of the House, would rather scuttle this Island of England, and allow it to be overwhelmed by the surrounding ocean, than I would surrender one iota of that charter which has appended to it the seal of nature itself, and which (I speak it with reverence), enjoys the guarantee of Providence, manifested in the high glory and prosperity of this renowned nation."

EARL TEMPLE.

May 2, 1809.—On moving Resolutions condemning the conduct of affairs in Spain.

"They were to decide upon those persons only whose incapacity and misconduct were the cause why even British valour had failed of

success; why the energies of freedom and the spirit of freemen had been ineffectual in the arduous contest in which the country had engaged; by whose mi-conduct the last brilliant spark that lingered of the spirit of Europe had been stifled and extinguished."

"Buonaparte always flew to his object upon the wings of the eagle, whilst the Noble Lord (Lord Castlereagh) crept on the back of a tortoise to oppose him."

MISCELLANIES.

A Dialogue between a Calvinist and a Deist.

Calvinist. It seems to me very strange, that you who are so accurate in your moral conduct, cannot be induced to admit the doctrines of Christianity? *Deist.* My objection is, that some of your principles contradict my notions of the Deity, and, therefore, I cannot with honesty profess a belief in the rest as coming from him. *C.* Is it possible that any christian doctrines can contradict your notions of the Deity; pray what may those notions be? *D.* That he is a being of Justice and Goodness. *C.* Surely christianity teaches that in the fullest extent? *D.* Very partially, as it seems to me. *C.* You perhaps have unusual ideas concerning justice and goodness? *D.* I conceive of them as men in general. *C.* That is not sufficient, for the Deity is a being of infinite justice and goodness, which infinity our finite understandings cannot comprehend. *D.* But he is also a being of infinite wisdom, which does not prove that mankind are absolute idiots, and incapable of a single right conception, so neither does his infinite justice render false our ideas of right and wrong. They are true so far as they go, and whatever appears contradictory to them, must be deemed by us unjust. If this be not the case, we are all at sea, and have neither card nor compass to steer by. *C.* But you must make some allowance for our limited understandings? *D.* Certainly, as I allow that a foot rule will not measure infinite space, still I assert that no part of infinite space can prove our foot-rule to be a false measure. *C.* You will allow too, that from superior knowledge, his justice must be more accurate than ours? *D.* No one can pretend to judge, if all the facts are not fairly before him; but surely, when we ourselves are solely concerned, if our reasons are not to be depended on, and our notions of right and wrong are to be submerged in the obscure of infinity. Surely, then, to appeal to my understanding, and aim at my conviction, must be absurd. *C.* Well, then, granting that some things may be above our reason, you will in the next place allow whatever may be fairly deduced from the infinite wisdom of the Deity? *D.* Certainly, observing, however, that you are not to insist upon that tenet being above reason, which is contrary to it? *C.* No; that is the error of the papists, but with these provisos, what principles of ours contradict your notions? *D.* Your principles of election, reprobation, and predestination, contradict every idea I can form of divine goodness and justice. *C.* Perhaps you may never have been rightly informed of those principles, they may never

have been fully stated to you? *D.* That is very possible; be so good as to favour me with your statement of them. *C.* First, then, I suppose, we are both agreed that the Creator is a being of infinite wisdom and power, he therefore must have foreseen every thing which can or will happen. Of course everything must happen as he has foreseen it. *D.* Do you mean, then, that the whole system of the world, with all its events of whatever kind, were contrived designedly, and aforethought by the Deity? *C.* I think that "without his eternal and unchangeable determinations, nothing is ever done by any one, neither generally nor individually, not even those deeds excepted, which are evil and detestable." (*Beza's Theological Tracts*, p. 171. Vol. I.) "Therefore, since nothing happens accidentally, nor doth the Deity ever change his design, it is clear that God not only foresaw, but also determined to create the human race for the purpose of shewing his glory, by saving some in his mercy without any cause, and condemning others by his just decision." p. 14. *D.* But if all these were alike in themselves, how can this be just? *C.* "Justice depends on the will of God, and not the will of God on the quality of things, it being necessary that God should determine on any measure before it can be just, so that the qualities of events depend on the will of God as their cause." p. 329. *D.* I grant that whatever a being of infinite justice wills must be just; but you will recollect that the question at present between us is, whether these principles of election and reprobation can be willed or not?" *C.* Do you, then, suppose it possible for any thing to have happened contrary to his will, or without his knowledge? *D.* Not without his permission. But surely it is not impossible that the world should have had a certain freedom of choice. *C.* If events were contingent, how could they be foreseen? *D.* To foresee is a divine attribute, of which we can form no idea, I can, therefore, allow of no argument deduced therefrom, until it be first clearly understood. *C.* There cannot be much difficulty in that. Do you not foresee that the sun will rise to-morrow? *D.* Yes, and my foresight has no controul on his rising. *C.* It would, if you could foresee only what must happen. *D.* But that I cannot do, nor can I form any idea of my foresight rendering necessary what I do foresee. For example, I foresee that the man entering yonder ale-house will come out intoxicated, and from long knowledge of him am thoroughly convinced that this will be the case. But he is by no means affected by my foresight. *C.* No, because you are not infallible. *D.* How would it be if I was? *C.* That I cannot comprehend not being infallible myself. *D.* Then let us dismiss a principle understood by neither of us, and let us take another view of this system, adopted, you say, not from necessity but choice. Pray, are your elect all patterns of goodness in this life, and do they much exceed the bad in number? *C.* Oh, no. They are much the fewest, not a tenth part of the whole, and so far from being the best, a great many of them are the worst, almost to the very last moments of their life, to shew that they are accepted for no good they have done. (*See Robinson's Scrip.*

Syst. p. 294. Vol. I. "Nay, many of the rejected conduct themselves in a very moral and decent manner, so as to have all the appearance of being elect." (*Beza, p. 191. Vol. I.*) *D.* Surely this is strange. Would it not have been better that the elect should have been patterns of goodness, would not this have better justified the peculiar favor shown them? *C.* The real case is this: "The Lord that he might execute this design for illustrating his own glory, premised a certain way for himself according to his own infinite wisdom, alike for the elect and reprobate. For since he had determined to give a remarkable specimen of his mercy in the salvation of the elect and also to prove himself a just judge in condemning the reprobate, it was necessary to render both parties obstinate sinners, that he might have mercy on all believers (the elect to wit, for faith is the peculiar gift of God to them) and, on the other hand, might find ground for a just sentence on those to whom it was not given to believe or to know the mysteries of God." *P. 177, Beza. - D.* I really am more puzzled than ever. At this rate sin and the fall of Adam must have been agreeable events to the Deity? *C.* This is true, in a certain degree. For "though it was the voluntary act of Adam, yet it did not happen contrary to the will of God, whom it pleased in a wonderful but incomprehensible manner. Having determined the end, it is necessary that he also should contrive the causes leading to that end." *P. 179. D.* But thus to compass the end, it must have been necessary to deprive man of his free will and so reduce him to the state of a mere machine. *C.* If he was entirely deprived of free will he could not be guilty. Therefore such a free will is left us, that we should sin voluntarily, fly from God, hate him, and be able neither to hear him, nor believe in him, nor acknowledge the gift of God, nor even think any thing good, in short such that we should be wholly subject to anger and cursing. *P. 185. D.* Freewill consists in being able to choose any of two or more motives. Where a man can choose only one, and that the most contrary to his reason, I do not see how you can regard him as enjoying any freedom, nor how you prove him to be other than a mere passive machine, like an horse securely harnessed to a mill, who must go round and round without the possibility of advancing straight forward. Yet even this scheme cannot surely reach those who died in their infancy, and therefore incapable of sin. They, I hope, escape? *C.* You should recollect "that the whole human race being thus spontaneously fallen into this wretched condition, God who justly curses the reprobate, inasmuch as they are corrupt, exercises his just anger on some of them as soon as ever they are born." *P. 190. D.* And how are these together with the decent and moral reprobates of whom you before spoke to be treated in the next world? *C.* The elect are promoted to unspeakable and eternal happiness. The rejected are condemned to misery as unspeakable and as eternal. *D.* For what purpose is this extensive and deadly apparatus contrived? *C.* "Neither the happiness of the elect, nor the punishment of the reprobate, is the ultimate end of the councils of

God, but the illustration of his own glory." P. 179. *D.* This plan cannot exhibit any proof of mercy at least? *C.* Yes, assuredly. "For if God had saved a single person only out of the whole world, that mercy would have exceeded, beyond all idea, his severity to the rest of the world who perish." P. 335. as I will endeavour to explain to you. *D.* Never attempt it. Let me see if I comprehend your plan. Your Deity, then, for the sake of exhibiting his glory, (it does not appear whose praise was to be obtained at this price) has contrived a world such that sin and injustice must necessarily abound here, and be practised by nineteen twentieths of its inhabitants, and hereafter nineteenthths of these must be everlastingly miserable. *C.* These are consequences necessarily flowing from first principles. *D.* That I deny. Such a system could never emanate from a good being, he would rather not have created a single being besides himself, than derive glory from such accumulated vice and misery.

LUCIEN BUONAPARTE.

To the Editor.

SIR,—Having looked with wonder at the inclination of many toward Napoleon Buonaparte, and having observed many here in London having the same propensity toward his brother Lucien, by asserting that he was in estimation in Worcestershire; and having occasion to take a trip to Worcester, I determined to examine minutely into the truth of this assertion.

When I arrived at Worcester, I found that this *estimation* arose solely from the attention of six citizens of Worcester, and one widow bewitched. When Lucien had his masquerade, these, with their families, urged all they could, like the monkey who had lost his tail, to do as they did, and make the number greater. Several did this out of curiosity, but not two of the gentry of the county ever looked at him; and how the rest of the neighbourhood disapproved of the proceedings, you may learn from the subjoined paper, which was put forth in the vicinity of Worcester.

I am, Sir,

Your humble Servant,

VERUS.

London, May 20, 1814.

THE LAST PROCLAMATION OF BUONAPARTE.

NAPOLEON, *late* Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, Grand Arbiter of the Fate of Nations, &c. &c. &c. &c. &c. but *now*, by permission of the allied sovereigns, Exile in the Isle of Elba, an Outcast from Society, a Fugitive and a Vagabond.

To all our late Friends, Supporters, and Admirers in Worcester.

WHEREAS it having been represented to us, at our Court, holden on

board the ship called a *Transport*, in which we were sailing to our ultimate destination in this island, that many of our late *admirers* in Worcester were deeply lamenting our sudden downfall; and as in our retirement the company of our *loving friends* will be most acceptable, We hereby invite all who feel *dissatisfied with peace and prosperity*, to follow our late royal person to this island of our exile, where we promise them every advancement and dignity about our person and government as shall be suitable to their several capacities; and from the extent of territory now in our possession (*eight miles by two*) estates and domains, for the support of their several dignities, shall be awarded them.

Given at our Court, this first year of our sovereignty of the Island of Elba.

NAPOLEON.

Representation by the London Clergy, relative to the suits commenced under the act of 43 Geo. 3. Cap. 84. humbly submitted to the consideration of the members of both houses of parliament.

Notices of action having been sent to numbers of beneficed men in different dioceses for non-residence, the clergy incorporated by the name of the president and fellows of Sion college within the City of London, have collected and investigated the cases of those of their own body, who have received such notices. Being satisfied, from the investigation that has been made, as to themselves, and persuaded, from the information they have received, respecting others, that there exists but a very small portion of positive default, against the spirit of the act, they respectfully submit the following statement, to the consideration of the members of the legislature, whom they are anxious to regard as their efficient friends in this exigence.

By an act of Henry VIII. every beneficed person was subject to a fine of 10*l.* for every month that he should be non-resident on one of his benefices; with a proviso, that no prosecution should be retrospective, for a longer term than the twelve months immediately preceding.

Prosecutions having been instituted under that act about fourteen years ago, an act was passed in 1803, the purpose of which, as stated in the preamble, was not only "to make more effectual provisions for enforcing the residence of spiritual persons on their benefices," but also "to protect them from vexatious prosecutions."

The result, however, has been such as they persuade themselves was not intended by the legislature. The penalties imposed by this act, are, one third, of the yearly income of the benefice, for a non-residence of three months in the year; one half, for six months; two thirds, for eight months; and three fourths, for the whole year: penalties which attach in their full extent, no less to offences from ignorance or inadvertence against the letter, than to those which are against the spirit, of the act: the whole of such forfeiture to go to the person, who shall inform and sue for the same. Add to this, that no limitation of time, for which penalties may be enforced, is

assigned by this act; except in one case, in which a bar may be put to a retrospective suit, namely, a full year's actual residence on the benefice.

Penalties levied to this extent, and the law allows of no mitigation, may involve the families of clergymen in the greatest distress, and in some cases, in absolute ruin.

A great number of suits have been commenced, not by a stranger unconnected with the clergy, but by a secretary to four bishops, to whom, in every difficulty or doubt in points of law, the clergy might reasonably look for advice and assistance. But in some instances, instead of being benefitted by his advice and assistance, they state themselves to have been placed in their present situation by his neglect, and in others, he has availed himself of that information, which his situation afforded him, to their prejudice.

The case has appeared so hard, as to call for the prompt interference of the legislature; and an act has been passed to suspend all proceedings in law for a limited time.

It appears upon investigation, that almost all the suits now pending fall under one or other of those descriptions, in which non-residence on certain stipulations is allowed. The ground of action in almost every instance is some omission in point of form, proceeding either from an inadvertency, or an error of judgment, which exposes those concerned, not to a moderate fine, but to the full penalties of culpable non-residence.

To be more circumstantial.—The actions fall into two classes;—against those, who having pleas of exemption allowed by the act, have omitted to make the requisite notification to the bishop;—and against those, who have not been duly and constantly provided with a licence of non-residence from the bishop.

The omission in the former case, to notify their plea of exemption, may be fairly construed in the light of inadvertency, into which a man might easily fall, even after giving what he might suppose a due attention to the act itself. A beneficed man, who has some other duty which requires his attendance in another place, consults this act, and finds his case among those, which are enumerated in the 15th section, to this effect:—"No spiritual person, actually serving as chaplain to the House of Commons, or as clerk or deputy clerk of his Majesty's closet, &c. &c. &c. or as schoolmaster or usher of Westminster school, shall be liable to any of the pains and penalties or forfeitures in this or any former act, for any non-residence on his benefice, any thing in this or in any former act contained to the contrary notwithstanding."

Satisfied with a declaration apparently so decisive, he looks no further, and consequently does not discover, that, in order to avail himself of his plea of exemption, he must give in a notification of the same, within a given time, to the bishop.

Among those who have notices of action served against them, on the ground of the same omission, are several, probably the greater number, who, having more benefices than one, are duly re-

sident upon one of them. Of the necessity of making such notification, strong doubts are expressed by professional men.*

To the same class must be referred the prebendaries of St. Paul's, most of whom have notices of action, though, except the residentiaries, they have no prebendal house to reside in.

The latter class of notices applies to such as have not been duly provided with a licence of non-residence from the bishop.

The greater part of these have had licences for former periods, which are since expired. Some of these, through mere inadvertency, omitted in proper time to apply for a renewal; and others actually did apply, and were allowed them by the bishop, but failed to receive them, as the state, through the neglect or misconduct of the secretary.

The legislature have already expressed their sense of the general hardship by interposing to suspend, for a limited time, the actions commenced. When they are informed, that the offences against the act, in almost all the instances where suits are instituted, have been more against the letter than the spirit, and in some instances, not through the neglect of the clergy themselves, but through the fault of the very person, who now, by himself or by his agents, prosecutes the suit; that hardship will be more apparent. And when it is considered, that such offences will be visited with the same severe punishment, as the most wilful violations of the act, and that many clergymen, will be reduced to great distress, and some to utter ruin, by the enforcement of the penalties; is it unreasonable to hope, that the legislature may be moved to pass an act of indemnity, with such modifications and exceptions as to them in their wisdom shall seem expedient?

Sion College, March 14th, 1814.

We are happy to find that Mr. Bragge Bathurst has brought in a bill to stop the further progress of these *prosecutions*, to which a very different designation might, with propriety, be applied. We hope that the bishops, henceforth, will take particular care to select for their secretary, men who will not avail themselves of their situations for qualifying themselves for the office of informers against their clergy; and for the institution of suits which must involve in ruin a description of persons, who are, on all accounts, entitled to our respect and veneration, and whom the prelates are bound, by every tie of duty, to protect.

* It may be remarked, that the returns of non-residents under this act, are calculated in some cases to make an erroneous impression to the disadvantage of the clergy: in the case of those, who, dividing their yearly residence between two of their benefices, are returned non-resident on both; as also in the case of those, who, doing their own duty, are non-residents by licence, on account of unfitness, or want of house.

SIR,

To the Editor.

The due attention which you have paid to the concerns of the British colonies, and also to those of the *shipping interest* of this country, induces me to hope that you will feel pleasure in extending the knowledge of a most able and argumentative speech on the latter subject, which was lately delivered before a Committee of the House of Commons, and a correct copy of which I inclose for the purpose of insertion in your valuable work.

I am, your constant reader,

BRITANNICUS.

The substance of the Speech of WILLIAM HARRISON, Esq. before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, on East India built shipping, on Monday, April 18, 1814. Sir Robert Peel, Bart. in the Chair.

Mr. Harrison appeared as Counsel for the English Ship builders.

I have endeavoured to avail myself of the time which has been given by the committee to compress this case as much as possible, and with the assistance of the learned gentleman with me, Mr. Adolphus, and the solicitor, whose general intelligence and particular knowledge upon this subject is so well known, I shall be able to bring this question within a much narrower compass than has generally been conceived; at the same time, the committee must be aware, that both with reference to the private interests which I represent, and also the public interest, and with reference to the consequences which, I think, I shall establish, must follow from this bill passing into a law, it is by much the most important question which has, within my recollection, been brought before parliament. I have no hesitation in saying, that I think it of more importance than the question which continued so long under discussion in this room last year—that it involves larger national interests, and greater political and general consequences, and questions much more deeply connected with the safety and prosperity of the country in every respect, than the question last year, as to the monopoly of the East India trade.

Sir, it is incumbent on me to shew, that the gentlemen I represent are affected, deeply affected, by this bill; that they are in a condition to present themselves before you as petitioners, from the nature of their situation, and the effect this bill will produce upon their interests; that they have claims on the public attention, from the assistance they have afforded to the national establishments; that nothing has occurred in the management of their trade, or in the manner of their giving assistance to the public, to exclude them from the benefit of these claims; and that there is no general policy which justifies this interference with their business. I will also shew, that if it is a question on comparison between those interested in the building of ships here, and those interested in the building of ships in India, there is no doubt that those who are interested in building

ships in this country have superior claims to protection; that no danger can arise from permitting them to carry it on as they have done hitherto; but, on the contrary, public necessity, public interest, the state of our navy, the future ship-building throughout the kingdom, and all those circumstances which call for your attention, imperatively demand that if it is necessary that the present laws should be altered, they should be altered to give them additional protection; that this is the line which parliament must take, and that instead of enacting any thing to prevent the ship-builders in this country from carrying on their trade to the same extent as hitherto, it is absolutely necessary that the navigation acts should be so altered as to exclude from the trade between India and Great Britain, any ships built in India as British registered ships. I state it broadly, largely, and generally; because I am satisfied, in the course of my address, and in the course of the evidence I shall offer, I shall establish to demonstration, and beyond contradiction, too, that they are entitled, not on their own account only as individuals—for individuals' interests must always give way to public policy—but on grounds of public policy itself, which imperiously demands, that the India shipping should be excluded, that the building ships there must be confined to the local trade of that country, and must not be allowed to interfere with the ship-builders here.

Sir, in order to make out this case, I must proceed to shew what is the nature of the establishments for ship-building in the river Thames, upon what particular trade it is they have hitherto maintained those establishments, and kept them up to their present extent, how they have been interfered with by ships being permitted to come from India, what effects must be produced if this bill passes into a law; and, in order to shew the consequences that will arise, I must also exhibit to the committee the situation in which these gentlemen have stood in affording the assistance they have to the navy of Great Britain in time of war, and the importance they are of to the very existence of the navy in time of peace, which will prove that they cannot be interfered with without danger. If it is said it is necessary for the purposes of the navy that ship-building should be suffered in India for the saving of timber here, that is not justified by the fact, or by policy: it is not true, as it is supposed, that there is a scarcity of timber; and the policy, if the fact did exist, is against permitting ships to be built in that country, for that would end in the destruction of the timber, which is the foundation of your future ship-building. I shall contrast the situation legally of the gentlemen interested in ship-building in India, with those interested in ship-building here, and shall state practically their situation, so as to shew that policy demands, if it proves to be, as it will, a question between the individuals—I say policy makes it necessary, that those who were in possession of it here should be protected in the enjoyment of it, and that it should not be allowed to pass to another country.

Thus I have stated the line in which I mean to argue—the grounds I generally take—and if I allude to topics of national law or policy, or any subjects which may at first appear wide of the points imme-

ately under consideration, I hope the committee will give me credit for their being necessary to be touched upon to arrive at the conclusion I wish, and which it is my duty to bring the committee to, namely, the necessity of protecting my clients. In doing this I shall avoid particular details; and having taken great pains to endeavour to compress this subject into as narrow a compass as the nature of it admits, I shall not detain the committee at any great length. I am not in the habit of doing so generally, nor shall I now, though its importance would justify it. I shall treat it on those broad grounds which I have stated, and which will enable me to compress it within the shortest space of time it is possible such a subject should occupy.

Now, Sir, I shall proceed to the first point, the nature of the establishments of these gentlemen, the ship-builders on the river Thames. It will appear from the papers what the number of ships built in the river Thames, for the service of the India company for carrying on the trade with India, has been. The committee will also find "an abstract of some preceding accounts of the ships built in the river Thames from 1796 to 1813, both inclusive, for the East India company's service, and for the merchant's service, distinguishing each."

Before I comment on those papers, I should just generally state that the business, if I may so call it, of ship-building in the river Thames, has been principally supported by the India trade; that though the establishments of ship-building in the river Thames build for other purposes, yet those who have been concerned in building the great vessels employed in the India trade, and those applied to from time to time by the government, to assist in keeping up the navy of Great Britain, have relied on the building of ships for the East India trade; and they contend, notwithstanding the alteration which has taken place with respect to the trade in India, that as that trade must necessarily employ ships of a considerable size, which is obvious from the nature of the trade, and the regulations of the act of last year, which requires that the trade shall be carried on in ships of not less than 350 tons, that no alteration in the nature of the trade will deprive them of the advantage they have hitherto possessed of building the larger vessels concerned in it: therefore, if they have depended upon it hitherto for their support, they have a right to look to it hereafter. That they have depended upon it hitherto, will appear by the documents, namely, that in the interval between 1795 and 1804, the average building per annum, during those ten years, was seven ships in the year for the East India company's service, and I will shew that this employment was of a description to enable them to keep up their establishments, even under the disadvantage of the India company having refused to take ships built on speculation; which makes a very material difference in keeping up the establishments. It will appear from one of the papers from the outports, that a great many ships are building on speculation there, and it is obvious, that where they can build those ships, they can be more economical than where they are to build on contract: on the same principle, that a great builder, for the pur-

pose of being ready at all times to undertake repairs, will build a house on speculation, by which he keeps his workmen employed; and it is a benefit to him, if, during the period of his so employing his men, he produces enough to keep them in pay and keep up his establishment; he is, as far as his establishment is concerned, remunerated, if he brings himself back. Every thing he may make beyond the cost he may take as profit; but it is an advantage to him if he makes no profit at all. But under the disadvantage of not being allowed to build ships on speculation, because the East India company would not take them (though built under the inspection of their surveyors), but insisted on ships being laid down after contract, even then, and under that disadvantage, they carried on the business of ship-building in the river Thames in such a way as to keep some thousand men in constant employ, in their various occupations, in building and repairing such ships.

The committee will observe, that from 1805 to 1814, the last ten years, the average has been two ships a-year, and, for the purpose of completing the observations I wish to make on this document, I would now beg leave to refer the committee to another document, by which the committee will see that there is one solitary vessel, and that a frigate, at this moment building in the yards of the river Thames: that therefore the average of the ten first years was seven large ships; that the average for the last ten years was two ships; and that at this moment there is but one, and that a frigate, which has no connexion with this trade, nor with the observations I am making as to the case now before the committee. I think I am justified in stating, when I have proved these documents, that I shall shew to the committee, that the ship-building establishments on the river Thames have been supported and maintained by the great trade carried on in those large vessels between this country and India; that as the trade is to be carried on in those large vessels in future, they have a right to look to that trade for employment; and that the reduction of their trade has already produced the effect of reducing their men from between three and four thousand, which was the number they formerly employed, to about two hundred and fifty men now in employment in the river Thames: on that I shall have to comment when I come to further parts of the case.

Now, Sir, it may be said, that this proof amounts to nothing, if their trade has fallen off from other causes than the introduction of ships from India. I admit it; and therefore I shall go into the circumstances of their establishments. In one of the papers there is a passage to which I beg the attention of the honourable members: they will find that ninety-eight ships built in nineteen years in the river Thames for the East India company's service, averaged 1007 tons each, and five hundred and forty-two ships, vessels and river-craft, built there in the like period, not for the East India company's service, averaged 76 tons each, that the vessels built in the port of London for the East India company, from 1795 to 1804, were seventy-seven ships, making 76,127 tons; from 1805 to 1814, twenty-one ships, making 22,590 tons, making the decrease of building of East-

Indiamen in the Thames since 1804, fifty-six ships, and 53,557 tons. Now, how is the decrease supplied? The committee will find, in one of the papers, "an account of the number of ships built in India, and admitted to registry in London, from 1794 to 1813, and of some others admitted to entry, but not registered." The first account is of ships admitted to registry, seventy-six, the tonnage 47,475; the second account is of ships admitted to entry, and not registered, eight, and the tonnage 9003: the total is 84 ships, 56,478 tons." The result is, that in proportion as the building has fallen off in the river Thames, it has been supplied directly by the tonnage of vessels brought from India, which have carried on the trade from India to this country; and I deduce from that an argument, that all which has been taken from us has fallen into the hands of the builders on the other side of the water, that it has been an actual transfer of the ship-building to that extent from this country to India; and I shall prove, in the course of the observations I shall have to make, and the evidence I shall afterwards bring, that this bill passing into a law to make it legal for the large vessels built in Asia to carry on the Indian trade will be attended with the annihilation of every one of these establishments, and transfer to that country all the ship-building, and end in the ruin of every one of the establishments of the gentlemen who are one set of the petitioners, namely, the ship-builders in the river Thames.

Now, Sir, it will be necessary for me, after having stated what is the nature of their establishments, and how they have been principally employed hitherto, by what supported, and in what way they have fallen off within a certain number of years, to advert to the situation in which they have stood, nationally speaking, in order to shew, when I have laid a foundation, by stating their individual case in point of loss, the claims they have on the national protection, and the importance they are of with respect to the existence of the navy. Whether it is or not a judicious policy to build men of war in the merchant yards, has been a subject of great discussion; and I have no doubt honourable members must recollect a very distinguished speech made by a noble lord, formerly at the head of the Admiralty, upon that subject, (and no one was considered as better understanding the nature of the great duties of his situation,) I mean lord Melville; however persons might differ upon other points as to that noble lord, there is, I believe, an universal concurrence of opinion with reference to his knowledge upon the subject of the department then under his care, and the use and benefit he was of to the country at large, in his care and protection of it, and of the seamen of this country. In that speech there was a most able detail of the absolute necessity which might arise from time to time, and on various occasions, of resorting to the merchant yards to assist in building and repairing ships which would be required on all great pressures, when the country was called upon for exertion, at various periods of war. It would be improper in me, on a subject of such general discussion, to go into any details stated in that speech; I have made those general

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observations upon it for the purpose of assuming that occasions have arisen, and will arise, in which it has been and will be absolutely necessary to the existence of the country as a naval power, that there should be establishments of a great description with respect to the nature of the vessels they are capable of building, the size of their establishments, and number of men employed, ready to be called on by the public to assist in a case of sudden emergency, to put the navy into such a condition as to meet the exigencies of the times. It was proved to be necessary then, and it may be necessary hereafter.

Upon this subject, both with reference to the situation in which the gentlemen I represent are as to the building large vessels for the East India company's service, and with reference to the assistance they have afforded to government in the establishing the immense navy we have from time to time employed, some prejudices, unjust prejudices certainly have arisen as to their conduct: it has been stated broadly and largely, in many instances, that, instead of affording assistance, they have only burthened the country with expense; that ships have been built by them only to tumble to pieces; that they have been put into dock before they have sailed from one side of the kingdom to the other; that by the ships they have built for the use of the navy being badly constructed, they have been productive only of expence to the public, and therefore have no claims on the public gratitude or protection, on any ground of that description. I will shew to the committee that this is not the case; and, if it is necessary, we will shew that all the complaints which have been made on the subject of ship-building of late years, with respect to particular vessels having failed, apply to the full extent, and equally under similar circumstances, to the navy board or his majesty's yards; and in neither instance do I admit it is a fair foundation of any improper remarks being made on the persons who have the conduct of the naval yards or private yards, where they are built, because I can shew that some of the failures have taken place from causes having no connexion with the improper construction of the vessels so built. I will shew to the committee, by distinct and positive evidence, that from the manner and course of employment of those yards, it is impossible to ascribe the fault to the private builders employed: to build the men of war, they come under specific contracts as to the way in which they are to be built. The time a vessel is to stand to season is at the discretion of the navy board, the person contracting is bound to obey their order in that respect. However important it may be to him to disengage his slip, that he may build another vessel in its place, he is bound to keep her as long as the officers of government in their discretion think fit to direct.

With respect to the timbers, how she may be constructed, the time of her putting up, and all other circumstances, as to seasoning, are conditioned for at the time of the contract, in the way the navy-board think necessary for the purpose: the navy-board may keep a vessel two years, instead of six months, to season, if they think it necessary. The vessel, while building, is superintended by a surveyor appointed by the navy-board for that purpose; he is present

at the whole operation : the orders of the private builders are, that his directions are to be attended to immediately, he is, in fact, the efficient builder ; the persons belonging to the yards performing only the modelling and putting together under the directions of the navy-board. The plan of the navy-board is implicitly followed, and that under the superintendence of the person appointed by them. I think, therefore, under these circumstances, if any vessel has been built under the superintendence of that person, he conceiving that six months' seasoning or four months will be sufficient, if a vessel under these circumstances has been launched sooner than she ought to be, or would have been by the builders themselves, in their own discretion, that it would be unfair to impute to them as a fault that a vessel did not last the time it may be said she ought. The same accidents have happened in the public yards ; but I do not impute misconduct to the persons concerned in those establishments, because a circumstance of this kind happened, any more than I should say that because the dry rot got into a house, therefore the builder ought not to be employed again : such things will occur in the management of great operations of this description.

Sir, It has also been said that the gentlemen for whom I appear, lose part of their trade because they carry it on so expensively : that they charge so exorbitantly, that they have lost their trade by their own fault ; that the competition against them has been produced by their compelling those who would otherwise be glad to employ them, to look out elsewhere ; and that they are sufferers from not having conducted their business properly ; that they have driven persons to other builders, and therefore they are not intitled to appear as petitioners to parliament for protection. Under the circumstances I have stated, I will endeavour to shew that this assertion is unfounded, and that what is called the difference of building at the outports and in the Thames, is not such as is supposed. I will prove that, to the present moment, the gentlemen who have the establishments on the river Thames have sustained their character for superiority : and though it may be true, that, with respect to some things, they do charge more than persons at the outports, they charge it in the same way as every individual engaged in manufacture does, because they have maintained the character of doing their work better, and putting in better materials, and turning out articles of a superior description ; and that the addition to the expence is one that is compensated for by the superiority of the work performed ; but with respect to the building of vessels, there is a difference which is imaginary, with reference to the tonnage of vessels of this description. The measurement of the tonnage is made in a particular way : it is produced by taking an assumed length of keel from her extreme length and her keel, and not the actual keel, then multiplying the keel by the breadth of the vessel, and the product by half the breadth, and then dividing by 94, and from these data calculating the tonnage of the vessel, the effect of which is, that a vessel built in the outports with a greater breadth of beam, in proportion to depth,

is said to measure 500 tons, and carries 500; but in the Thames they have been required to build upon a different construction, and the result is, that a vessel built on the Thames which is measured 500 tons, will often carry 550, and it is well known that the Indiaman of 1200 tons burthen, often come home with upwards of 1400 tons of cargo. Then, if the vessel is contracted for upon the mere measurement of the tonnage, it is not fair to say a ship built on a construction to carry a larger tonnage is so much dearer when she is a more burthensome vessel.

Sir, there is another peculiar circumstance which I shall prove, in order to shew the character ships built in the Thames have maintained. Some of the committee know that there is a regular account kept at Lloyd's coffee-house, of all the trading vessels in the kingdom, with a view to enable persons called upon to undertake insurances, to ascertain the nature and character of the vessels they are required to insure; and the register is kept by letters and by numbers; and A 1. is the highest class of registry into which all vessels built on the Thames go, and into which new vessels built in the outports are put; but I will shew that so far from the vessels built in the river Thames being inferior to other vessels, they maintain their rank of A 1. and afterwards in the succeeding classes; longer than any other vessels. Their durability, therefore, is established by shewing that, under the survey of persons employed by the underwriters at Lloyd's, competent to judge, (and considering the money at stake, the gentlemen at Lloyd's take care that this survey is conducted in a manner to insure a correct account), the durability of the vessels built in the river Thames is proved, by shewing how long they stand in the highest classes in Lloyd's book, as compared with other vessels: if there are any others built, under accurate inspection at the outports, they are exceptions, for it will be proved, that the vessels built in the river Thames remain longer in the class A 1, and keep their station in the higher classes, in proportion to their length of service, longer than others.

Now, if the committee will take the fact I have mentioned as to tonnage, and the fact I now state, with reference to their durability, and consider all these circumstances together, they must be satisfied, that the imputation attempted to be cast on the builders on the Thames is unfounded; that it cannot be said they carry on their trade in a way to lose it; and that the losses have originated in themselves, and not in consequence of the causes which, I say, will end in their destruction. We will shew, not only with respect to their situations for the purposes of insurance, that they are better, but that they sell for more when put up to be sold;—that a vessel built in the Thames of a certain number of years, compared with another of the same age, fetches a larger sum; and when it is known that the persons who are to buy, and the persons who are to employ and to use them, are led by no circumstances but those of interest, the facts which I now state are conclusive, to prove that the ship-builder of the Thames have not been the authors of their own misfortunes.

I shall therefore deduce from these circumstances, that the falling off of their business, and the reduction of the number of men, the loss of building from seven ships in a year down to *not one*, has originated from the India built ships which have been allowed to come to this country from Asia ; and that the permanent establishment of those ships in the Indian trade must end in the annihilation of the business of ship-building in the Thames.

Now, Sir, having stated these general circumstances, I am perfectly ready to admit, that whatever may be the situation of these gentlemen with respect to the size of their establishments, which are very great, as honourable members know, comprising immense capital, whatever may be the weight of that private interest, or whatever claims they may have, yet, if any grounds of public policy required a different arrangement with respect to any part of the navigation laws, they must incur the hazard and endure the sacrifice ; and if a time was to come when it might be said that the interest of trade required that it should be carried on as cheap as possible, and that there should be no place where a person might not buy his ship, because the commodities would be lowered if that was to be permitted, and therefore, you might go to Russia or America to buy vessels, I agree that the ship-builders in the river Thames, or any where else, would have no cause, because if that were made out, it would be impossible for private individuals to say, we have hitherto carried it on in this country, and it must not go elsewhere ; it is a private interest, and may be sacrificed ; and it is only then for consideration, whether it is a case for compensation or not. Is the bill founded on any such principles ? certainly not ; because if it was founded on the principles of enabling persons to trade cheaper, why not give the same privileges to the West India planters ; why say the West India planter must carry on his trade in a vessel that is British built, and not in any other vessel he can get cheaper, and navigate cheaper, and freight cheaper ? I am now endeavouring to sweep away and get rid of any general topics which may be said to apply to the question, and to shew that no general policy exists to justify the supposition that my clients ought to make the sacrifice they will be called upon to make if this bill be suffered to pass into a law. It cannot be founded on any such principle as that it is necessary to give advantages to the East Indian traders, to enable them to bring their commodities over cheaper than other persons ; and it is quite impossible to say, that the bill is founded on any large system of policy connected with the navigation laws, which could call on parliament to interfere with the private ship-building establishments here. Is it on any other public policy ? This will lead me to the next point, which has been the subject of elaborate investigation, both public and private, that is, the state of the timber in this country ; and it is said it is necessary for the purpose of saving the oak timber to keep up the navy, that you should resort to teak and other wood, and have ships built abroad in order to destroy the competition for timber of a large size, and produce a

saving of oak to ensure a reservation of a quantity of it for the navy hereafter. Now, Sir, how stands this question? if it is put on the ground that it is necessary to save timber for the navy, it follows as a necessary consequence, that it must be admitted that the effect of the bill will be to carry the building of large ships to India, because otherwise it will not save timber; and, therefore, if saving of timber is one of the grounds upon which the bill is to be supported, the bill must be admitted to be productive of the consequence of transferring the business of ship-building, because otherwise it will fail of producing the result sought for, of saving the timber of this country. I will leave my learned friends to get rid of this dilemma in the best way they can. But if timber comes into discussion at all, I believe I shall be in a condition to prove that it is not true that there is the scarcity of timber supposed: that there is not the difficulty of getting it which is imagined. I will shew that the builders in the private yards have never had any difficulty in procuring it; and that no real difficulty has existed for the supply of the navy; and at this moment it is understood a gentleman has either offered, or undertaken to supply the navy with all the timber the navy board may want for seven years, at a lower price than has been paid for some years past. If I prove this fact from the gentleman himself, though I am not quite sure that I am at liberty to mention his name, I shall contend that I give evidence conclusive of the sufficiency of the supply: that gentleman might say it was difficult to get the timber, or that he shall make no-profit, or I have no doubt I shall get the timber, but I wish to decline stating the profit, or I think it is a hazardous thing, and my profit is small; yet I am entitled to contend from the fact, that this gentleman, who has a perfect knowledge of these subjects—

Mr. ——— (a member). Of what country is that timber?

Mr. *Harrison*. I understand the offer to be general, to supply the country with all the oak timber wanted for seven years to come for the navy, it must be supposed to be part of the contract that the timber is fit to be used.

Mr. ———. It is to be British oak?

Mr. *Harrison*. Clearly, Sir. I thought the honourable member alluded to difference of counties, because there is an actual or supposed difference in the value of timber grown in the north and south of England—it is clearly British; the contract is for the supply of all the British oak required for the use of the navy; and I take that fact as conclusive, that, in the minds of those who are best informed upon the subject, there is no difficulty in the private yards on the subject; and in consequence of the economy practised in the use of timber, there is less danger now than there ever has been of a failure of oak timber.

Mr. ———. Did you say it was at a less price?

Mr. *Harrison*. At a less price than the price within the last year or two. I do not know how much less.

Mr. ———. You mean to prove this?

Mr. Harrison. We shall apply for the copy of the contract, Sir. Of late years a very great saving has arisen in the use of oak, more than at any other period; some of the great works which used to come in competition with the navy for timber, are now otherwise supplied. The beam of a steam engine, which would take a tree worth 100*l.* is now made of cast iron. In the same way, in a vast variety of instances, where there was a competition for the largest sort of oak; the competition is withdrawn by the application of cast iron. In ships, the knees are constructed of a different description—many of them iron instead of wood; and for other parts have been found equally useful, and they are much better where they can be applied properly, as they take less room, and are less expensive, because formerly the knees were cut out of an oak tree with large crooked limbs, and the whole tree was cut to pieces for the purpose. In a variety of ways of this sort, which I need not enumerate to the committee, a very considerable saving has taken place in the use of timber, without the least detriment to the construction of the ship. It has also been found from the building of fir frigates, that where it was formerly thought absolutely necessary to have crooked timber, straight timber may be applied—a great saving has arisen in that respect; all these circumstances, with the general saving in private use, give rise to a conviction in the minds of those who have investigated the subject, that there is less danger than ever of the failure of timber for the building of large vessels.

But, Sir, suppose it was made out distinctly that there was a danger of oak timber failing for naval supply, and I will admit the fact to be so, for raising the question, that it was proved and I am wrong in my proposition that there is no such danger of failure of supply, I then come to what is the effect of this bill—because it is still more important in discussing such a measure, which is to transfer the building large ships from this country to India, in order to save timber—to shew what will be the effect of taking away the building of all the large vessels from this country, and transferring it to India on the future growth of timber, and on its being suffered to grow to proper size—why I say the necessary effect and consequence is, the destruction of the growth of timber itself; that if you take away all future market, and all future competition for it, there is no other mode of securing the timber for public use, but by marking the trees, and telling the owner he must not cut them down; that you mark the timber for the public use, to prevent his applying it to any of the purposes of an inferior description. If you tell him he shall not have a market by the building of large ships for the merchants' service, he will not let his trees stand till they come to a proper growth, because it will be difficult to convince any man interested on this subject, that the building of ships can ever come back again. The consequence of this law inevitably must be, that the building of large ships will be withdrawn from England, and the establishments of these large yards must be transferred to the Ganges, Bombay, and other parts of India. No one will be persuaded it will

ever get back again to this country, it is impossible, because the advantages which will be found in India for ship-building, will give a decided preference to that country over the mother country. The competition will be done away, and no man will then suffer timber to stand on his estate, whatever may be its age, if he does not think he is improving his property, and laying up a supply for the future heir of his family. In Scotland thousands of acres have been covered with timber of a large description; the larch particularly, which is the subject now of great cultivation for more efficient and general use. I know from information I have received from persons of high consideration, that this has not been done but at an expence of thousand and thousands of pounds—in one case not less than 25,000*l.* to establish woods—not woods within the view of a house planted as ornament, (for in a wealthy country there will always be planting to a great extent of that description); but woods planted on the supposition that posterity will derive from them a great advantage. Will such an individual lay out his money in covering his land with timber, if he believes the trade will be destroyed? Certainly not. It is quite clear, no man will suffer woods to stand except in situations of ornament. I speak of the general planting of timber to remain till it arrives at maturity, under the idea that it will then be productive of wealth to a family. It is obvious that if the competition is taken away, it will be immediately used, because it will not increase in value, by being suffered to grow so as to make it a justifiable policy to permit it to occupy the ground. I say, the necessary effect of narrowing the market for timber of that description, will produce a failure of supply, instead of producing an increase or a saving; and, I contend, there is no sort of provision, no sort of arrangement that ought not to be first thought of, investigated, and resorted to, and first tried, to see the nature and effect of it, before you take away the market for oak timber in the way this bill will, by encouraging the building of ships in India for the trade from that country. It ought not to be allowed to any man to cut down timber fit for naval purposes, and to apply it to any common purpose. Prevent its being used for park pales—prevent the very large trees, of a description fit for ninety gun ships, being cut up for smaller purposes, every saving of that description should first be resorted to, and all sorts of investigation gone into, to ascertain the effect of such measures; and they should be fully tried, before the policy of taking away the market is resorted to, because that will destroy the article instead of saving it, and defeat the policy on which the bill is founded, if the saving of timber form any part of it. I contend, therefore, Sir, before the committee, in the first place, that there is not a scarcity of timber; and I then contend that this is not the policy to be pursued to save timber, but that it will defeat that object, and is the worst policy which can be resorted to. I therefore submit, that I have removed this ground as a foundation for a bill, which will take away the ship-building from the river Thames, and carry it to India.

Now, if general and large grounds of policy, connected with the navigation acts, are not the foundations of the bill; if the saving of timber is not the foundation of the bill; I am at a loss to conjecture what other public policy can be stated: always keeping in view, which I request the honourable committee to do, the foundation on which I started, that the present bill, which will establish and make permanent a *temporary* system, which has brought these establishments so low, will lead to their entire destruction. I assume that as a fact which I shall make out beyond contradiction; to that fact all my argument must point: I therefore again ask, upon what public policy can it be founded?—I am aware of none.

This brings me to the question of, whether the subject is not to be considered with reference to the immediate interests protected by my learned friends here, who appear on behalf of the persons engaged in ship-building in India, and to those interested in the ship-building in Great Britain; and if that is the fair state of the question, and it is both legally and politically a question between these two sets of persons; I think I shall have very little difficulty in shewing that there is no comparison of claim, and no comparison in discussing the consequences that may arise, as to whether they are to get it, or we are to retain it. Upon what foundation would these gentlemen stand first? On the legal foundation, it is said; on the acts of parliament having directly pointed at the right of natives of Asia who are subjects of his majesty to build ships to be registered in Britain. I admit it so stands in the act of the 26th of the king, which regulates the registering of vessels: that act does certainly allude to his Majesty's dominions in Asia, as well as elsewhere—loosely, certainly; but that act has remained, till of late years, a dead letter: there being no custom-house officers in India who could register the vessel, the register act was rendered nugatory in India. The gentlemen for whom I appear, have, therefore, never practically felt any effect from that act of parliament: in its terms and in its letter it appeared that the British subjects in Asia were as well entitled to build ships as those in England: the act was never resorted to, and, in consequence, vessels from India until 1794, did not interfere with those built in this country. What was the state of other colonies, American and others? They are within that act of parliament, and vessels may be built there and brought to this country; but there never has been, in point of fact, any detrimental interference from them. The ship-builders in this country have never been met in competition by any vessels of such size, qualities, descriptions of tonnage, and to such an amount as seriously to hurt their building here; it has never gone to an extent to produce that effect. Whatever might have been their foundation for complaint, if it had arisen in other places as it has now in India, the necessity of making any representation upon it has never occurred. The act, therefore, as far as their interests were concerned, was a dead letter in India and elsewhere; the only interference they have been subject to, which has been very serious, but of which they have no right to

complain, is from the immense number of prizes taken during war, and which are made British ships, and admitted to register—that is compensated for by the demand for transports for the king's service; the result of which is, that at the end of a war there is no doubt but that upon the discharge of the transports, all of which being British registered vessels, will come in competition with the builders, but that is an evil which these gentlemen must submit to; it would be injustice in them to suppose, that because they are interfered with by prize vessels, that it is proper for them to say, the vessels shall be burnt instead of being sold. It is impossible they could come forward with such a proposition; it is a description of interference only to a limited extent, because in time of war it is taken off by the transports employed; and, when peace comes, the prize vessels will, after a war that has lasted so long, decrease by degrees; it is an evil of a limited description, and will die away, and cannot, in this case, come into calculation. I mention it only that the committee may give me credit for considering the subject in every possible way.

Now, Sir, proving, as I think I shall, that there never has been any serious interference in point of size of vessels and quantity of tonnage, by building abroad, or by the prize vessels which have been captured from the enemy, I now arrive at the point of competition between the British and India builders, on which, probably, this case will rest. They seek on the other side to have the temporary measure of which we complain made permanent, and to have an arrangement made, by which they will effect the transfer of all the ship-building to India; and the consideration of all the arguments I have used, lead to this conclusion, that it is a question of competition between us; and I will shew most distinctly, that the question does not become the subject of comparison. Now, Sir, I have already shewn, that the permission of vessels to come from India which have obtained registry here—seventy-six admitted to registry, and eight more admitted to entry, and not registered, as is stated in the list I first read, have produced the effect of giving a tonnage from India in the exact proportion of the tonnage not built here:—in what way? Every honourable member who has had this subject before him is aware that the introduction of ships from India arose on the ground of convenience to the persons who had to bring home property which was to be remitted from India; there were great contests and disputes upon it, which I need not enter into, but which gave rise to the demand for ships to come for a specified period to bring home the produce to this country. It was early said by some of those engaged in the very warm discussion upon this subject, that the object of bringing home property from India *was not the real one*; but those who wished it to be brought home in India ships, wanted to introduce the ships without caring for the property. This has been stated over and over again, and, if necessary, I shall be able to prove it from some of the gentlemen the most earnest in the application. With respect to the private trade, there is a document before the committee, which I believe was published in Bombay:—
“In pursuance of authority received from his excellency the most

noble the governor-general in council, in consequence of the orders of the honourable the court of directors, the public are hereby informed, that sealed proposals will be received at the offices of the secretary to the government, on or before the 5th of October next, for freighting to the honourable company ships built with teak within the honourable companies territories in India of the burden of *three hundred tons or upwards*, for the conveyance of private trade from Bombay to England in the season of 1803-4, under the express condition, that such ships shall *not return to India but be sold in England* :” actually sending home the ships, and sending them home for sale here. There is a document with the name of Mr. Farley to it who avowed it was not sufficient to give the tonnage, that they wished to oblige their friends by bringing home their property in vessels of that country, and that it was necessary those vessels should be admitted to register, it could not satisfy them to give them the tonnage only ; and this is stated, and is so obviously their intention, that I have a right to say that a great number of gentlemen did feel that that was the point they were driving at, and not the mere circumstance of having the means of conveyance of their property.

Then in the course of this, which the committee will recollect was a discussion between the private traders and the East India company, all leading to what took place last year, all these being gradual attempts from time to time, and from day to day, to do away the monopoly of the charter, though the contending parties were talking about cargoes, the question was always reverted to, whether they wanted to bring the ships or the property home, and it was obvious, that their intention was to introduce the ships. Last year the great subject of discussion was, whether the monopoly should be preserved or not ; but during the long period of discussion of the monopoly, the interests, not then the subject of discussion, and which now came forward, were lost sight of—not improperly lost sight of, because it could not be neglected by government ; but from the nature of the subject of discussion, and the questions disposed of last year, the real interests of the ship-builders never were investigated until the present moment. It was brought forward some time ago by representation to government as a subject of discussion by the ship-builders. Why? Because they found the India ships coming into this country and encroaching on their business ; and increasing on the British registry. They felt it a serious evil to them ; it reduced their trade, and would ultimately produce the annihilation of it ; the subject was postponed by temporary laws, and they waited the bringing forward the question of last year, conceiving that with the termination of the temporary acts the interference with their business would cease, and that India ships would not come afterwards in competition with British built ships ; that it was an interference, limited by a particular act of parliament, connected with local circumstances, which would not exist longer than until the question came forward of what was to be done with respect to the India trade. They were naturally anxious for their own interests, and to have the whole subject discussed ; but their interests being particular, and not then so immediately coming under the attention of parliament, were

postponed till this sessions. They put aside, as not connected with the general subject of monopoly of the trade, and are now under particular discussion in consequence of this bill, which we may consider as part of the general measure of last year; and, Sir, this bill will permanently fix the temporary arrangement with a limitation of no real use or advantage, giving to the India ship-builders all the trade, as I will shew, between India and Great Britain, and thereby transferring the whole of the most important ship-building of this country to carry on a trade that must ere long be one of the most important in which this country can be engaged.

The act of the 26th of the king alludes to the right of persons in Asia legally to build ships. I have shewn that this legal right never was resorted to, and that the India ships never came to this country, except under the temporary acts of parliament; how they became registered I never could distinctly ascertain. It is a subject of great dispute, and at Madras it was a subject of adjudication by the court, that the 26th of the king did not extend to India; and cases have been decided on an appeal here, on the ground that as there was no person there to execute the act, though the general expression had an allusion to Asia; it was a dead letter there, and therefore did not apply to India; how they got registered here I do not understand.

Mr. ———. (*A Member.*) That never was the received doctrine in India,

Mr. *Harrison*. In Madras the determination was, that the registry act did not extend to India, and in a case upon appeal it was said, that the question we were disputing as to the right of property that had been the subject of mortgage was to be considered without reference to the register.

Mr. ———. That register was made in Madras.

Mr. *Harrison*. I have understood that the course of proceedings was, that certificates of building were granted in India, that they came over here with that certificate, and were permitted to be registered in this country, in other instances there was a sort of transfer to other owners; and so registry obtained in the name of the new owners; but it does not signify in what way they acquired the character. There are seventy-six now so registered, and there are others which have come under the temporary acts, which are not registered. Some of those which are now here were built at Pegu, and other territories which can never be registered hereafter.

Mr. ———. It was always the practice of government, I believe, to confine their register to ships built in Bombay or Calcutta.

Mr. *Harrison*. It is clear that under this bill no ships can be registered but those which bear the character of being built in British India; and the ships to be considered as entitled to register are confined to the limited trade. Then, Sir, for the sake of the argument, I will admit, that from the circumstance of his Majesty occupying distant possessions in India, Ceylon for instance, where there are custom-house officers, the act was in full force in India, because to that extent the act of parliament would be operative in India, where there

were custom-house officers, who could execute the purposes of the act. Ships if built at other places, in Bengal or Bombay, might, I believe, under the law be carried from those places and registered in Ceylon, so as to become British ships; therefore I distinctly admit, for the purpose of raising the broad question of policy, that those gentlemen who are interested in ship-building in India may say, their ships are entitled to British registry. Now on that proposition, the committee will see this bill proposes a limitation, because, if, by law, the persons in India are entitled to build and register their vessels, there is a distinct limitation of that right in the bill; it confines the right of registry to a particular description of vessels and trade; they will not be allowed to come into the regular class of British ships; they are confined to the trade from India to England, and back again, and the circuitous voyage: that is, with leave to touch at intermediate countries, South America, North America, or any other places within the limits of the company's charter. So far it is a bill of limitation of the legal right, and in that respect might *prima facie* bear the appearance of a gift to the persons for whom I appear. It follows as a necessary consequence, that if parliament can limit the right, they can take it away—that will not be disputed; and it is also a general indisputable proposition, that if the public interest requires the restriction of a right which is possessed by private individuals, they cannot complain of being deprived of it; and if it was thought fit to abrogate the law that confines the general trade of the empire to British built vessels, parliament has power to do so. My learned friends must admit that general principle of policy as well as myself; therefore, though I admit distinctly the construction of the law, I am now about to contend in point of policy, parliament must abrogate that law, and take away any right to introduce India shipping. It is material that the right should be completely restrained; because I shall show to the committee, that it is by the bill restrained *in terms only*, and that the business will be transferred from one side of the water to the other. I therefore contend, that if in point of policy parliament may entertain the question of limitation and restriction, that the period is arrived when they must limit and restrain the existing law to prevent the consequence of a total loss of ship-building of large vessels in this country. Admitting vessels for limited or temporary purposes leads to the consequence that the act of parliament of the 26th of the king must be altered to the extent of securing the British builders in England against the interference of those in India, if ship-building and the workmen are worth preserving. This brings me back again to the position with which I first set out, and to which I must again advert, namely, that the introduction of the India built ships has hitherto interfered with the building of large ships in this country, and that the continuance of it will entirely annihilate it.

My learned friends will come prepared to shew, that at present ships cannot be built cheaper in India than here; probably they will be prepared to prove they cost more. The freight of tonnage with respect to the India company is, I believe, pretty nearly the same; they

pay nearly the same freight for one vessel as the other, and they do not, it is said, make it at present the subject of a saving; they do not contend for a right to use these vessels under an idea that if they are permitted to carry on the trade in the way now proposed they will have a cheaper freight. *As yet*, I have not heard this contended for. At present the mode of equipping the ships in India renders the expence more equal than it can be hereafter, in consequence of the vessels built there fitted out, in some instances, with materials carried from this country. Now I must beg leave to discuss a little that question. I believe it is a fact, that at present a part of the sails, cordage, iron and copper is carried from this country; but I would ask the committee how long can such a course of proceeding possibly exist, if the building of all these vessels is transferred from one country to the other, or on what principle is it to be made to exist? Will it be said that the sailmakers, that the ropemakers, and the shipsmiths are to be protected in this country, and that therefore the articles which constitute the furnishing of a vessel must not be permitted to be brought from that country, but that the vessels must equip themselves from this? It is meant to protect those trades, and say they shall not be interfered with? If it stands on the principle only of protection, who are more entitled to it than my clients? And therefore if the arrangement, that it is not to be allowed to the ship-builders in India to supply themselves with those articles, is to be the foundation of this bill, we have an equal claim for protection with those persons.

Is it a question of duties of revenue? If so, we will shew that under any arrangement, either of the sails, or cordage, or iron, or copper being sent from this country, there will be a loss, and an important loss of duty. But this is not a subject which, as I before stated, I mean to enter into much; but I must allude to it, because I consider the duties of customs and exercise, and the profit to arise to the state, as much fitter subject of consideration of government than the subject of individual discussion. It is a subject which the committee will permit to be alluded to where private interests are involved in the same question; but into that question I shall not enter otherwise than by saying, that if it stands on the ground of revenue, a material defalcation will take place from permitting ships to be built in India, although the furnishing of them to some extent may be supplied from this country. I therefore, Sir, contend, if it is a question of protection, we are better entitled than the other persons; and if of revenue, that the revenue will be interfered with materially if this measure is adopted.

I next proceed to enquire (I always argue on the practical effect of the transfer of ship-building to the other side of the water) how long it is possible the restriction can continue which will compel the builders in India to supply themselves with the articles necessary for the furniture of a ship from this country, when the establishments are fixed there, and when the inconvenience which would arise from having the manufacture of the articles which are to be used in that country entirely carried on here? If they are to have their supply from

this country, the accidental losses of vessels carrying out the materials from this country would lead to inconceivable inconvenience. How long will it be possible to maintain that restriction when they are able to manufacture those articles of supply in India at a much cheaper rate than they can be got from this country? From the settlement in South Wales there is not an article of iron that will not probably at no very distant period be supplied at a much cheaper rate than from this country: hemp and flax will be supplied from that country, and is also to be got in India much cheaper than in this country. From South America copper can be got also at a cheaper rate, so as to destroy the possibility of its being sent out from this country in competition; and when it is the subject of proof that all the articles necessary for the equipment of a ship are to be found in India of Asiatic manufacture, and that they can be procured at a much less expence, is it possible to imagine that restrictions as to such articles can remain any number of years? And is it possible to say you can continue an arrangement for building a vessel there, and equipping her with manufactured articles from this country? The arrangement of sending out the cordage, and sails, and iron, and copper is practicable now, in the infancy of the establishments: when they have found and established the means of procuring these articles much cheaper in India, is it possible to say you will keep up the system of constructing a vessel on one side of the water and furnishing her from the other? But the fact is, as we will shew, that they supply themselves now to a great extent: we shall shew that the building and fitting out of ships there has increased; and that the quantity of articles sent from this country has already greatly decreased on all articles; thereby shewing that the inevitable consequence of passing this bill into a law has already begun to operate; and therefore, in a period not very far distant, all the articles will be furnished from the other side of the water. Any difficulty which may at present exist in the business in India, will be done away; and when a great number of persons bringing up to ship-building, whose wages are cheaper, have become skilful, the necessary consequence will be, that in the course of a few years the building in India will become so much cheaper than here, that if no other circumstance arose to annihilate competition, the comparison of price would do it, and put an end to the establishments of my clients: therefore, if these gentlemen had not been interfered with to the extent to which they have; if I had not the argument that the tonnage they have lost is to be found in the India built vessels, as soon as the builders had made their establishment in India, and the articles of sails, cordage, iron, and copper were also found in India, the competition would be destroyed, and the ship-building of this country entirely annihilated.

I have already disposed of the argument arising out of this fact, namely, that cheap freight is not a foundation in policy for interfering with my clients; and it is not necessary to enter into any argument upon that, because if the principle is contended for by the builders in India, or the merchants there, that there is a convenience in having ships built abroad, because they build cheaper

than they do here, and therefore they would be able to sell their merchandize cheaper, it attacks at once the whole system of navigation laws, and leads to the consideration of one of the greatest questions, in its consequences from the nature and probable extent of the future trade to India, which has for many years been discussed in parliament.

Now, Sir, to that subject I will shortly advert, before I recapitulate the foundation of my arguments; and in so doing I hope the committee will think I do not unnecessarily take up their time. The navigation law has hitherto been considered in this country as the great foundation of the existence of the navy itself. I think no man will contend, if the trade of this country was destroyed, that the navy could exist; no man will believe that the mere application of pecuniary resources will enable any nation to establish and maintain a navy such as we have fortunately hitherto possessed, but by the breed of seamen—by extensive trade. It is equally indisputable, that if it is intended to preserve the ship-building of this country, so as to furnish a supply of men to carry on the naval system of this country, there must be large private establishments which can employ them when it may be rendered necessary to discharge them from the king's yards in the time of peace. It must be admitted that it is equally important to the existence of the navy as a fabrication, that the ship-building in this country should be maintained to the full extent, as a nursery to the naval yards, on the breaking out of and during the continuance of a war, and as a receptacle of persons out of employment in the time of peace, as that the nursery of seamen should be encouraged to man the navy for service. The one is a proposition which stands as firm as the other: they are of the same importance in point of public policy, and if you lose sight of this policy you will destroy your means of being able to make any sudden exertion; you will transfer the shipwrights to other countries, where they would be gladly received; and the consequences necessarily will be, that in the end this country must become dependent upon others, or on its distant colonies, for the support and existence of the navy itself.

I shall prove to the committee that there are at this moment nearly three thousand people in such a destitute situation for want of work, as to be actually in no condition to present themselves to this committee, because they cannot send counsel to advocate their case here. I have received a letter from the solicitor for them, stating their inability to appear, and intreating of me all possible exertion in their favour, as they are in too distressed circumstances to send counsel to support their petition. I believe the fact will be proved to be, that from their having been formerly near three thousand men employed, there are now only about two hundred and fifty employed; and that a large number are dependent on the parish for support. How long will they remain subsisted by the parish, when they are told that in France or Holland they will be received with

open arms, and are tempted to quit their own country and resort to another? What may not be the consequence of such a state of things?

The large establishments in the river, which have hitherto given employment to these men, have produced an extent of building for the navy, to which I must allude before I conclude. The committee will see an account which does not contain all which have been built in the private yards, in London and at the outports, but only of those ships and vessels of war now in the king's service; by which it will appear that they are to the extent of 538 ships; that of the present navy that number of ships have been built in the private yards; there have been some built in the outports, but the greater part have been built in the yards in the Thames: that of those, nine of them were built between the years 1759 and 1770; forty-eight were built from 1771 to 1783; thirty-one were built from 1784 to 1792; sixty-eight were built between 1793 and 1801; ninety-one were built between 1802 and 1805; and two hundred and eighty-three were built between 1806 and 1813: Now when the committee see the immense extent of the British navy, the large number built in the merchants' yards, and the committee will distinguish the prison ships, those at sea, and those in actual service, and they will ascertain that much the greater part are not useless, or laid up, but are now sailing on the seas, constituting a part of the efficient naval force of the country. I ask, therefore, whether the use which has been made of the private establishments resorted to in the last and this war to build such an immense number of ships for the navy, does not prove that these establishments are of the greatest importance in cases of sudden or great emergency; and that in the present state of things, if something is not done to give them a hope that at the termination of the war their difficulties will cease, there is great danger of their transferring themselves to other countries, or that the ship-building, which is connected with the existence of the navy of the country, must be transferred, if not to other countries, at least to one of our own most distant settlements. The latter consequence would not be so fatal to the country as if they were to be established in Holland or France; but would the committee calmly contemplate the consequence of seeing the support of the ship-building interest of this country, which is so connected with the navy, so transferred as to leave the mother country dependent on one of its remote colonies for its naval strength? Will any man say, that fifty years hence, that colony (whatever it may be) will belong to us? And if it is put to any man, whether he would rest the security of the state upon the chance that no enemy would arise or events occur there to separate it from the mother country, would it not make him pause? Will not the legislature hesitate before a sanction is given to a policy which will permit such a consequence to depend upon such a chance? The experience of a few years past has shewn the effect already produced, and that the interference of India ships must end in the annihilation of the establish-

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ments here. I would ask, whether that will not be sufficient to call on the legislature to abrogate the existing law, and confine the building of ships to this country, in such a way as to prevent these great and important establishments from being ruined.

Under these circumstances I shall sit down quite satisfied, that though I have entered into no details, because if I had I must have occupied the attention of the committee for more than one day, I have brought the subject under their view in such a way as to enable them to apply the evidence I must lay before them on this important subject, and I cannot help feeling satisfied that when that evidence is considered in the different points of view in which I have presented it to the committee, together with the consequences which may arise from adopting the measure proposed, it will lead the committee to the conclusion of recommending to the house, that the clauses in the navigation acts should be altered, to the absolute exclusion of all India-built ships and vessels from any participation in the privileges of British registry.

ORIGINAL POETRY.

To Mrs. H———y B———t.

Oh, lady, yes, the vessel bore
 Her freight to Lusitania's blooming shore ;
 Yet think that since I saw you last,
 Though but one little moon has past,
 That oft I have been doomed to number,
 Disinal days, and cheerless slumber ;
 That storms have howled around my head,
 And many a gale has rocked my bed,
 When heaven had shed its darkest wrath,
 Around the vessel's trackless path.
 Lady, if in that lonely hour,
 I trembled at the tempest's power,
 If, all unseen, I shed a tear,
 And shuddered at a watery bier ;
 Oh think not 'twas a selfish fear,
 A mean and coward dread of death,
 Could make me waste in sighs my breath,
 For well could I have sunk to rest,
 Without one lingering wish to stay,
 And slept beneath the ocean's breast,
 In Biscay's dark and stormy bay ;
 If there were not a darling one,
 To grieve for me, when dead and gone,
 And whom I would not leave behind,
 The scoff and buffet of mankind.

And yet, when I am laid below
 The sense of bliss, the reach of woe,
 And seek the dim discovered shore,
 Whence travellers return no more ;
 When the last throes of life have fled,
 And I have mingled with the dead ;
 Ah, will no kindred soul arise,
 To wipe the tear from beauty's eyes,
 And with a brother's love impart,
 The balm of comfort to her heart ?
 Ah no, your heart need scarce be told,
 The world is proud, the world is cold,
 And youth, and love, and beauty there,
 Can find no refuge—but despair ;
 Oh, I e'en tremble while I think,
 That were she on destruction's brink,
 There would no arm be stretched to save
 An erring sister from the grave.
 Sad is the picture, could I turn
 To one where brighter prospects burn,
 Could Hope's enchanting blaze illumine,
 The dark recesses of the tomb ;
 And tell me I should still be near,
 To watch the friends I held so dear ;
 And might a guardian spirit be
 To those who loved, and wept for me,
 Well could I brave death's worst alarms,
 And, bride like, rush into his arms.
 But now no more ; perchance afar
 'Mid desolating scenes of war,
 Long may I wander, ere my feet
 The threshold of my fathers greet ;
 And feel the melancholy lot,
 To be unseen, and be forgot ;
 Yet, oh believe me, there is one,
 Who far across the sea,
 Where deeds of war and death are done,
 Who fondly thinks on thee.

To Donna Marie de Valle Zupala.

Maria farewell ! though I heave not a sigh,
 Nor water your cheek with a tear from my eye,
 When the waves of the ocean between us shall roll,
 That shall bear me afar from one dear to my soul ;
 Oh, think not, Maria, I ere can forget,
 To love and remember my charming Brunette.
 Oh faint was the soldier, his visage was thin,
 And his wounds bled space, when you welcomed him in,

So wan were his looks, and so haggard his eye,
 That you thought you had given him but shelter to die;
 Yet you watched o'er his slumbers, and tenderly pressed
 His hand in thine own, till he sunk into rest;
 When he rose from his pillow, you lifted him up,
 When he drank, 'twas Maria presented the cup;
 Till restored by her care, she saw nature relume
 His limbs with their strength, and his cheeks with their bloom.
 How deeply I felt it, but why should I tell
 The scenes which we both must remember too well,
 When together we went, to recline in the shade
 Which the wide-spreading vine, or the orange tree, made,
 When thy looks, and thy tender enchantment, had stole
 Each sigh of my heart, and each wish of my soul,
 And I swore there was nothing on earth could eclipse,
 The glance of your eye, or the smile of your lips.
 Oh well can my memory picture you now,
 With a blush on your cheek, and a frown on your brow;
 When with tremulous accents you bid me desist,
 But the closer you prest me, the fonder I kiss't,
 And oh think not when absent, I ere can forget,
 To love and remember my charming Brunette.
 And yet I could weep; but I go to a land
 Where bleak are the mountains, and dark is the strand,*
 Which frowns in the giant embrace of the wave,
 The land of my fathers, the land of the brave.
 Oh memory there has unconsciously spun
 Those ties round my heart, which can ne'er be undone,
 And holier duties forbid me to twine
 My heart, and my veins, for ever with thine.
 Yet long may'st thou bloom, in the grace of the heaven,
 By which all thy beauties and virtues were given;
 Soft, soft, be thy slumbers, and ah may thy years
 Be as bright as thy smiles, and out-number thy tears;
 All blessings be thine, for perchance it may be,
 My prayers may be heard, when I breathe them for thee;
 Farewell, and believe me, I ne'er can forget,
 To love and remember my charming Brunette.
Cadix, March 22d, 1814.

MR. SOUTHEY.

The following animated poem appeared, about three months ago,
 in an evening paper. We have been favoured by a friend with a cor-
 rected copy of it; and though not authorised to state it to be the
 composition of Mr. Southey, we think the hand of the Laureat will

* Scotland.

not easily be mistaken. We publish it from the copy communicated to us, chiefly that we may gratify the editor of the *Edinburgh Review*, who intimates that Mr. Southey's productions should be given to the world, in a quiet way, through the medium of periodical prints. Moreover, as the poet has compared the critic's wishes and prophecies with the event, it is but fair that he should be tried by the same test himself. We will not suppose that the harmony of these numbers will so entirely escape the reviewer's ear, as to make him confound them with mere prose; since he must be well aware of what old Chaucer has observed of those who attend,

— Like an ass, unto the harp,
That heareth sound, when men the strings ply,
But in his mind, of that, no melody
May sink to gladden him, because that he
So dull is in his bestiality.

We have another motive, we must confess, which induces us to call the attention of our readers to this spirited Ode; and that is to show, that talent and genius, as well as some degree of wisdom and prescience, were to be found in the calumniated *War Faction*.

ODE,

Written in January, 1814.

I.

Who counsels peace at this momentous hour,
When God hath given deliverance to the oppress,
And to the injured power?
Who counsels peace when vengeance, like a flood,
Rolls on, no longer now to be repress;
When innocent blood
From the four corners of the world cries out
For justice upon one accursed head;
When Freedom hath her holy banner spread
Over all nations, now in one just cause
United; when, with one sublime accord,
Europe throws off the yoke abhor'd,
And loyalty; and faith, and ancient laws,
Follow the avenging sword,

II.

Woe, woe to England, woe and endless shame,
If this heroic land,
False to her feelings and unspotted fame,
Hold out the olive to the Tyrant's hand!
Woe to the world, if Buonaparte's throne
Be suffered still to stand!
For by what names shall right and wrong be known,
What new and courtly phrases must we feign,
For falsehood, murder, and all monstrous crimes,

If that perfidious Corsican maintain,
 Still his detested reign.
 And France, who yearns even now to break her chain,
 Beneath his iron rule be left to groan !
 No ! by the innumerable dead
 Whose blood bath for his lust of power been shed,
 Death only can for his foul deeds atone,—
 That peace which death and judgment can bestow,
 That peace be Buonaparte's, that alone.

III.

For sooner shall the Ethiop change his skin,
 Or from the leopard shall his spots depart,
 Than this man change his old flagitious heart.
 Have ye not seen him in the balance weigh'd,
 And there found wanting ? On the stage of blood
 Foremost the resolute adventurer stood ;
 And when, by many a battle won,
 He placed upon his brow the crown,
 (Delirious France obedient to his sway.)
 Then like Octavius in old time,
 Fair name might he have handed down,
 Effacing all his stains of former crime.
 Fool ! should he cast away that bright renown !
 Fool ! the redemption given him should he lose !
 When heaven such grace vouchsafed him, that the way
 To good and evil lay
 Before him, which to choose,

IV.

But evil was his good ;
 For all-too-long had he in blood been nurst,
 And ne'er was earth with fouler tyrant curst,
 Bold man and bad,
 Remorseless, godless, full of fraud and lies,
 And black with murders and with perjuries ;
 Himself in hell's whole panoply he clad :
 No law but his own headstrong will he knew,
 No counsellor but his own wicked heart ;
 From evil thus portentous strength he drew,
 And trampled under foot all human ties,
 All holy laws, all natural charities,

V.

O France, beneath this fierce barbarian's sway
 Disgraced thou art to all succeeding times ;
 Rapine, and blood, and fire, having marked thy way,
 All loathsome, all unutterable crimes !
 A curse is on thee, France ! from far and wide
 It hath gone up to Heaven. All lands have cried
 For vengeance upon thy detested head !

All nations curse thee, France; for wheresoe'er
In peace or war thy banner hath been spread,
All forms of human woe have followed there.

The living and the dead
Cry out alike against thee. They who bear,
Crouching beneath its weight, thine iron yoke,
Join in the bitterness of secret prayer,
The voice of that innumerable throng,
Whose slaughtered spirits day and night invoke,
The everlasting Judge of right and wrong.
How long, O Lord! Holy and Just, how long!

VI.

A merciless oppressor hast thou been,
Thyself remorselessly opprest mean time;
Greedy for war, when all that thou couldst gain,
Was but to dye thy soul with deeper crime,
And rivet faster round thyself the chain.
O blind to honour, and to interest blind,
When thus in abject servitude resigned
To this barbarian tyrant, thou couldst brave
Heav'n's justice, and the heart of humankind!
Madly thou thoughtest to enslave the world,
Thyself the while a miserable slave!
Behold the flag of vengeance is unfurl'd!
The dreadful armies of the North advance,
While England, Spain, and Portugal combin'd,
Give their triumphant banners to the wind,
And stand victorious in the fields of France.

VII.

One man hath been, for ten long wretched years,
The cause of all this blood, and all these tears:
One man, in this most awful point of time,
Draws on thy danger, as he caused thy crime.

Wait not too long the event;
For now all Europe comes against thee bent;
His wiles and their own strength the nations know;
Wise from past wrongs, on future peace intent,
The people and the Princes, with one mind,
From all parts move against their common foe,
One act of justice, one atoning blow,
One execrable head laid low,
Even yet, O France, averts thy punishment,
Open thine eyes,—too long hast thou been blind,—
Take vengeance for thyself and for mankind!

VIII.

Oh, if thou lov'st thine ancient fame,
Revenge thy sufferings and thy shame.
By the bones which bleach on Jaffa's beach;

By the blood which on Domingo's shore
 Hath clogg'd the carrion-birds with gore ;
 By the flesh which gorged the wolves of Spain,
 Or stiffened on the snowy plain
 Of frozen Moscow ;
 By the bodies which lie all open to the sky,
 Tracking from Elbe to Rhine the Tyrant's flight
 By the widow's and the orphan's cry ;
 By the childless parent's misery ;
 By the lives which he hath shed ;
 By the ruin he hath spread ;
 By the prayers which rise for curses on his head ;
 Redeem, O France, thine ancient fame,
 Revenge thy sufferings and thy shame :
 Open thine eyes,—too long hast thou been blind,—
 Take vengeance for thyself, and for mankind !

IX.

By those horrors which the night
 Witness'd, when the torches' light
 To his murderous judges showed
 Where the blood of CONDE flowed ;
 By thy murdered PICHÉGRU's fame ;
 By murdered WRIGHT,—an English name
 By murdered PALM's atrocious doom ;
 By murdered HOFER's martyrdom.
 Oh, by the virtuous blood thus vilely spilt,
 The villain's own peculiar private guilt,
 Open thine eyes ! too long hast thou been blind,—
 Take vengeance for thyself and for mankind !
 Pluck from the Upstart's head thy sullied crown !
 Down with the Tyrant,—with the Murderer down !

 LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

The Rev. Mr. Card, author of the revolutions of Russia, &c. &c. has in the press an Essay on the Holy Eucharist, or a refutation of the Hoadlyan scheme of it.

 CORRESPONDENCE.

"The ROSE AND THE FOX GLOVE," was received too late for insertion this month, but shall appear in our next.

TO OUR READERS.

We intended, in our *Political Summary* for the present month, to take a comprehensive view of Europe, in its present regenerated state. But peace not being yet concluded, and the conditions of it making a very prominent subject of consideration, in such a view, it has been thought proper to reserve our political reflections for the ensuing month,

THE
ANTI-JACOBIN REVIEW,
AND TRUE
Churchman's Magazine,
FOR JUNE, 1814.
&c. &c. &c.

Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers : for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness?

St. Paul to the Corinthians, vi. 14.

The Substance of a Discourse, delivered at the Abbey Church in Bath, on Thursday the 31st of March, 1814, before the District Committee established in that City ; giving a Churchman's reasons for declining a connection with the Bible Society, and now most respectfully addressed to the Parent "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge." By the Rev. Charles Daubeny, Archdeacon of Sarum. 8vo. Pp. 28. F. C. and J. Rivington. 1814.

THE venerable society to which this discourse is addressed, will, we are persuaded, feel with us, that it is one of the most sensible, temperate, and useful, productions, which has yet appeared on the long-debated question of the *Bible Society*. Here we find no declamation, no ostentatious display of eloquence, or of erudition, nothing that can alarm the most sensitive, nothing that can enrage the most irritable, nothing that can offend the most fastidious, supporter of the society in question. The discourse is marked by a train of powerful argumentation, supported by reasons of irresistible cogency, which must, we should think, carry conviction to the mind of every unprejudiced Churchman. That these reasons will have any weight with Dissenters, we are not weak enough to suppose ; *their* design long has been, and still is, to undermine the fair fabric of our established church ; and there still lives many

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a hand ready and anxious to apply the match to that train of gunpowder, which was laid, some thirty years ago, by the great heresiarch, Priestley.

That man is an imitative creature, that his habits, manners, and principles, are materially influenced by those of his associates, and that, therefore, the choice of his companions has, by all moral writers, ancient and modern, been deemed an object of essential importance to his welfare, are truths which have never yet been denied, though the conclusions which necessarily result from them have been obstinately rejected by the philanthropists, liberalists, and philosophists, of the present day. The learned archdeacon's opening remarks on this subject are highly deserving the most serious attention of every member of the established church.

"Man, from his natural propensity, is an imitative being. A circumstance, which must at all times render it a matter of primary importance with whom he associates, and into what connection he enters. Hence the conclusion is, that by an injudicious association, principles not less than manners are liable to be corrupted. A consideration which ought to lead to general caution : whilst to determine the application of such caution to the particular case or subject in question, should be the exclusive province of sound judgment and discretion.

"To associate for the prosecution of any cause, in which the interest of true religion are concerned, with persons professing religious principles essentially differing from our own, must at all times be a venturous experiment. For that zealous affection to a cause, which goes a great way towards misleading the best of men in their judgment, concerning those with whom they are engaged in the prosecution of it, tends by degrees so to approximate the parties to each other, that those differences which, while principles remained unshaken, were thought to be irreconcilable, begin to be seen through a more favourable medium ; till at length they are not unfrequently regarded as matters of mere private opinion, on which sincere men of all descriptions may be allowed to think differently, without being subjected to the unwelcome imputation of thinking wrong. Hence it happens that those two *generalizing* systems, which have become the hackneyed theme of itinerant orators, and the incensed idols of the passing day, are insensibly generating among us, under the prostituted name of Liberality, that looseness of sentiment, which bids fair, in process of time, if not seasonably and powerfully counteracted, to remove the sound apostolical principles of the church of this country from off that firm ground, on which they have stood from the days of the reformation to the present time ; and to place them, as it were in their shipwrecked condition, on that troubled sea of popular opinion, which is in an almost continued state of agitation from every wind that blows. Whereas principles in religion, if sound, ought at all

events to be maintained ; whilst, if not so, they cannot be too readily discarded ; but principles cannot in no case be *comprised*, for then they must cease to be principles."

The *compromise* of principles here alluded to constitutes one of the great evils of the present day ; to that are to be ascribed the Bill, which, under the specious pretence of *explaining*, virtually *annihilated*, the salutary provisions of the act of toleration ; and the subsequent act for repealing the statute in force for punishing the blasphemers of the Holy Trinity—an instance, not of *toleration*, but of *compromise*, of *relaxation*, of *dereliction*, of *principle*, without a precedent in the annals of Christendom. If this spurious liberality, this "looseness of sentiment," continue to prevail, this country may be expected to be involved in troubles greater even than those which have been recently averted by the firmness and wisdom of her councils. The learned author, however, disdains all intention of asserting, that honest and well-disposed men may not preserve their principles uncontaminated by the contagion of bad company ; he only means to contend, that such instances are rare, and only serve as exceptions to a rule, which rather corroborate, than weaken, his conclusion. On the minds of such men, however, he presses a consideration which must, we apprehend, have great weight with them:

"But exclusive of the preceding considerations, and admitting that conscientious and well-principled Churchmen may feel themselves justified in risking a possible evil, for the sake of promoting what they consider to be an essential good ; still it is to be observed that good and well-intentioned men are concerned that their conduct, on particular occasions, should not only be right in their own opinion, but that it should also appear so to be, in the opinion of those, who may be in a condition to be influenced by it. For every one, it is to be remembered, is more or less accountable both to God and man for the evil of those consequences, to which they may have been, however inadvertently, instrumental. And though this remark be inapplicable to those cases, which respect the fundamentals of the Christian religion, on which every sound member of the Church, having formed for himself an opinion, must be expected to bear decided testimony to what he considers to be the truth, to what consequences soever such testimony may lead ; still in a case, to which *equivocal* circumstances are attached, and on which the judgment of some of the most religious and best intentioned men has been found widely to differ, it is surely a subject for prudent consideration, to what conclusions in the public mind a commitment in such a cause may eventually lead. And when, as members of the Church of Christ, we have been cautioned by an apostle against being "unequally yoked together with unbelievers," we feel ourselves called

upon to consider, how far the cause of genuine apostolical truth is likely to derive advantage from the association of its professors with those, some of whom at least are its open and declared enemies? And if no advantage to the cause of truth can be reasonably expected from such an anomalous association, entered into for the purpose of promoting, what in the imposing language of the day is called *general* religion; for the advancement of which plausible, though deceitful system of liberal comprehension, on what has been called the broad basis of Christianity; Churchman and Dissenter, Heretic and Schismatic, Jew and Mahometan, may be laudably, though unequally, yoked together; if, I say, no advantage to the cause of genuine truth can reasonably be expected from such an association, the next point which presents itself to notice is, whether some essential, and probably irremediable disadvantage may not be derived from it, by leading the great mass of the uniformed community to conclude, that apostolical truth stands no longer on that settled ground on which it was placed by our venerable Reformers; and that as every sect appeals to the Bible for the standard of its religious creed, therefore every sect, (so far at least as the parties in question are qualified to judge) has the authority of that Bible for the creed which it promulgates; and consequently that instead of the one only apostolical Church established in this country, from the lips of whose priests, as authoratively commissioned for the purpose, the people are directed to seek knowledge, there are as many churches as there are different meetings of associated religionists to be found among us. The obvious inference from this circumstance in *uninformed* minds will be, that God has left every man at liberty to make *his own church and his own religion*: or to make use of the absurd language of the day, "that every man has a *right* to worship God in his own way."

The archdeacon does not think it necessary, in an address to Churchmen, to specify the consequences which must result from the adoption and extension of this licentious principle. No man, indeed, who is conversant with the history of the country, and who, in particular, has perused with attention that portion of it which includes the reign of our first Charles, and the succeeding period of Cromwell's usurpation, can be ignorant of them; or can be unaware, that the prevalence of similar causes, at the present moment, is very likely to produce similar results. Surely, then, it is time for those Churchmen to pause, and seriously to re-consider their conduct, who have associated themselves with Dissenters of every denomination for a religious object; to such are the judicious reflections in this excellent discourse particularly addressed.

"They are respectfully submitted to the consideration of those members of that church, who have thought it expedient to connect of themselves with Dissenters in the prosecution of an object, which they certainly may prosecute, in my judgment at least, with greater

advantage to the cause of Christianity, as well as with greater safety to the establishment of their country, unfettered by such a connection."

The author briefly notices the calumnies heaped, by the members of the Bible Society, on all who openly oppose, or who refuse to join, them ; and who have been represented, with as little decency as truth, as enemies of the Christian Faith, and as friends to religious ignorance. He then proceeds to vindicate, in a masterly manner, those Churchmen against whom these licentious and unprincipled attacks, which reflect infinite disgrace on the men who direct them, are particularly levelled.

" Those who have felt themselves called upon by principle to act in strict concord with that excellent Society which hath long proved itself to be a faithful guardian of the Christian faith, and the strongest bulwark of our Establishment, may have to say for themselves ; that their object on this occasion is to preserve the divine grace of Christian charity *entire* in all its branches. That whilst they refrain from pronouncing harsh judgment on others, they may be permitted, without harsh judgment being passed on themselves, to act as consistent Churchmen ; remembering, that whilst Christian charity teaches them " to bear all things, to believe all things, and to hope all things," it at the same time teaches them to "*rejoice in the truth.*" Christian charity consequently does not manifest itself in giving indiscriminate countenance to religious persuasions of every description, thereby exhibiting a cold indifference to a subject of most essential consideration ; but it is manifested in a cordial, conscientious, and exclusive adherence to the revealed word of God, and to that one true faith, which was " once delivered to the saints." And they cannot persuade themselves, that as sound members of the Church, they ought to be given credit for that Christian charity which *rejoiceth in the truth*, but in proportion only as they exhibit an earnestness to adopt the means in their judgment best calculated to promote it. This then appears to be the point at issue ; the only point on which a difference of opinion between Churchmen equally zealous, it is presumed, for the promotion of genuine Christianity, can be supposed to exist. But whilst both parties, professing to have the same great object in view, are equally given credit, for the best motives, each party pursues its object in a different way. Laying aside, then, every degree of prejudice, let it be coolly considered in this important case, on which side the scale of unbiassed reason appears to turn."

" The Society to which we have the honour to belong, considering that the Bible was never intended to teach itself, and that there ' were some things in it,' as the Apostle long since observed, ' hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest to their own destruction ; has been constantly employed in providing and circulating those forms of sound doctrine and scriptural explanations, best calculated to put the ignorant in possession of the true sense of

the revealed word ; and to guard them against the manifold errors of those who lie in wait to deceive, by pointing out to them that old and sure way of the Lord, which leadeth to salvation. And in this judicious mode of proceeding, the Society in question has, it must be allowed, the example both of the Apostles and of our Reformers for its sanction.* Whilst that novel Association for a comprehensively religious purpose, which carries with it the voice of present popularity, and of which, if *words* were *things*, every true Christian ought to be a member, has established its important undertaking on the principle, that the Bible is of itself sufficient to do the work for which it was intended ; and to suppose that it stands in need of *collateral* aid for the purpose, is to charge God foolishly, by leading to the conclusion that the means which He hath provided are inadequate to the end intended to be promoted. To such a mode of reasoning, weak as it is, recourse has been had on the present occasion. Whereas surely there is a wide difference between charging God with the inadequacy of his own means, and bearing testimony, as in humility we ought, to the corruption of man's fallen nature, and to that consequent obliquity of will, and perverseness of understanding, which divine revelation hath never been able effectually to counteract ; and to which it has been owing, that the letter of the Bible has proved so insufficient to its graciously intended purpose. In fact, the Bible, though in itself fully competent, as the revealed word of God must be, to 'accomplish what God pleases, and to prosper in the thing whereto God sends it' and consequently, when properly understood, to 'give wisdom unto the simple ;' still the Bible does not *necessarily* make even the *learned* wise unto salvation. Of this humiliating truth the history of the Church has been furnishing continued proofs from the days of its first establishment down to the present time. To suppose then that every one who receives the sacred book becomes acquainted with its contents, and established in its doctrines, is to suppose in the direct face of fact and experience. The word of God, it is certain, must be uniform and consistent ; 'for God is not a man that he should lie, or the son of man that he should repent ;'—consequently the truth of the Christian covenant must at all times, like its divine Author, be one and the same ; whilst human opinions upon it, the offspring of fallibility, have been more or less in a continued state of variation and contradiction. To furnish a remedy against this greatest of all evils, an apostacy from the revealed truth, God in his wisdom never left his Church unprovided with duly authorized witnesses ; whose office it should be, 'as approved workmen, rightly to divide the word of truth, that they might be able by sound doc-

" * At the first preaching of the Gospel a summary of fundamental truths was drawn up, and put into the hands of the new converts, before any canon of Scripture was settled. And the first attention of our judicious Reformers, as preparatory to the restoration of primitive Christianity in this country, was notoriously directed to the same important object."

trine both to exhort and convince gainsayers;’ on the consideration that the Church would at all times be encompassed ‘by unruly and vain talkers, whose mouths must be stopped, who subvert whole houses, teaching things which they ought not.’ And the members of the Church of England are, I conceive, the first members of any truly apostolical Church, who have been led to think, that such a wise and gracious provision for the preservation of the true faith in the world, might, at any time, and under any circumstances, be safely dispensed with.”

“In fact, the word and the ministry appear to be two *collateral* parts of the same divine provision for the salvation of fallen man. And if so, it should seem, that they were intended to act in proper connection with each other. Hence it will follow, that the error of the Romish Church, which depends for the most part on the *ministry*, whilst it withholds the *word*; and the error of some protestants, who would circulate the word independent of the duly appointed ministry; will perhaps tend equally to defeat the object which divine wisdom had in view in revealing the one and appointing the other; by keeping the parties concerned in ignorance with respect to that true saving knowledge, which the word and ministry *CONJOINTLY* were designed to promote.”

We now defy all the most bold and most able advocates of the Bible Society, among the former of whom we rank Mr. John Owen, and among the latter a right reverend divine, whose name can never be mentioned without unfeigned respect, to resist the force of this argument, or to confute it by deductions from scriptural premises. If, indeed, this be susceptible of confutation, we must unlearn all that we have hitherto learned upon the nature and constitution of the Christian Church.

“Whatever then may be imagined on the subject of religion, (and imaginations on that subject have been infinite) it will be ultimately found, that the mercy of God has not been more signally displayed in the act of salvation itself, than has his wisdom in the institution of the means that were to be instrumental to its final accomplishment. On the ground then that ‘God’s counsel shall stand,’ every deviation from his plan for the salvation of his fallen creatures must be adopted at the incalculable risk of the parties concerned in it.

“It must indeed be allowed, that a society whose professed object it is ‘to produce an indefinite diffusion of that heavenly knowledge, which is alone adapted to make men wise, and good, and happy,’* carries so much of interest on the face of it, as cannot fail to arrest the attention of every Christian mind. And when we are informed that nearly half a million of Bibles have been dispersed, and towards one hundred thousand pounds expended for the purpose,

* See Sketch of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

we wish to hope, that much good to the cause of Christianity has of late years been doing in the world through the medium of this benevolent undertaking. But whilst disposed to give full credit to the parties concerned in its prosecution, it is with regret that we feel ourselves constrained to think, that the comprehensive charity, and ostensible plausibility of the object professedly in view, have tended in a great measure to keep out of sight the essential defects of the plan set on foot for its promotion. The fallacy which has prevailed appears to be, that much in this case has been taken for granted, which remains to be proved; the estimate of the advantage derived to the cause of Christianity having been taken, not from any account of converts to the true faith really made, or congregations of sound professing Christians actually set on foot, (the old and approved method of conveying intelligence of this nature, and the only one by which this important point can be satisfactorily ascertained;) but from the mere insulated circumstance of the quantity of Bibles dispersed.

“But this mode of estimating, proceeds on the erroneous principle, that the *letter* and *spirit* of the Bible are one and the same thing; in other words, that between *mere quoting*, and *rightly interpreting* the language of Sacred Writ there is no essential difference. Whereas, the history of our own country, (not to extend our remarks beyond it,) is abundantly sufficient to inform us; that the most pernicious designs, not less than the most pestilent heresies, have been promoted by the *former*; whilst common sense must tell us, that it is by the *latter* only, that the honour of God and the cause of true religion can be advanced in the world. And this, I conceive, constitutes with all sound Churchmen one chief objection to the society in question; that whilst its funds are profusely employed in dispersing the letter of the Scriptures, and the *letter only*; no provision for teaching the essential principles of the one true faith contained in them, compatible with its originally established plan, can possibly be adopted.”

It has been urged, that Churchmen may remedy this evil by accompanying the bible with their own approved expositions; but this cannot be done consistently with the rules of the Bible Society. Besides, what can Churchmen mean by joining an association in which such an evil is acknowledged to exist, when they can produce the same advantage, without the evil, by dedicating their resources and their attention to a society composed exclusively of their own brethren?

“For the point for consideration in the present case is not, what it has been plausibly, though I think, *sophistically* represented, and by which plausible and sophistical representation many well-meaning persons have been hastily carried away; that ‘the circulation of the Bible will procure incalculable good, and cannot possibly do any harm;’ but, whether that sacred book, which was intended to do

the greatest good, as containing divine information essential to the most important interests of mankind, ought not to be circulated, in the way best calculated to promote its most gracious design. In a word, the question is not, whether or not good is to be done; but whether that good ought not, in the judgment of Churchmen at least, to be done in what they consider to be the *best* and *most approved* way. There are, however, some respectable persons, and it is not my wish to keep back any circumstance that may be deemed favourable to the association in question, who appear to build much on its efficacy 'to lessen the political and religious evils of dissent;' and to unite all denominations of Christians in a cause, where all may safely unite.

"Could these positions be substantiated, it must be admitted, that amid the profusion of high-sounding declamation that has from time to time been lavished on this popular subject, something had been said that was justly entitled to consideration. At the same time it must be remarked, that there is perhaps no word, in its religious acceptation, which the modern vocabulary has more perverted than that of *unity*. In consequence of which, many, it is to be feared, have been hastily carried away by the inviting sound of this word, without stopping to ascertain its scriptural meaning. Unity among Christians, in its original and scriptural sense, implies an *unity of sentiment* on the great fundamental points of doctrine and worship; it consists in Christians being of the same mind and of the same judgment in their religious communications; in their acknowledging 'one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism.' It becomes necessary, therefore, that this *Scriptural unity* should be clearly distinguished from that *mere unity of action* among brethren, for the promotion of even a professedly religious object; which comprises, if it does not set at nought the above important considerations; and which must, in consequence, be attended with effects, the very opposite to those, which true Christian unity was intended to produce. When St. Paul said to the Corinthians: 'Be of one mind,'---he added, '*according to Christ Jesus*.'---That is, according to God's holy word.---'Peace,' (says St. Hilary,) is a goodly word; and a fair thing *Unity*; but who doubts this to be the only right peace of the church, which is peace after Christ, according to his words.' 'Therefore, (concludes the venerable Latimer,) let us set by *Unity*; let us be given to love and charity; but so that it may stand with godliness; for peace ought not to be redeemed with loss of truth; that we would seek peace so much, that we should lose the truth of God's word.'*

We sincerely wish that this admirable admonition of our pious Reformer were engraven in letters of gold over the Speaker's chair in the House of Commons; it would be of infinite service to such of our representatives as are more solicitous to become popular for *liberality*, than celebrated for their knowledge and support of religious truth. There is, indeed, in that House, a *Committee of Religion* regularly ap-

* Latimer's Sermon on Matt. v. 1.--3.

pointed at the opening of every session ; but we have never yet been able to procure either a list of its members, or one of its reports. Is this, then, the only subject which is deemed unworthy of discussion by our representatives ? We will not so libel them as to admit the injurious supposition. But as we frequently see different subjects referred to various committees, appointed to consider such subjects, we have been rather surprized that motions for leave to explain away the benefits of the toleration act, and to remove all restraints on blasphemy, were not referred to the Committee of Religion, as consistency of practice, as well as of principle, seemed to require. Probably some of our correspondents, who have seats in that assembly, may be induced to favour us with such an explanation of the conduct of the House on such occasions, as may not only remove our scruples, but enlighten our understanding.

One part of the question relating to the Bible Society which we have often pressed upon the consideration of our readers, is placed in such a strong and clear point of view, by the learned Archdeacon, that we feel it a duty to transcribe it.

“ Whilst then I am yet to learn in what way the evils of dissent are likely to be lessened by an association of religionists of every denomination, for the purpose of dispersing the *mere letter* of the Bible, on the interpretation of which all parties concerned are supposed to retain their different opinions ; there exist at the same time strong doubts in my mind, as to the *safety* of a connection between Churchmen and Dissenters established on such a principle. For should the conclusion drawn by the public mind from an association formed on this liberal principle be, what, it is to be apprehended, must be the case ; that the professed opinions of religionists of every denomination have the sanction of the same divine authority ; and thus religious teachers of every description, so far at least as doctrine is concerned become placed upon the *same scripture level* ; the consequence will be, that among the higher classes of the community a growing indifference to religious opinions will gradually lead to a diminution of attachment to our Apostolical Church ; whilst, among the lower orders, separation from that church will necessarily increase, in proportion to the exertions of those numerous sectarists, who are in these days indefatigably employed in promoting it. At the same time, that unhappy division among brethren of the same household of faith, which the plausible association in question has produced, must tend, in a great degree, to destroy that unity of sentiment and combination of professional energy, which can alone counteract the undermining process now carrying on against our envied establishment. So far then from lessening the religious evils of dissent, to which political evils seldom fail to be in greater or less degree attached, this boasted scheme of comprehension, the prevailing fashion

of the day, appears to my mind, more likely to prove a powerful specific for the multiplication of heresies and schisms; the greatest evils under which Christianity has laboured from the æra of its establishment to the present time. The consequence of which must be, that whilst the great mass of the rising community are picking up their religion as it were, by chance; the unhappy division among members of the Church, whereby that collected strength, which might have been successfully employed against the common enemy of our Zion, is injudiciously diverted to the prosecution of a plausible undertaking; are circumstances which by degrees will produce the effect of superseding the established ministry, and of degrading, so far at least as it may succeed among us, the Church of Christ into a creature of the human imagination, instead of preserving it in its dignified ascendancy, as *the Institution of God*. Whilst that marked eagerness which has been generally manifested by Dissenters in particular, for the advancement of an undertaking, which evidently promotes their object, at the expence of the establishment; by allowing them to retain every thing they wish, at the same time that every thing is given up to them which they disapprove; (concession on this occasion being all on one side, and none on the other;) when coupled with their known, unabated, and it is to be feared, increasing ill-will to our church, cannot, it should be thought, to the minds of Churchmen at least, present any very favourable prospect. And 'if the evil which the circumstances of the present times justify us in apprehending, (to make use of the words of a late Bishop,) be gradually creeping on; it will be palliated from time to time, and not appear to every one in its true colours, till it be difficult or too late to remedy it.' And though numberless persons exalted both by character and station, and to whom we look up with respect, have distinguished themselves by their zeal in promoting this popular institution; a circumstance which certainly leads to some degree of diffidence on the present subject; still it must be remembered that the voice of numbers constitutes a very fallible standard of judgment; and that no respectability of character or station can alter the essential quality of things, by changing error into truth; or by converting, what has in itself a natural tendency to evil, into a real and substantial good."

Quitting the ground of argument, the advocates of the Bible Society have thought to pose churchmen by pertly calling upon them to produce any scriptural authority for their refusal to join that society; to this call our author readily answers.

"Am I called upon to produce the authority of Scripture to support me in declining connection with the association in question, I certainly can be at no loss, considering the church to be the sacred depository of the Christian faith, 'the ground and pillar of the truth;' St. Paul directed the members of it to 'mark them which caused divisions and offences contrary to the doctrine which they

had learned, and to avoid them. The Apostle, it seems, had no conception that a connection with heretics and schismatics, in any *religious* concern, could tend to the advancement of genuine Christianity. It has been urged, indeed, but I think with no strength of argument, that as we hesitate not to act with Dissenters in charitable institutions of different kinds, there can be no objection to acting with them in the institution under consideration. The difference between these two cases, it may be considered a waste of words to point out. For admitting the Church of England to be a true branch of the Apostolic Church of Christ, and that its members have not so far lost sight of the original institution, and revealed doctrines of that church, as to consider heresy and schism to be no sins; and that unity among Christians for which Christ so earnestly prayed, to be a matter of no importance; the same Apostolic direction grounded on the same Apostolic reason, that dividers of the church 'serve not the Lord Jesus;' appears to be equally entitled to their attention. Whilst I hesitate not to say, that reason undegraded by sophistry, and revelation undistorted by perversion, will not be found more in favour of the regular systematic plan for promoting Christian knowledge, adopted by that excellent society to which we belong; than they must prove discouraging to that comprehensive scheme for the promotion of the same professed object, which has of late years received the sanction of so many sanguine supporters.

"For the preceding reasons, exclusive of others, which time will not permit me to produce; I have felt myself justified as a Minister of Christ, earnestly solicitous for the promotion of genuine Christianity, to point out to consideration the inexpediency of members of the church being connected, in a *professedly religious* concern, with persons of religious principles different from their own: at the same time humbly trusting, that every honest endeavour for the advancement of Christ's gospel in the world, however injudicious the mode adopted for the purpose may be, will not fail to be graciously accepted by that divine Being, who knoweth the heart, and 'seeth not as man seeth.'"

There are, perhaps, no reproaches more lavishly bestowed, and less deserved, and less understood, than the charges of *narrowness of mind*, of *bigotry*, and *intolerance*, which the advocates of the Bible Society and Schismatics of every denomination, have incessantly in their mouths as the readiest instruments for calumniating the members of the Established Church. These form the counterfeit coin of Schism, always ready for circulation, and most easily imposed on the credulity of the multitude.

"Much credit has of late years been taken by some who pride themselves on having found out a more general and comprehensive mode of propagating religion in the world, than is compatible with that established system, which has received the sanction of the Apos-

ties, and the test of experience ; whilst those who walk in the old paths, because they consider them to be *sure* paths, have, in the popular language of the day, been freely given credit for *narrowness of mind, bigotry and intolerance* ; whereas, I am inclined to think, were the account fairly balanced between the two parties, it would be found that a firm and conscientious adherence on conviction to established principles, is not more distinct from bigotry, and in the minds of those, who have imbibed the true spirit of Christ's religion, not more widely separated from every degree of intolerance towards those who profess principles different from their own ; than is *modern spurious liberality* to be clearly distinguished from *genuine Christian charity*."

The archdeacon closes his excellent discourse with a reference to those two orthodox undertakings---the *National Institution*, and the Bible now publishing in Numbers and Parts, by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

" Those two very judicious, and very well-timed undertakings lately set on foot ; namely, the *National Institution* ; in the promotion of which a great portion of the good, the wise, and the pious among us, zealously concur ; which has for its object the bringing the lower ranks of the community into a more teachable condition, than that in which now, alas ! they are too generally found : and, under the sanction of that excellent society to which we belong, the publication of a Bible for their more immediate advantage, which, by being accompanied with annotations calculated to bring them acquainted with the true spirit and meaning of the revealed word, may, amid the various and contrary winds of doctrine at this time blowing around, be a powerful mean of preserving them sound members of our truly Apostolical Church. And may that all gracious Being, to whom we look for success in all human endeavours, so prosper with his blessing the undertakings in question, that they may prove effectually instrumental to the promotion of his own glory, the salvation of our fellow christians, and the welfare of our country."

Our readers will be pleased to learn, that of the Bible here adverted to the first edition of *ten thousand* was sold in a few days, and another large edition is now in a course of circulation.

Anacreon in Dublin ; with Notes, Critical, Historical, and Explanatory. Dedicated to the Right Hon. Lord Byron, and illustrated by engravings on Wood. Small 8vo. Pp. 211. 8s. J. J. Stockdale. 1814.

THIS little volume is replete with satirical humour, and with interesting anecdotes of the Irish Papists and others. In the

dedication, the facetious bard congratulates himself on his discovery of a second Lord Byron; Shakespeare produced the first; for the progenitor of the last we must refer our curious readers to the pages of the *New British Peerage*. After a short allusion to the poetical inconsistencies of the second Lord Byron, he proceeds to remark:

"Had I not stumbled on this unlucky instance of your Lordship's principles, which even your reluctant Ode to the Ex-Emperor cannot fritter away—I was about to say somewhat of your loyalty, and to extol you for as dutiful a subject as you have proved yourself an 'affectionate kinsman.' But the experiment was too much for my nerves; neither is your Lordship's facility of panegyric so easily acquired. Such praise and such censure as neutralize each other, are little to be desired, and less to be deprecated; like the favours or the frowns of convenient beauty, they have not sufficient value to please or to offend. When we call on your Lordship for some small proof of consistency, and say, in the words of the only author who affords your parallel,

" 'You swore to that, Byron, and to the rest,' how readily you will answer, 'By yea and nay, Sir, but I swore in jest.' Well, my Lord, you must not be deprived of this reasonable excuse. Whatever you have said, of satire or of eulogy, you are at full liberty to regret or to revoke. As you have expiated your praise of Lord Carlisle and Lord Holland, by a proportionate quantity of vituperation, and your vituperation of Mr Moore, by a proportionate quantity of praise, so you may qualify your censure of the Regent by a timely alterative of panegyric. Your 'Ode to Napoleon' has furnished you with a sufficient store of *German Court Plaister* for your continental excursion; and, should a convenient wind transport your Lordship to the empire of Elba, you may soften it by a palimode, or mollify his imperial majesty by its introductory tribute to 'his moral virtues.'"

The bard anticipates Lord Byron's surprise at having the Anacreon in Dublin dedicated to him; since the ancient Greek, he observes, is as unlike the modern Greek "as a sunbeam to an icicle, or a rose-bud to a death's head." His Lordship is said never to have cracked a joke in his life, and the old bard, who seldom did anything else, would, were he living, laugh most egregiously at his Lordship.

"He loved a convivial cup of wine, which your Giaour abominated; he delighted in roses and revellings, which your Corsair disdained; and his happiness was placed in social intercourse, from which your 'repulsive' Childe Harold shrunk with aversion."

But still, his Lordship is a poet, and having made the

amende honorable to Mr. Thomas Moore, on this, and on another account, he is deemed worthy of a dedication. The Popish Board, whose virtues are here celebrated, are said to be as *repulsive* as Childe Harold, and are even supposed to have supplied his Lordship with a precedent for his recent retractions and inconsistencies. For instance, they have alternately praised and blamed their leading supporters, Lord Donoughmore, Mr. Grattan, and Major Bryan, as Lord Byron has, Lord Carlisle, Lord Holland, and Mr. Moore.

"From the Board also, your Lordship has acquired the moody murmuring of O'Connel, the saucy snip-snap of Finlay, and the profound prosing of Dromgoole. Yet some of these men profess philanthropy; you will find advocates among the board even of Turkish infidelity.---Nay, Dromgoole himself, while narrowing the pale of human freedom, and heavenly life, embraces within its compass the whole range of Popery. But you, my Lord, acknowledge for the only friend you ever knew, a *Newfoundland Dog*; unless, indeed, the young Catullus has extended your circle of puppyish acquaintance.

"In return for this aptitude of praising and unpraising, your Lordship has instructed the Board to calumniate our Regent. Your *Windser Poetics*, and your Verses 'to a Lady weeping,' are precious examples of loyalty and decorum, which the board have most felicitously imitated. Perplexed as we are, between the same meddling malignity, the same intrusive impertinence; it were not easy to determine which is most indebted to the other,---the Board to Lord Byron, or Lord Byron to the Board.---Surely, the poetical Peer might have been sufficiently sated with the blood of his 'luckless votary Lambe,' to have turned (to turn) his *sangs aside* from the heart of our imperial lion!"

The bard then expresses his surprize, that Lord Byron should, in this case, have acted like an unskilful physician, and have administered the antidote *before* the poison; and he is apprehensive that, in pursuance of his Lordship's usual conduct, he will soon attack the Prince Regent with a full-charged volley of loyal commendation. Lord Byron, our readers will recollect, had heard that the public, naturally enough, had concluded that he drew his poetical pictures after his own image; our bard confirms this report.

"The world imagines, my Lord, that you have delighted in 'drawing from self;' and it looks for your own portraiture in the Childe, the Corsair, and the Giaour. If that 'gloomy vanity'* be of any pleasure, Shakespeare will give you its full indulgence. His Lord Byron, your Lordship's other self, thus describes his own literary merits, and their operations on his wayward intellect :

* Dedication of the Corsair, p. 9.

'Taffeta phrases, silken words precise,
Three-piled Hyperboles, spruce affectation,
Figures pedanickal; these summer flies
Have blown me full of maggot ostentation.*

This dedication to Lord Byron is followed by a humorous explanatory address from Anacreon, on his arrival in Dublin, to the Catholic Board, which, thank heaven! has, at last, incurred the notice of the government, which has apprized it of its illegality, and commanded it to dissolve under pain of penal prosecution.

The Grecian bard declares himself at a loss in what manner to salute, without a violation of propriety, this motley political hodge podge of law, physic, and divinity; of high, low, rich and poor.

"Instruct me, then, I pray you, in the proper salutation! Shall I address you in Greek? *Βελτιστοι ανδρες!* In Latin? *Patres conscripti.* In French? *Messieurs du Corps Legislatif!* In English? *Representatives of the people!* Or in Irish? *Ollams and Beatachs!*"

A humorous account follows of the bard's mode of travelling to Dublin, and of the route which he took; but for this we must refer our readers to the book itself, and shall now proceed to the poetry, which is entitled to great praise for a due mixture of wit, humour, and genius. Anacreon of course writes chiefly odes, and we shall begin our extract with the third, which celebrates the zeal of a worthy doctor of physic, with whom the readers of this review are pretty well acquainted.

"THE DOCTOR.

"Τισοι θλιβοι ποιησεν.

Vatican, Ode 2. Barnes 12.

"Tell us, troublesome haranguer,
Tell us how to vent our anger?
Shall we, busy, bold, physician,
Clap thee in the inquisition?
Or, (as erst was done by Tereus)
Now the joke becomes too serious,
Shall we slit thy tattling tongue,
Whence such inconvenience sprung?
Silly tongue, so void of reason,
Speaking truth, so out of season,
Which will never cease to wag,
Till our cat escapes the bag!—
Foolish Doctor, idle chatterer,
In thy lesson such a smatterer,
Shall we lay thee on thy back,
To prevent thy quack! quack! quack!

* Love's Labour lost.

When our plans were laid so cunning
Thou must set thy prate a-running,
And, as if the deuce was in it,
Spring the mine before the minute!
Busy men of pills and potions;
With thy most unlucky motions,
Idle novelties and sorry flams,
Cossacks, altars, Arks, and Oriflams;
Thou hast made us lose ?---ah me!---
Catholic Ascendency !

They who recollect the Doctor's celebrated speech, given in one of our former numbers, will be at no loss for an explanation of this ode. The Doctor, certainly, did let the cat out of the bag; and though he made a most unseasonable speech for the Papists, he spread a most seasonable alarm for the Protestants !—But the Doctor must now make way for a more important personage, to whom he only acts as a pioneer, for all his efforts are only *intended* to secure success to,

“ THE PETITIONER.

“ *Macaroni's not ours—*

Vatican Ode, xxviii. Barnes, 3.

“ The session had closed, no new mischief was planning,
And safely I dreamed of the clauses of Canning,
When soft at the door, some one scratch'd like a mouse,
Crying, “ pray take me in to a seat in your house !”

“ From my slumber I started, exclaiming who's there ?---
‘ I want,’ it replied, ‘ your possessions to share ;
‘ Teaz'd, tantalized, worried, and stript to the skin,
‘ Only poor little Popery !---pray take me in !’

“ Soft pity prevailed, as I listened to him ;
The lights had burn'd out, so I hastened to trim :---
Then opened the door, where a boy I saw stand,
With a cross on his breast, and a pike in his hand.

“ His wants I reliev'd, I indulg'd all his wishes,
And gave him his fill of my loaves and my fishes,
I stirr'd up the fire, and roused the dull embers,
And in my warm bosom I cherish'd his Members.

“ Reviv'd and refreshed, the false urchin arose,
While his members began their new strength to disclose ;
And laughing, he cried, ‘ Let us try, my good host,
‘ If my pike, its old vigour and keenness hath lost !’
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" Then deep in my bosom he darted the steel ;---
 Ah ha, foolish heretic, now dost thou feel ?---
 No longer teased, worried, and stripp'd to the skin,
 'Tis poor little Popery now takes you in !"

It is needless to point the novel of this ode, which conveys much useful admonition to men who appear to stand in great need of it. As the bard truly observes, at the end of his notes, *HÆ NUGÆ IN SERIA DUCUNT* !—The subject of the next ode we shall extract, as our readers will perceive Lord Byron's new friend, the Irish Anacreon, who, of course, had an irresistible claim on the attention of the Grecian Bard.

" THE MELODIST.

" *Τὴ μὲν τῆς ῥομῆς διδασκάλος—*

Vatican, Ode 52, Barnes, 36.

" Oh tease me no more, pretty Rosa, I pray,
 For the Four Courts to exchange thine ecstatic embraces,
 Or cast the dear harp of my Country away,
 For statutes, and pleadings, and dull musty cases !—

" When Bacchus and Cupid enrapture my soul,
 And wave o'er the nectar their wild wanton winglets,
 Shall Little for Littleton leave the loved bowl,
 Or spoil with a wig the fair wreath of their ringlets ?

" Ah no, dearest Rosa ! ah no, dearest girl !
 Such strange masquerade, I can never appear in ;
 For, since I have cut with the chivalrous Earl,
 Nought is mine but my Rosa, my harp, and my Erin :

" Yes,---mine is the peer of the Misanthrope Lyre,
 With his head-piece of paper and bosom of iron ;
 Who praises the daughter to slander the Sire,
 And writes dedications to me---*Crede Byron* !

" Yet cheer me, dear maid, with thy soft dimpled smile,
 And urge not the Counsellor's quizzical caxon !---
 'Tis sweeter to sing of the Emerald Isle,
 Of Bryan the brave, and the cold-hearted Saxon.

" My Brief is to argue how brief are the hours,
 No opinion but Cupid's sweet union I boast,
 My band is the band that is braided with flowers,
 And my bag is the bag of the two-penny post."

This Ode is highly characteristic ; it is, besides, not only a close imitation of the style and manner of the Irish bard, but a happy exposition of his sentiments.—We proceed, in regular gradation, to

"THE SCALE OF SEDITION.

" H 7s *μδδανωε* wine—*Vatican, Ode xxi. Barnes, 19.*

" When popery first grows load and gabby,
 Her swarms collect at the Black Abbey ;
 Then individual *aggregation*
 Is swallowed up in *delegation*.
 And delegates from town and city,
 Are merged in the select *Committee* ;
 And quickly the Committee gives
 Its place to *Representatives*.
 And representatives, good Sirs,
 Supplanted are by *managers*.
 And meddling managers again
 Resign to *confidential men*.
 And confidential men afford
 A stock of members for the *Board*.
 And soon the board going on its true gait,
 Will drop before the board of *Newgate*.
 Why then should I my collar slip
 From such a glorious fellowship ?"

The odes are followed by the notes, which fill more than half of this interesting and entertaining little volume ; they are replete with curious anecdotes, and convey much useful information to an English reader. In the first note, a fact is stated, not new to *us*, indeed, but probably new to most of our readers.

" A Popish Priest, one Francis Moylan, who styles himself Bishop of Cork, has announced a *Bull*, granting certain *indulgences* to all 'good Catholics' who visit his new 'Cathedral.' By what authority this man ventures to publish such an instrument, or even to receive it, while the laws, which declare his offence HIGH TREASON, remain unrepealed, let that forbearance answer which allows him his impunity. But, assuredly, we cannot be astonished at the insolence which grows bolder upon toleration ; neither can we wonder to see those ordinances condemned by the Papists, which are abandoned by ourselves.

Still we must observe, that this is the only country in Europe in which the crime of high-treason could be openly committed as well without fear as without punishment !

" And, therefore, we have as little cause of surprize, when these men, not contented with being ' titular bishops,' assume the style and dignity of a legitimate hierarchy. One of the orators of the Board, talking the other day of their seeming resistance to our Parliament,

announced that it had the sanction of "His GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN!!"

To such a height will Popish arrogance rise under the fostering protection of Protestant toleration! Another note has some humorous points in reference to this same graceful personage.

"*All the way from Greece to Troy.*

"*All the way*—a strong doricism, which proves the country of Anacreon's companion. When an Irishman moves from any one point to another, he is sure to tell us, as a mere emphatic expression of his labour, that he came 'all the way.'—BARNES.

"If proof were wanted, this line is sufficient to determine the actual existence of Priam's city. We may now exclaim with confidence, *troja fuit*.—STORÆVUS.

"Aye,—and *troja est* also. Who does not know that Troy is?—and who does not know *what* Troy is?" (*We* know, to our cost, and are not likely soon to forget it.) "We may derive our knowledge, not merely from the *Æneid*, but from the *Pastorals*."—H. STEPHENS.

Some of those pastorals we have special reason to remember! In allusion to the convention act, our annotator observes:

"An Irish statute passed *so long ago* as the 33d of George the Third. Before this law attained its twentieth year, it became superannuated, and was pronounced incapable through mere old age. The Popish Board, under the several names which that illegal body have assumed, confess its existence by some times condescending to covert evasion, instead of open defiance. The wisdom of the Irish Government, aided by the firmness of the imperial legislature, will soon, however, render their falterings and their boastings equally abortive."

The author was correctly informed, for that period has actually arrived, as the recent proclamation of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland has proved. It will now be seen whether the proceedings of the Catholic Board are legal or illegal.

"*Now, alas! its rebel tone.*

"Not only the tone of the Irish harp, which is regularly sounded to the praise of executed traitors, but *Theobald Wolfe Tone*, a united Irishman, and active agent of the French Directory, and of the Popish Committee in 1793, to whom the board of that year voted fifteen hundred pounds for his services, and who escaped the gallows in 1798, by cutting his own throat instead of the throats of the Protestants.

"Citizen Tone was examined before the Irish House of Commons in 1798, and he very candidly acknowledged, that Popish emancipation was desired so far only as it led to the separation of Ireland from England. Citizen Finnerty said nearly the same thing in 1811; and the Board applauded him for the saying."

There was more candour in those united *patriots* who were examined before the committee of the Irish Parliament, than those inveterate advocates of Popery, the little Earl of Donoughmore, and the *chamber counsel* of citizens Neilson and Hughes. Whatever these advocates may have *thought*, or may still *think*, they certainly have never publicly admitted, that the measure of Catholic emancipation is valued only as the best means of effecting, first, a repeal of the union, and, secondly, a total separation of Ireland from this country. That such consequences would, sooner or later, result from the measure, has ever been our opinion, and the more we see and hear of the conduct of the Catholic Board in Dublin, the more strongly are we confirmed in that opinion. What will our readers say to the following fact ?

" The Popish committee of expenditure have reported the annual sum of eight thousand pounds, TO BE DISTRIBUTED AMONG THE SEDITIOUS NEWSPAPERS of Ireland ; and the Board, by a regular vote, have received the report. Not any one of their editors will, like the *venus* of Anacreon, be so disinterested as to sell themselves for a song."

If the act of levying taxes, and to so considerable an amount as must be supposed from the appropriation of such a sum as eight thousand pounds for one purpose, be not the assumption of parliamentary power, we know not what is. And it is really astonishing that a body exercising such power, in the very seat of government, in a manner as illegal as any act can well be, should have been allowed to continue their unconstitutional and outrageous proceedings, with impunity, for such a long period of time. At last, however, the government has awakened from its lethargy, and has resolved to prosecute the members of the Catholic Board for a violation of the Convention Act. And, it is said, that the Papists have joined issue with the government, and have determined to have the question of legality decided in a court of law.

" It is a part of the mechanism of the Board to employ short-hand writers for taking down the several speeches, and these are revised by a committee, lest any indiscretions of the orators tongues should slip into print without due correction. Doctor Dromgoole's flaming harangue was uttered on the *eighth* of December ; the Evening Post published on the *ninth* the speech of his brother Doctor, Sheridan, who seconded his motion ; but kept back Dromgoole's for the avowed purpose of giving a correct report ; and on the *eleventh* it was published in form, and announced in that paper as ' by far the most ample, and by many degrees the most correct and accurate account that had been published of the recent proceedings of the Catholic Board.'"

"On the *twenty-fourth* of December, Dromgoole made a second long speech, *justifying* that of the *eighth*; but noticing the errata of this 'correct and accurate account,' and labouring to quibble away its mischief. He complained also of another paper, which, as he said, had broken the context of his harangue, and had not printed it in the paragraphs wherein it was spoken. Speaking in paragraphs! Presently these 'emphatic orators' will speak in *CAPITALS* and *italics*! And, since treason may be spoken as well as printed, we may soon expect to see the doctors and the lawyers breaking gaol, by 'breaking the context,' and *paragraphing* their necks out of the halter.

Such jesuitical tergiversation must excite, we should think, universal disgust. Dr. Dromgoole is a true Papist; he boldly promulgated his principles and opinions, and received from us due credit for his manliness and candour.

"We like the bold, th' erect, the manly foe."

But no sooner was it discovered that these principles and opinions fully justified all the attacks which we had made on the Popish tenets, and all our apprehensions of the danger to be dreaded to the state from their prevalence, if Papists were admitted to a free participation of political power, than the Board set their wits to work to disavow the Doctor, and to disclaim his speech. Hence, all this subterfuge, equivocation, and Jesuitism so congenial with their sentiments, and so consistent with their practice. We shall now lay before our readers one of the last notes in this interesting volume.

"The reader has, throughout this little volume, been so saucily sported with, that I can scarcely expect him to give it much credit for *seriousness*. But to this note I solicit his grave attention; since it relates a fact of extreme and singular importance. The present Pope, while confined by the Corsican Ex-Emperor, having some very natural apprehensions for his personal safety, determined to provide against any sudden demise of the papacy, by the creation of a number of cardinals, who might, in such an event, be competent to elect a pontiff, and keep up the succession of St. Peter. For this purpose, *his Holiness has advanced all the Popish Bishops of Ireland to the Cardinalate*; and these twenty-two persons have the Red Hat, and the commission of 'the Sacred College,' ready for any convenient exercise. While professing to be the loyal subjects of a Protestant sovereign, they have obliged themselves by an oath, as *Cardinals*, still more incompatible with that loyalty, than even their episcopal jurament. True it is, their Eminences have not anew sworn fidelity to the Pope, because the canon law declares them to be 'so united to him, that he would seem to swear to himself:' yet are they bound unto him by paramount bonds, compared to which all civil obligation is but as *flax* before the flame. They are now

'*membre specialia papæ, et pars corporis,*' especial members of the Pope, and part of his very body. They belong to his secret council, they must abet all his designs for the re-elevation of popery.

"This impudent illegality, this audacious defiance of the law, which even their own Queen Mary had refused to tolerate, has been practised in Ireland by Dr. Troy and his fellows. I trust that our still Protestant legislature will take notice of this scandalous violation, showing, as it does, the strong necessity, not merely of punishing the past infringement, but of preventing the future. The *trinada necessitas* of the British law must now have a *fourth* knot added to its obligation, THE SUPPRESSION OF POPISH INSOLENCE.

"That the reader may judge how fit these people are to enter our Parliament, and sit on our episcopal bench, I will subjoin some of the duties and privileges wherewith they are now charged and invested.

"Anno 1244, Pope Innocent IV. ordained that Cardinals should wear a red hat, to shew that they would venture their heads, and hazard their blood for the good of the Church. Our Irish Cardinals, however, have not yet awhile sported their hats in public; an exhibition which, by due course of law, would leave them no heads for their hats to sit upon.

"If a Cardinal shall meet a malefactor going to execution, he may release him forthwith, an especial privilege, which their Eminences may render very convenient in the next popish rebellion.

"A Cardinal cannot be convicted for any crime, unless upon the evidence of seventy-two witnesses, if he be a Cardinal Bishop, like Dr. Troy; of sixty-four witnesses, if he be a Cardinal-Presbyter; and of twenty-seven witnesses if he be only a Cardinal-Deacon.

"Whoever shall any wise offend or injure a Cardinal, even, as some doctors assert, by a word, nay, his clerks, or his favourites, are guilty of HIGH-TREASON, and incur the penalties of the Bull in *Cana*, such as excommunication, deposition, and the other consequences of the pontifical displeasure. This is turning the tables upon us with a vengeance. It is Anacreon, then, and perhaps the imperial legislature, on whom the pains of high-treason are to descend, and not on the Irish Cardinals.

"If a Cardinal be sick, he cannot be let blood without the Pope's special license. We must ask Doctor Dromgoole how often their Eminences have been blooded in Dublin since the arrival of the Red Hats; and, when the general *bloodletting* is to take place, we must inquire from the consistory."

We have not been able to give our readers any explanation of the *cuts* with which this volume is dedicated. Our bard seems to have been aware of the extreme difficulty which a critic must experience in undertaking such a task, and he therefore has, very kindly, spared us the trouble, by giving a *poetical* explanation of the said *cuts*, which we shall now transcribe.

" When my odes and my notes had been put off the stocks,
 I hoped I had finished with cutting at blocks;
 But the joke might be better, methought, understood,
 If I cut up the Board by some cuts upon wood.
 So a frontispiece straight I determined to get,
 Six whimsical plates, and a curious vignette.
 Will the reader conceive my description the worse,
 When, instead of dull prose, I explain them in verse ?

" The first is the bull of his Reverence the Pope,
 With St. Dominic's cowl, and St. Francis's rope.
 The Romish Tiara his forehead adorns,
 And rears its high sanctity over his horns.
 While mother Church-Militant binds at his side
 Her Pike and her Crosier in Catholic pride.
 The harp of dear Erin he strikes with his paw,
 And tramples the union, the crown, and the law ;
 As Old Nick on the plaguy Convention-act stands,
 And the music supports with his Devilship's hands.
 Here rushes rebellion through rapine and fire,
 To the barn where his heretic victims expire.
 There darts his dear idol the Corsican forth
 The beams that are quench'd in the clouds of the north.
 Alas, my lov'd Nap ! while that visage of woe,
 Lamenting for self, for Jerome, and Joe,
 Proclaims that thy cup of misfortune is full,
 How sighs the sad harp ; and how roars the poor bull.

" Our gay gallant Captain in order comes next,
 Though the Board have cashiered him for shying his text,
 Whereat the bold warrior was deucedly vexed. }
 Yet, spite of their fleerings, their floutings, and mockings,
 Full five feet three inches he stands in his stockings ;
 While the pride and the puff of his chest swelling high,
 Shew in what a small compass his spirit can lie.
 His wisdom so brave, and his valour so wary,
 Cry, *Nemo tenebitur se accusare*.
 Fine high-sounding words ! who so well can explain-em,
 As Magee, peeping snug thro' the bars of Kilmainham ?

" The third of our pictures is poor little Popery,
 Waiting so slyly to play off his ropery.
 Behold where he stands at the parliament door,
 Just begging admittance—dear me ! nothing more.
 The pike and the cross have a mystical sense,
 That religion is made but the pious *pretence*,
 While Britain's too credulous folly may find,
 Rebellion the *purpose* that lurches behind.

" But who are these worthies ?—unfortunate Soc.
With a twinge in his thumb, and a twist in his neck ;
And the doctor of doctors, high priest of empyrics,
Whose story is told in Anacreon's lyrics.
Pray look at the sorrowful visage of Neddy,
While the quack with his famed Friar's-balsam is ready ;
For physician and patient I know the right shop,
Where each will obtain the true *Jesuit's drop*.

" *Scala Santa* behold, where the Catholic youth.
Of Kilkenny's Black Abbey or holy Maynooth,
With the Doctor's and Lawyers may mount at their ease,
And take in the Vatican course their degrees.
Now pray, what divinity—students can pass-em,
In the *gradus ad funem* instead of *parnassum* ?

" And now comes the cunning and crank old boy,
His eminence, Cardinal—Archbishop Troy.
And there are the flames of a Catholic fire ;
Little Nick making free with Anacreon's lyre ;
And the mitre is there which no longer is needed,
And there the red hat which the mitre succeeded ;
And there are the pastoral works of his Grace ;
And there is the joy of his jolly red face ;—
What pious impatience, what triumph it shows,
While a pair of roast heretics comfort his nose.

" My last is the counsellor, burly and big,
On the lads of liberty running his rig !
With coats out at elbows, and ribs out at skin,
How woful, and ragged, and wretched, and thin,
These beggars came begging great Dan to receive,
(While the shrewd selfish orator laughs in his sleeve)
A rich piece of plate from the poor of the nation,
Which cost them no more than a *fortnight's starvation*.

" But stay—I forgot the *vignette* in its order,
With symbol suspicious and ominous border ;—
Since now, for the good of their master the Pope,
Our Garnets and Campions may settle the rope ;
And try if the noose will run easy and light,
And pull down their *night-caps* and bid us GOOD NIGHT.

" *HÆ NUGÆ IN SERIA DUCUNT.*"

The volume concludes with a very brief account of a casual excursion of Horace to Dublin, during which, he was so surprised, no doubt by the extraordinary sights which met his eye, that he could produce nothing more than the following short

ode, which appears to be nothing more than an imitation of the 6th ode of his own third book.

" Dear Catholics, the Penal Code
Must still your guiltless shoulders load,
For O's and MAGs attained ;
Till to your Pontiff you restore
His high cathedrals as of yore,
And shrines of martyr's sainted.

" Now thrice hath Saurin leagued with Bushe,
Repelled the inauspicious push,
You made to break your fetters ;
While Orange heretics pursued,
The vantage of your fatal feud,
And kick'd against their betters.

" Well practised in a row, the Board,
The fountain of their mischief pour'd
On this emphatic nation ;
While sneaking patriots, fresh from School,
Are taught their parts of speech by rule,
And sport their declamation.

" Now newer auditors they seek,
Now at religious dinners speak,
Even as their dark employers ;
Direct with not unconscious aim,
And dearly buy their country's shame---
The doctors and the lawyers.

" Not born of such degenerate sires,
Were they who lighted Smithfield fires,
And filled Jack Ketch's function ;
But from those pious pikemen sprung,
Who scythe and club on shoulder slung,
At mother Rome's injunction.

" They, when the blessed time was full,
To England sent the Papal Bull,
Yet who can 'scape from evil !
Worse than our fathers still we grow,
And, worse than us, our sons will go
As surely to the devil."

We now take leave of our two classical visitors, whom, if they were not received in Dublin, with all the enthusiasm and distinction, which our late royal visitors experienced in London, from its whole population, we shall be very happy to see in the British metropolis, and to have an opportunity of renewing our early acquaintance with them.

A View of the political State of Europe after the Battle of Leipsic, gained October 18th, 1813. 8vo. Pp. 99. Colbourne. 1814.

THE tract which we are now about to notice, has lain upon our table a considerable length of time ; and nothing but the pressure of a variety of other important matter has, until this inoment, prevented us from bringing it under the cognizance of our readers, as well, indeed, from the ability with which the subject is there treated, as from the high interest naturally excited by those great and portentous events which have passed during the period which this small work professes alike to consider and to treat of.

During the whole continuance of our critical labours, directed, as they have been, through times the most momentous, perhaps, that ever existed in the history of the world, we have never once despaired, like many of our cotemporaries, of the final triumph of truth and justice over those monstrous principles which seemed, to the superficial observers of human affairs, to threaten mankind with that final consummation of slavery and despotism which the genius of tyranny in a neighbouring country was most anxious to effect. When "Hope for a season" seemed "to bid the world adieu," most earnestly and perseveringly did we strive to animate our country to a continuance of that good fight which she had so long and so constantly waged against the oppressors of the human race ; and if anything can console us for the misery and affliction which have been brought on mankind, it is the moral of that great lesson which recent transactions are so admirably calculated to convey. A lesson the most instructive and beneficial that was ever bequeathed to the inhabitants of the globe. From it nations must see and feel persuaded, that every rebellion against those immutable laws which Providence has decreed for the moral government of the universe, will be punished for the impiety of its attempt against the majesty of the great Creator and author of our being. The ways of God to man are infinite, and difficult, if not impossible, for the feeble, the limited powers of the human understanding to trace and to develope ; but if, in the workings of that machine which goes to the formation of the body politic, the paths of guilt do sometimes lead on to apparent greatness, let not the minds of the dutiful and of the just be imposed on ; for they may rest infallibly assured, that the dispensations of retributive justice will one day be inflicted, and that the cause of the good and the faithful will ultimately and lastingly prevail over all the attempts of the wicked.

It must be amusing for a philosophic observer of human events to contemplate the existing order of things amongst the several governments comprizing the great assemblage of European states, and to witness the tide of political affairs flowing into the same channels whence they set out five and twenty years ago. That great convulsion in the moral and political order of the world, which, for so great a length of time, has been convulsing Europe to its centre, seems now to be appeased, and all the land-marks which denoted its boundaries, are fast returning to those stations under whose influence the several powers comprising the commonwealth of European kingdoms, were wont to be both happy and prosperous. Great as have been the services of the allied monarchs, and transcendant as have been the merits as well of their generals as of their people, in bringing about the dawn of that happy era which is fast opening upon us, still human means scarcely seem sufficient to have accomplished those mighty ends, the effects of which, while they are daily manifesting themselves more and more, promise the most cheering and consolatory prospects to mankind. We have scarcely yet recovered from those transports of joy which the extinction of Napoleon's dynasty was calculated to inspire in every well-wisher to the human race; nor can we yet bring ourselves to view the circumstances of the extraordinary times in which we live with that dispassionate calmness, and that serenity which every inquiry into their causes, and every dissertation on their effects, so imperatively demand, for the legitimate purposes of historic narrative.

Our author fixes on the battle of Leipzig as the goal from whence he sets out; and certainly in point of real importance to the interests of civil society, it is an event which stands without a parallel in the annals of men. Had Hannibal pushed on to Rome immediately after the battle of Cannæ, the fortunes of mankind would, in all human probability, have been changed for centuries, and Europe, instead of having its languages more or less engrafted on the Latin radical, would, to this day, have been speaking in an African dialect; and, had Buonaparte succeeded in crushing the force of the allied armies on the plains of Saxony, a new destiny would, it is reasonable to suppose, have awaited the present as well as after generations. The liberties of Europe must there have expired for ages, and mankind, the apparent sport of fortune and of accident, would have been replunged into the darkness of military despotism. Then every object of permanent remembrance, every monument of the laws, the usages and the customs of independent

states, which could either serve to awaken recollection of past glory, or kindle an enthusiasm for redeeming their fallen greatness, would have been carefully effaced, if not destroyed by the malignant genius of a barbarous conqueror, a wretch who had long trampled on the dearest rights, and had despised and insulted the moral feelings of mankind. That such a man should have been permitted to live, has long appeared to us to be not a little extraordinary, but that he should moreover be allowed the rights of sovereignty, and so retain the title of imperial dignity, together with a munificent income and establishment, in the island of Elba, is, we will venture to say, the strongest anomaly in human conduct, the most singular feature in diplomatic proceedings, that was ever offered to the understanding. For our own part, we can never think of it without feeling sentiments of moral indignation to which, at all other times, we are strangers. In these days, more especially than others, statesman have great moral duties to perform, great obligations which they owe to society; and the public death of that man by the arm, not of municipal, or even of public, but of national, law, taken in its most extended and universal sense, would only have been an act of common justice which seems due to the world. It would have atoned, in some degree, for that deep and afflicting injury which he has occasioned, and brought on society: it would have raised France and the allied sovereigns in the eyes of all existing nations, and in the opinions of posterity. Is it to be endured, that the greatest criminal who ever existed under heaven, that a hardened wretch who had been the most dreadful scourge to the liberties of the world that ever visited the earth, who had spread nothing but mourning and desolation over the land---who was a stranger to those instincts of affection which prompt the heart to the exercise of benevolence, and all the sweet charities, the graces, of life, who was callous to every soft, every mild, and amiable feeling of humanity; whose policy went as well to subvert and to disjoin the very order of nature, as to barbarise mankind, and to eradicate from the human breast, under the specious garb of prejudices, all those marks of a rational creature, which bestow upon it its greatest glory, its highest dignity, and its most supreme felicity? Is it to be endured, we say, that the author of all the misfortunes which humanity has suffered for the last fifteen years should be permitted to live, and that too in splendour and in dignity? No, "*Judex damnatur cum nocens absolvitur*," and so far from the triumph of the allies being complete, they have, at least in our estimation, failed in the performance of one of the greatest

and most impetuous of duties, which could devolve upon them both as men and as sovereigns. They have legitimized crime, sanctioned murder, perfidy, usurpation, tyranny, and oppression, by not punishing him by those laws which the ordinances of man dictate, and which the book of salvation prescribes. As the case now stands, every sense of moral hatred for guilt is weakened; principle is made subordinate to feeling; and the *murderer* of a Bourbon is become the *pensioner* of their family, and of that nation whom they are called upon to govern. It is an insult to common sense, its an outrage on the moral feelings of the heart, to abet crime, by palliating wickedness, and by protecting guilt; and so long as either the faculty of speech, or the power of communicating ideas through the intervention of a written language, shall remain to us, so long shall we not cease most pointedly to condemn the part which the powers of Europe have acted with regard to Buonaparte personally. If Monk had the glory of restoring monarchy in England, how much more might Napoleone have gained by bringing back to France, and reinstating on the throne, that family under whose government, for the long period of eight centuries, she had been respected abroad and happy at home: but no, he had usurped a sceptre by violence, and by violence he was determined to maintain it, so the longer he grasped it, the further he was plunged in crime and in guilt of a dye the foulest that was ever perpetrated. Now, as there are scenes which, while they tend powerfully to agitate and affect the human bosom, become consolatory to humanity, by the retribution they afford; so, the public execution of Buonaparte, (independent of its example) would, in our humble opinion, have been most highly conducive to the ends of justice, and have operated most beneficially on the present interests and the future happiness of man. We shall conclude these observations with the following remarks of the author of the tract before us, although his application of them is directed to an argument very different from our own. "Wherever justice stops it ceases to be justice; it must be complete to preserve its noble character."

Although the current of latter events has rendered many of our author's observations gratuitous, and that final arrangements have superseded the necessity of any speculations concerning their adoption, still there is so much good sense in the following remarks, that we cannot resist the temptation of transcribing them.

"But can France, impoverished by so many misfortunes, exist without those provinces, of which the allied powers have a right to

demand the restitution? Yes, if it be France delivered from her oppressor, and disposed to live at peace. Restored from that time to the European communion, inspiring confidence, recalling ancient ties of friendship, and strong in all the advantages which she derives from nature, in this tranquil state she will be permitted to recover in a few years what she will think she has lost. England who has no other animosity against her, than what is essential to her own safety, will find again with pleasure consumers for her articles of commerce, and a hope of rivalry will restore to her, her young marines, emulous of future glory. France exchanging her conquests for her colonies, her despotism for peaceable laws, her political preponderance for internal happiness, will learn by a fortunate experience that a country which can alone, of all the countries in the universe, produce a population of twenty-seven millions of men, all speaking the same language, professing the same worship, having the same laws, and as it were the same character, has nothing to regret upon earth, and still less any thing to envy."

Happy, indeed, will it be for France and her neighbours, if she can feel the justice of the remarks above quoted. Thrones would then have a guarantee, and nations would enjoy independence; but we fear that the state of society in Europe is not yet consolidated, and, however much the government of France may affect moderation in its views, and breathe sentiments of tranquillity and a wish for repose, still we are strongly inclined to believe that there is at present a very strong and numerous party in the nation, who will not rest contented under the sacrifices which she has been called upon to make towards the great work of a general pacification. War has been, for nearly twenty-five years, so familiar to Frenchmen, that it seemed to be the element in which they had determined to move; nay, to those who only knew Buonaparte through the splendour of his assumed victories, it did almost appear that war to France was more natural than a state of peace, certain it is that Napoleone had succeeded so completely not only in transfusing a military genius into all the institutions of his policy and government, but had also awakened amongst the people so decided a predilection for the profession of arms, that it cannot be expected she can at once descend from that attitude which she has so long been accustomed to maintain, and that laying aside those habits which impelled her on to achievements which astonished and dazzled the world, she can become suddenly a power studious to cultivate the arts of peace, and solicitous to derive a certain rank of moral dignity from a continued course of pacific government, having equity for its basis, and moderation for its rule.

Policy may throw a veil over the real expression of popular

feeling, but the philosophic observer of the tide of human events can plainly discern the real state of the public sentiment, and that the great body of the people in France is favourable alike to the return of the Bourbons, and the no less prudent than pacific course of administration which the King is pursuing, there can, thank God, be little doubt; but that all our accounts concur in stating that the army is very generally affected in favour of their former ruler, and would even lend themselves to assist his return. Frenchmen feel humiliated at the conquest of their country, and the occupation of its capital, by a foreign enemy, and there seems to be strong reason to believe, that the military part of the nation would willingly place themselves under the banners of any desperate adventurer who could hold out to them a rational hope of elevating the pride of the French name on the ruins of countries which have just happily effected their own emancipation by such heroic efforts in the cause of liberty and freedom as the future historian will delight to dwell on. Their deeds will descend to the last lapses of time; their memory will be consecrated by the latest posterity; and generations yet unborn, when they hear tell of the story of the times which we have lived in, will pay a tribute of gratitude and admiration to those whose names have acquired such eternal glory in the cause of man as modern annals will carefully preserve.

It is the opinion of this author that the victory of Marengo rendered peace *necessary* to Austria. He is very much mistaken—that victory, it is well known, had been gained by the Austrians, after a hard-fought day, and that it was only wrested from them by a prompt and decisive operation of Desaix, at a time when Buonaparte had actually ordered a retreat to be sounded, and when he was so confused as to be wholly unable to form any judgment on the operation proposed to him by Desaix. The next morning, the Austrian troops, who were enraged beyond measure, at having had the victory thus torn, as it were, from their hands, earnestly solicited their commander to renew the contest, for which they were much better prepared than the French, and, so indignant were they, at the refusal to comply with their wishes, that they had nearly broken through all the bounds of discipline and subordination, and rushed on the enemy without their leader. There was, then, no *necessity*, nor indeed any *justification*, for the peace which immediately followed, and which afforded the strongest grounds for suspecting the fidelity of the Austrian commander.

The tract before us presents many judicious reflections, and

a train of reasoning proceeding, in general, in sound data, and leading to legitimate conclusions. The author is, evidently, a man of sense and observation, and the facts which have occurred since he laid down the pen, must be highly gratifying to him, as they tend strongly to demonstrate the correctness of his views, and the solidity of his judgment.

National Triumphs. By Mrs. Cockle, Author of Simple Minstrelsy, &c. &c. &c. 8vo. Pp. 31. 2s. 6d. Chapple, 1814.

MRS. COCKLE is well-known to the readers of this Review, as a Lady whose talents and genius have ever been directed to the promotion of virtue, and to the inculcation of every religious, moral, and political, duty. In this Poem her patriotic muse is employed in the celebration of triumphs, which not only do honour to her native land, but which are the signal of peace and happiness to all the nations of Europe. After attributing the late auspicious occurrences to their true cause—the wisdom and goodness of a superintending Providence, she adverts to the author of all the miseries which Europe has experienced for a long series of years.

“ And where is *He*---the man of blood and crime ?

Outcast of men---down'd in every clime---

Like the destroying Angel, sent to shed

The cup of vengeance o'er a nation's head ;

Not his the base usurper's name alone,

A tyrant's mandates, and a blood-stain'd throne,

Rapine and murder mark his fatal reign ;

Famine and fear, and war---a direful train !---

Nations despoiled, and kingdoms fill'd with woe,

Plains plenteous once, no longer fruitful now,

Given to the flaming sword in all its ire,

To desolation, pestilence, and fire ;

To vengeance uncontroul'd---to ev'ry ill,

Demons alone could prompt, and could fulfil.

“ The peaceful village, village now no more,

In smoking ruins shews his fiend-like pow'r.

None, none, are left of all its blooming train,

None, none, to tell its tale of woe remain---

To point where kneeling beauty vainly sued

To one whose hands a father's blood embued,

To spare her trembling yet in virgin charms,

For her's an aged mother's widow'd arms,

And their's an infant groupe, where helpless years

Can only lisp their griefs, their hopes, their fears.

No. 193, Vol. 46, June, 1814.

Q q

Other instances of individual misery, occasioned less by the necessary horrors of war, than by the brutal and barbarous practices, which the ruffians of the French arms—the very scum of the earth, the disgrace of human nature—have introduced into modern warfare, are next depicted with not more conviction than truth.—One of these we shall extract.

“ Mark where Iberia's sister-sufferers moan !
 Ah ! hear *Her* war-whoop wild---her victims groan !
 See her proud cities blaze---her vacant throne !
 Then, trembling, turn to Tarragona's walls,
 There misery screams in hunger's fiercest calls :
 There fa'nt the strongest---there the bravest die,
 There famine claims her dreadful victory.
 Ah ! turn and see a sister-mourner there,
 Th' unbraided tresses of her glossy hair,
 The speaking wildness of her dark-brow'd eye,
 The wasted cheek,---the step too weak to fly,
 The cure-crazed frame, with ev'ry ill oppress'd,
 That famine sends to tear the tortur'd breast ;
 And what the charge her grasping hands enfold,
 Clasp'd to her bosom 'midst her veil's deep fold ?
 Why does she madly gaze, and gaze, and weep ?
 Gaze once again, and cry---“ can this be sleep ?”
 Yes, say 'tis sleep---my pride---my hope---my boy---
 Last pledge of love---thy widow'd mother's joy.
 Oh could the life-blood, trembling in each vein,
 Thy sinking frame's exhausted strength sustain,
 Quick should the streaming tide a blessing pour,
 My pangs forgotten if *thy* woes were o'er.
 Oh ! but one blessed draught, *one drop*, to stay
 Thy little spirit lingering on its way ;
 Perhaps *to-morrow's* happier dawn may bring,
 Hope in its beam, and healing on its wing.

To mine, as her's, who in the desert wild,
 Hung thus in anguish o'er *her* drooping child ;
 Some angel hand th' assuaging cup may bear,
 Some *power divine* the sudden spring prepare,
 And gracious heaven my trusting hopes repay,
 Fulfill'd *to-morrow*, though denied to day.
 Then live, my son, no longer let me know
 All pangs comprised in one---a *mother's woe*.
 That morrow came : nor hope, nor food, it gave---
 The rose-bud fell---and dropt into the grave.
 All pale in grief, all frantic in her woe,
 With struggling sobs, whilst tears refused to flow,
 Th' exhausted mourner clasp'd her cherub son,
 But ah ! the *mind's* bright beam for ever gone---
 Round Tarragona's walls still wandering wild,
 She chants this requiem to her sainted child.

" THE REQUIEM.

" Oh sleep, my suffering cherub sleep,
 A mother's guardian watch I'll keep ;
 Thou shalt not feel her scalding tear,
 Her heaving sigh thou shalt not hear.
 Nor yet the battle's fearful cry,
 For 'tis a frightful lullaby !

Then sleep !

" Ah ! why that wild convulsive start ?
 I press thee to a mother's heart—
 Fear not the cannon's angry roar---
 The cannon's rage will soon be o'er---
 Oh ! 'tis a rude, rude, lullaby,
 The battle's din---the war-fiend's cry !

Yet sleep !

" And shrink not at the gleaming spear—
 Its clashing sound thou shalt not hear,
 Thus pillow'd on a mother's breast,
 It shall not break thy balmy rest.
 Yet 'tis a strange, strange, lullaby,
 The battle's din---the war-fiend's cry !

Oh ! sleep !

" He sleeps, and yet the cannon's breath
 Tells all around the tale of death.
 He sleeps ! all frantic tho' I go,
 'Midst dying groans, and screams of woe,
 " Oh ! 'tis a fearful lullaby,
 The battle's din---the war-fiend's cry !

Sleep ! sleep !

" Again that wild convulsive start !
 I'll press thee closer to my heart ;
 That wild convulsive throb is o'er,
 He sleeps---great God ! to wake no more.
 The battle's din---the war fiend's cry,---
 Oh ! 'twas the solemn lullaby

Of Death's cold sleep !

" I will but steal thy parting sigh,
 I will but seal thy closing eye,
 But breathe to Heaven a pleading pray'r,
 Thy narrow resting-place to share,
 And then amidst that lullaby,
 The battle's din---the war-fiend's cry

With thee to sleep !"

There is a simplicity in this melancholy 'requiem' strikingly pathetic, and peculiarly affecting. The muse continues to glance her indignant eye over most of those scenes of sorrow, desolation, and death, which the mock-emperor, but real monster, of Elba, has exhibited to the world, in the course of his bloody career. But the public massacre of unoffending people, the destruction of peaceful cities, and all the wide-wasting horrors of open warfare, though marked by every feature of atrocity and barbarism, and sufficient, of themselves, to stamp with indelible infamy, the wretch by whose command they were perpetrated, as well as the detestable ministers of his fiend-like rage, were not sufficient to glut the malice of Napoleone Buonaparte.

" Nor these alone his crimes---no more the name
Of honour, glory, liberty, and fame,
With specious heart shall sanctify the deed,
When by the secret dagger brave men bleed.

" Nor his the inhuman works of day alone,
Steps traced in blood, and kingdoms overthrown ;
Coward in guilt, he bids the *silent* hour
Assist the dictates of his fiend-like pow'r,
Bids the bribed minions aid his *dæmon* plan,
And in the *midnight-murderer* sinks the MAN.

" Oh ! wer't THOU here thy prison's tale to tell,
And the dark deed that stain'd thy dungeon's cell,
Lamented WRIGHT ! firm to thy latest breath,
In that strong mind, which fear'd nor chains, nor death,
The tear indignant virtue taught to flow,
Again should tremble o'er thy cup of woe.

" See in pale radiance, glowing from afar,
Where honour points her own illustrious star !
Ah ! set to rise within a happier sphere,
Where never storms are seen, nor clouds appear,
Ill-fated D'Enghien ! were there none to plead
Against ' the deep damnation of this deed ?'
The midnight murder in that tranquil hour,
When virtue lent thee her confiding pow'r,
And valour, hovering o'er thy lily'd crest,
Prepared for every ill thy dauntless breast !
Whilst each bribed ruffian, wondering as he view'd,
The *man*, with all the *martyr's* strength endued,
Turn'd from the sight--half trembling at the flame,
Fix'd by thyself,* to point his surer aim ;

* " This lamented Prince, who was murdered in the gloom and secrecy of midnight, fixed the lantern himself to his bosom, to direct the aim of the soldiers."

And almost breath'd a hope---a secret pray'r,
That 'midst the murd'rous balls his own might err."

We are willing to persuade ourselves, that, in France, in revolutionary France, *alone*, could a wretch be found base enough to conceive this horrible enterprise, and men to execute it. Teeming with horrors, almost without a parallel in the history of human crimes, as the history of France, since 1789, unquestionably teems, there is scarcely any one enormity that fills the mind with greater indignation and disgust, than the murder of the DUC D'ENGHIEN. It was a needless, a wanton, a cowardly, act of barbarity. It answered no one political purpose; it had not what has been called, emphatically, the *fora's plea*, state necessity, to palliate, much less to justify it; it was not requisite either for the personal safety of the Corsican, or for the security of his usurped power. It was a spontaneous effusion of malignant wickedness, flowing from the hatred which vice bears to virtue, treason to loyalty, guilt to innocence, and cowardice to courage, worthy of Satan himself.

Since the *march to Paris*, and the consequent *dethronement* of the great Assassin, his chosen friend, the man after his own heart, and his favourite representative, Mr. Caulaincourt, has begun to feel some small degree of compunction, or rather of fear, on account of the part which he had taken in this transaction. And, in order to clear himself from the charge of having been the very instrument by which the murderer was able to accomplish his purpose, by the seizure of his victim, has recently published, in France, a letter, which, he says, he addressed to the Emperor of Russia, when he was first sent as ambassador to that monarch; in which he disavows all concern in that transaction, and boldly asserts, that though he left Paris at the same time with the officer, *a general who is dead, and who, of course, cannot contradict him*, he did not accompany him, but that his own mission was to a different quarter, Strasburgh, whither he immediately went. In the first place, it is most extraordinary, that, though this murder had been the subject of public and of general animadversion, though it had even been noticed in the published manifestoes of crowned heads, though the voice of Europe had devoted to the execration of future times, the name of Mr. Caulaincourt, and of all the parties implicated in that foul transaction, the feelings of this worthy gentleman remained tranquil and quiescent under the opprobrious charge; until a sufficient period had elapsed to render the attainment of direct and positive proof a matter, as he thought, of incompa-

nable difficulty; on which account alone we should have withholden all credence from this tardy disavowal of offended virtue. But, in the second place, the revolutionary annals themselves, the very chosen instrument of his master for the circulation of facts, opinions, and information to France and to Europe, the *Moniteur* of the times, supplies the most unqualified contradiction to Caulaincourt's assertion, is wholly silent on his mission to Strasboursgh, and assigns Etteinheim as the place of his destination, and the seizure of the Duc D'Enghien as his object, makes no mention of the dead general, but allots to Mr. Caulaincourt a different colleague, a general Duval! Some stress has been laid, by this man's apologists, for there are times in which the Devil himself is not without defenders, on the apparent belief afforded by Alexander to the contents of Caulaincourt's statement. But motives of state policy may easily be conceived, when the peculiar circumstances of Europe, at that period, are considered, which might influence the Russian Emperor to admit this extorted homage which vice deemed it expedient to pay to virtue, without believing one syllable of the statement. The official journals of the time, however, when they supply facts against the agents of that government under whose absolute controul they are, must be received as fully adequate to overturn any train of speculative reasoning, or any body of inferential evidence; and no historian, who is a friend to truth, will suffer the interested and unsupported assertions of Caulaincourt, to weigh against the direct testimony of public documents, and the strong, circumstantial proof derived from a persevering silence under the charge for several years.

The bard closes her brief, but horrible, catalogue (which might be extended to almost an indefinite length) with a reference to the poison administered, by the order of Buonaparte, to his own sick and wounded troops at Jaffa; she then *sums up* in the following indignant strains.

“ These are thy deeds, thou man of guilt ! and where
 Shall justice's hand her scorpion stings prepare ?
 In thine own bosom, there shall wake (she cries)
 With serpent tooth the ‘ worm that never dies.’
 With sharp, corroding fang, shall fasten there,
 Feed on his heart, and make him feel---despair.
 Hope, who to all her heavenly chalice brings,
 Filled with pure beverage from immortal springs,
 To him shall *never* come—the angel guest
 Shrinks from that earthly hell, a guilty breast.

That messenger of peace to lost mankind
 Visits all mansions but the murderer's mind.
 That mind remorseless, that dark bosom where
 Nor ever entered *penitence* nor prayer.

To scenes more pleasing, to subjects more cheerful, and consolatory, the muse now turns, and turns her lyre to strains of harmony and peace, of gratitude and praise. The following animated address to the Emperor Alexander does honour to the bard.

" Ah ! great in arms,—in virtues more than great,
 The glorious monarch of a glorious state !
 Greater than him, the kindred name who bore,
 Wept over conquer'd realms, and sigh'd for more ;
 Like *his* we see *thy* victors flag uncurl'd,
 Yet not like his, to awe a vanquished world.
 In every clime its *guiding* banners wave,
 Inscrub'd with heaven's own words,—“ We come to *save* :
 “ To guard, not conquer---succour and defend---
 “ To tyrants hostile---to th' oppress'd a friend ;
 “ To bid the groans of bleeding Europe cease,
 “ And hush a nation's sorrows into peace.”

“ Magnanimous as brave, and brave as just ;
 The monarch's safeguard, and the people's trust---
 A nation's pride---a kingdom's noblest boast,
 And in thy *virtues*, as thy *name*, a host !

“ In distant ages, resting on his spear,
 Pausing, thy tale of glorious deeds to hear,
 Some brave Cossack (barbarian now no more)
 From Dnieper's wave, or Don's remoter shore,
 Shall bid his children's children, lisping, try
 To catch thy name, and speak it, ere he die.”

Though *fiction* be said to form ‘the soul of poetry,’ yet certainly 'tis truth which gives to genius here the stamp of worth. The bard has had no occasion to pollute her strains by fictitious embellishments, or by effusions of adulation ; in the very nature of her subject she has found ample means of exciting a lively interest in her readers ; and, in the single statement of facts, abundant materials for moving the various passions of the human mind. Three tributes of justice, one to the *King of Prussia*, a second to the *Duke of Wellington*, and a third to *Louis the Eighteenth*, at the close of this interesting poem, which is equally honourable to the genius, the talents, and the principles, of the author, we shall extract.

“ And proud again *thy* sovereign's banners play,
 Exulting Prussia, in the wond'rous day ;
 Exulting that, tho' bow'd beneath the yoke,
 Thy sons the inglorious bondage broke :
 Burst the oppressor's chain, at freedom's cry,
 Rous'd by her watch-words, “ *Death or Liberty.*”
 Inspir'd by him, in private virtues great,
 As these, the pride, the glory, of a state ;
 The fair adornments of the brightest crown,
 Valour and worth---a monarch's best renown.”

“ Nor grudge the muse, amidst this trophied band,
 One page for him---the *chosen* of her land :
 Proud as she traces glory's sacred way,
 With this, the hero of her brightest day,
 She sees again Vimiera's laurels spring,
 Sees the gay wreaths “ *Busaco's*” children bring ;
 Sees “ *Salamanca's*” trophied pillars rise,
 And thine, ‘ *Vittoria,*’ pointing to the skies.
 Beholds the pride of “ *Talavera's*” plain,
 And scales “ *Sebastian's*” blazing walls again.
 She sees, where'er his victor footsteps lead,
 No doubtful triumph, but war's brightest meed ;
 With thine humanity---that fairest flow'r
 The soldier wears in conquest's dazzling hour.”

“ Illustrious exile ! Exile now no more,
 Oh ! as you press again your native shore,
 In gay perspective may the future shine,
 And concord's dearest blessings long be thine !
 And as the painter gives the darker hue,
 To bring each bright tint brighter to the view,
 May the strong conflict of remember'd woe,
 But serve to heighten joy's contrasted glow !
 Joy tried by silent grief, and every woe
 The *man* could suffer, and the *monarch* know !
 Go ! firm in faith and hope---return to bless
 Thy long-lost sons, and teach them happiness ;
 The happiness those monarchs only prove,
 Who find their safeguard in their people's love,
 Reign in their hearts, and see their equal laws,
 Protect the peasant's as the prince's cause,
 Tell them that liberty's polluted reign,
 And the wild laws of her licentious train,
 (Laws seal'd with blood, that sanction'd every crime,
 And bore her banner thro' each ravag'd clime,)
 Exist no more---but tell them ‘ *they are free,*’
 And let them boast a nobler liberty.
 That liberty exulting Britons own,
 Which guides her senate, and defends her throne ;

Protects her altars---guards her circling shore,
Alike the birthright of the rich and poor.
Then dear as our's shall Gallia's monarch prove,
And, like our own, deserve a grateful nation's love.

* * * * *
* * * * *

"Go, then, lov'd relic of a chetish'd race,
Long may thy hand a peaceful sceptre grace;
And as the ark her place of holy rest,
Found (long denied) on Arrarat's green breast,
May thine, its perils and its wanderings o'er,
Repose in safety on its native shore;
Go! and with holy gratitude, confess
That God is gracious, and but wounds to bless."

A Compressed view of the points to be discussed, in treating with the United States of America; A. D. 1814: with an Appendix and two Maps. 8vo. Pp. 39. J. M. Richardson, 1814.

THERE is no part of the policy of Great Britain which so imperatively requires revision and change, than her system of colonial arrangements, which have been, in too many instances, founded on partial views, and, in some, on profound ignorance. Indeed, a curious volume might easily be collected of *Colonial blunders*, which would astonish the world. This is a great reproach to our country, as it arises out of a culpable inattention to objects of serious importance to the prosperity and interests of the nation. In no case has the ignorance which we censure, and the inattention which we deprecate, been more strikingly displayed, than in our diplomatic and political arrangements with the United States of America. It is the object of the pamphlet before us to open the eyes of our ministers to the mischiefs resulting from this cause, and to put them on their guard against falling into the same snare into which former ministers and negotiators have fallen. The period for such advice, and for such caution, is peculiarly seasonable, as a negotiation is about to open at Gottenburgh, and as a powerful British army is about to enforce our rights in America. All former treaties between the two countries are abrogated and annulled by the existing war, and the American government has forfeited every claim upon the favour, affection, and forbearance, of Great Britain, by her base and perfidious conduct, in attacking us at a time when we were fighting for the freedom and independence of Europe. Our ministers, therefore, must be disposed to derive every legitimate advantage from the success of our arms, and, in the

event of a peace, to place America on the same footing with the least favoured of foreign powers. We recommend, then; to their earnest attention, the contents of this interesting tract, which contains much useful, and some important, information. The first point for which our author contends is an exclusive privilege to be secured to our own colonies in North America, to supply our West India Island, with all those necessary articles which they, heretofore, chiefly derived from the United States; a privilege which cannot, we conceive, be refused, without the adoption of a suicidal system of colonial policy, and without a resolution to give to foreigners an immense advantage over some of the most faithful subjects of the British throne. We have always most strenuously contended for the adequacy of our own settlements to afford this supply, and, indeed, the experience of the last few years has rendered this subject unsuceptible of a dispute.

“ In the first place, our colonies of Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland, are amply adequate to supply our West India possessions with all the timber, all the ~~staves~~, and all the fish they can require; and prior to the present American war with nearly all the wheat and flour they could consume. The fur trade is an important branch, and might be made far more productive, if adequate protection and encouragement were given to pursue it to the shores of the Pacific Ocean. Ashes, indispensable in our bleaching and soap manufactories, can be yielded in any quantities. Shumac, used for dyeing, can be furnished in abundance; flax seed, for which the staple of Ireland is now dependant on the United States, Holland, and the Baltic, might be raised and exported to great advantage;—and great quantities of oil and blubber might be imported from them if admitted to entry at the same rate of duty, as the oil and blubber from Newfoundland.

“ A loyal population, increasing in numbers, and diffusing itself over the millions of yet uncleared and uncultivated acres, which yield in fertility, and convenience of site, to no part of the United States, has proved, that Canada has resources within itself, stamina of sturdy prosperity, that need but the fostering aid of the mother country, and her parental protection, to establish an influence on the continent of North America, spreading even in time to the Pacific, and trading from the shores of that ocean with the rich regions of the East.”

But the most important object to be secured by a treaty of peace, is the settlement of a new boundary between the two countries, the want of which has proved a fertile source of fraud, dissension, and violence.

“ In concluding a treaty of peace with the United States, not only ought the main feature of the war, the inviolate maintenance of our

maritime rights, to be kept in view ; but the scarcely less important object, the preservation of the British North American colonies, ought not to be overlooked. To secure this last it is requisite to advert to one grand point, the necessity of the establishment of a *new line of boundary*, between the British and the American possessions, and to several subordinate objects, which will be noticed in this tract.

“ Posterity will scarcely believe, though history must attest the mortifying truth, that in acceding to the independence of the States of America, their territory was not merely allowed to them ; but an extent of country, then a portion of the province of Quebec, nearly of equal magnitude to the thirteen provinces or states, which then composed the Union, was ceded to them, though not a foot of the country so ceded was, or could be, at the time, occupied by an American in arms : and this cession is the more remarkable, as, New York and Rhode Island being then in possession of the British army, the surrender of these valuable posts seemed, on the contrary, to require a large equivalent elsewhere, instead of giving, as it were, a premium for getting rid of them.

“ Yet such was the ignorance of the then minister of Great Britain, and those whom he employed, in regard to the geographical position and local importance of the territory ceded, that when the merchants of London, interested in the Canada trade, waited on Mr. Oswald, the negotiator, to represent the impolitic and improvident cession of the upper country, and the posts commanding the same, viz. Michillimachinak, Detroit, Niagara, Presqu'isle, Schollosser, Oswego, and Oswegatchie, &c. and to endeavour to discover, whether some means could not be devised for averting the destructive consequences which might ensue to the inhabitants of Canada, and to the British trade and influence with the Indians, he literally burst into tears, and acknowledged his complete ignorance of such posts being in our possession, and of the country given away being an object in any respect worthy of notice. Unfortunately, it was too late to retrieve the error, and deeply did British interests and influence suffer in consequence. But its mischievous effects were not solely confined to British subjects : they fell also upon a body of men, whose interests the British negotiator had no authority or right to compromise. The ceded country was inhabited by numerous tribes and nations of Indians, *who were independent* both of us and of the Americans. They were the real proprietors of the land, and we had no right to transfer to others what did not belong to ourselves. This injustice was greatly aggravated by the consideration, that those aboriginal nations had been our faithful allies during the whole of the contest, and yet no stipulation was made in their favour.”

We appeal to our readers whether this historical fact is not sufficient of itself to justify all our charges on the score of ignorance in our transatlantic policy ! It reflected no great credit on the individual who undertook the office of a negotiator for which he must have known himself to be totally dis-

qualified ; and still less on the minister to whose negligence he was indebted for his appointment. We trust, that such a disgraceful instance of ministerial imbecility we shall not again witness.

In the treaty of peace with America in 1783, stipulations were made in favour of the loyalists, and for the payment of British debts, and the upper ports above mentioned were retained in order to secure their fulfilment. The stipulations, however, were not fulfilled, but scandalously evaded, and yet, by the folly of the ministers, the ports were given up.

" The boundary line, as supposed to be fixed in 1783. betrays, at its commencement, in its course, and at its termination, the greatest ignorance of the geography, and of the natural features and utilities of the vast regions through which it runs.

" The framers of that treaty, on the part of Great Britain, instead of insisting, according to their instructions, on the river Penobscot being the boundary between New Brunswick and the United States, abandoned that point, and allowed the line to be carried as far as the river St. Croix, giving up on extent of sea coast of nearly fifty leagues, though the Penobscot was the utmost northern point to which the limits of the New England States were before supposed to extend. At the same time the mouth of the St. Croix was uncertain, nor was it settled till 1798 what river was exactly meant by that name.

" This river falls into Passamaquoddy Bay, part of the Bay of Fundy, in the latitude of $45^{\circ} 5'$ north ; and American encroachment has been at work here also, and surreptitious possession has been obtained, by the State of Massachusetts, of three islands in Passamaquoddy Bay, which are of considerable importance to the security and to the trade of the adjacent parts of New Brunswick. These islands, which are the Moose, Dudley, and Frederic, being at the time, and previous to the conclusion of the treaty of 1783, part of Nova Scotia come undeniably within the exception made in the treaty, by which the American territory was allowed to comprehend all islands, within twenty leagues of the United States, " excepting such as now are, or heretofore have been, within the limits of the said province of Nova Scotia."*

" The line then runs up the river St. Croix to its source, and thence in a southerly direction along the height of land from which that river flows, till it strikes the forty-fifth degree of north latitude. And here, again, the ignorance or inattention of the framers of the treaty to the locality and courses of the river, has produced the monstrous absurdity, that there is actually no, readily, practicable communication between Lower Canada and New Brunswick, *without crossing a part of the American territory, now called the province of Maine.*

" It then proceeds westward along the forty-fifth degree of latitude,

* See Map of Passamaquoddy Bay. No. 1.

till it reaches the St. Lawrence, cutting off, in a most artificial and unnatural manner, the water communications of Lake Champlain and Lake George with the St. Lawrence; thence along the middle of the St. Lawrence into Lake Ontario, through the water communication between it and Lake Erie, through the middle of Lake Erie, to the water communication with Lake Huron, through that, and then across Lake Huron in a northerly direction, and through the straits of St. Mary into Lake Superior.

"That no geographical blunders took place in the drawing of this extensive line from the St. Lawrence to Lake Superior, may be ascribed to the plain direct course, which did not admit of ignorance or inattention deviating either to the right or the left. But the line is thenceforward described to extend through Lake Superior northward to the isles Royal and Phillipeaux, to the Long Lake, and the water communication between it and the Lake of the Woods; thence through that lake to the northernmost point thereof, and thence in a due line west to the river Mississippi"

(To be continued.)

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

At last, the great work of Peace, as far as it regards the relative situation of this country and the continent of Europe, is achieved, and, in the reciprocal exchange of ratified treaties, has received its final consummation. More than one and twenty years have elapsed since this country was compelled, by the aggressive spirit of the French Regicides and Revolutionists, that spirit which had engendered principles and opinions not merely hostile to the peace and security of the neighbouring states, but pregnant with the seeds of destruction to the whole frame of civilized society, with all its venerable train of religious, moral, and political, institutions, to enter upon a defensive war. And, here, it is necessary to remind the whole body of political speculators, who seem disposed to forget the origin of the war, that war was actually declared against this country by the Regicide government of France, and, on the very day too appointed by Dumouriez, then commander of the French armies in the low countries, to meet the British ambassador at the Hague, the late Lord Auckland (one of the most able, faithful, and diligent, servants of the crown), in order to fix on some practicable means for ensuring a continuance of amity between Great Britain and France. England, therefore, had no choice; the defiance was thrown out to her, and she was obliged to arm in her own defence.

In the whole conduct of the war, so begun, and during all those vicissitudes which so strongly marked its progress, the great minister who then presided over the councils of this country, Mr. PITT, had one uniform object in view, which he specifically stated to the House of Commons, and to the country, to procure indemnity for the past, and security for the future ; and he repeatedly declared the decided conviction of his mind to be, that the only effective means for the accomplishment of this object, would be the restoration of the House of Bourbon to the throne of France. But, at the same time, he distinctly disclaimed the idea of making that restoration the end of the war, or of carrying on the war with such view, if the attainment of a desirable peace, compatible with the object avowed, should, by any means, or under any government, become practicable.

But why, it may be asked, did Mr. PITT consider the restoration of the Bourbons as an event calculated to ensure to his country indemnity for the aggressive war which had been waged against it, and security against similar acts of aggression in future ? Because, it may be answered, he knew that the war had arisen out of the new revolutionary principles, which had demolished the throne and the altar in France, and which threatened to produce the destruction of existing institutions in every country into which the French arms could be carried, or in which French influence could be made to predominate. It was, indeed, the avowed object of the Regicides to subvert all established governments, and to effect revolutions in every state ; and they had, to speak in the words of one of their leaders, the revolutionary *philosopher*, Condorcet, "declared war against *the whole hell of monarchy*." It was, then, from the prevalence and progress of these principles that more real danger was to be apprehended, than even from the success of the French arms, considered without reference to the principles which set them in motion. They were calculated to loosen the bonds of allegiance, to palsy the moral feelings, to destroy the cement which kept society together, and to eradicate from the human mind and bosom every opinion, every notion, and every impulse, which distinguished man as a religious, a moral, and an accountable, being. If, then, principles, producing these effects, could once be made to predominate in a state, we know, without having recourse to philosophical argumentation, from the example of

France, in what manner they would operate on the whole frame of civil society.

As the first object of the men who may be deemed the parents of these principles, was the destruction of monarchy, and as this was the first effect produced by the practical application of them to the government of a country, it required much less depth of political wisdom than was possessed by Mr. PITT, to discover that the best means of counteracting their effects was the restoration of the monarchy which they had destroyed. And, as our chief danger arose from the effects of those principles, whatever could most effectually counteract them, must, of necessity, diminish our danger, and so far indemnify us for the injuries already sustained, and secure us against their repetition.

It is, therefore, in this point of view, and with reference to this object, that the treaties of peace recently concluded are principally to be considered and examined. So far, then, as this country is concerned, the peace, viewed in this light, as guarding against a recurrence of the dangers resulting from revolutionary principles, may be regarded as positively good; and even, in a relative point of view, without a reference to those principles, though it fall very far short of the just pretensions of this country, of the claims which her conduct, her success, and the commanding situation which she holds, it still secures to us political and commercial advantages, far from unimportant. The cession of the Mauritius, indeed, is an object of considerable consequence, in every point of view, and we are left, by the treaty, in possession of colonial settlements, both in the East and West Indies, sufficient for all purposes, maritime, commercial, and manufacturing.

Mr. PITT, be it remembered, had confidently predicted, that the example of England would prove the salvation of Europe; has not this prediction been fulfilled? The Foxites, we know, are prepared to *assert* the negative, but we are fully prepared to prove the affirmative. Indeed, what *proof*, what *argument*, can be necessary to establish a fact, not only notorious to, but acknowledged by, all Europe? The illustrious monarchs who have just left us, have candidly and repeatedly avowed, that to the conduct of England has Europe been indebted for her ultimate preservation and security. Let us suppose, for a moment, that the Foxites had secured a majority in parliament, had

come into power, and had acted up to the principles which they had uniformly supported. Admitting that their solicitations would have been productive of a peace with France, followed by a treaty of amity, what effect would this have had on the powers of the Continent? Would it not have destroyed the very inclination to resist the progress of French arms and of French principles? Would they not, naturally, have followed our example, lest, by an union between France and England, they might have a still more formidable enemy to encounter? And, in this case, is it not clear, that the seal would have been put on the revolution, that the Regicides would have obtained a complete triumph, and that the legitimate monarch of France would, for ever, have been excluded from the throne. These effects were, indisputably, averted by the steady adherence of Mr. PITT to the line of policy which he had chalked out for his country, and which had been violently and systematically attacked, derided, reviled, and resisted, by Mr. Fox and his friends.

Coming down nearer to the present times, when men, not disposed to go all the lengths of political desperation with Mr. Fox, led the opposition in parliament; what was their advice, and what would have been their policy, had they obtained possession of the reins of government. We know what they would have done, not less by their own repeated declarations, than by what they actually did, when they guided the councils of the realm. In referring to the policy of that party, it is never to be forgotten, that when the emperor of Russia, alone and unsupported, was making head against the combined force of Buonaparte, after Austria had concluded a peace, Lord Grey amused him with promises, which, there is every reason to believe, it was never intended to perform, and for the performance of which, most assuredly, no one step was taken. Mr. EUSTAPHIEVE'S publication has placed this fact beyond all possibility of a doubt, and has proved to the world, both the impotency of the party, and the imbecility of their agent, Lord Hutchinson, who exerted every effort to dissuade the emperor from a perseverance in the contest, and who even ventured to support this *magnanimous* advice, by representing the French as almost invincible. The emperor, discouraged and disgusted, naturally concluded the peace of *Tilsit*. When the party ran their head against the wall which, as one of their own members asserted, they had erected for the purpose, what measures did they recommend

to ministers ? To withdraw our whole force from Portugal and Spain, and to abandon a contest which they considered as absolutely hopeless.

Now, then, we may ask, what would have been the consequence, if these men had prevailed, and their advice had been followed ? And we may confidently answer---the abandonment of Spain, Portugal, and the whole of the continent, to their fate. It is not too much to conclude, that had this been done, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, would scarcely have ventured to enter the lists with France, especially as the physical and moral resources and energies of Spain and Portugal, instead of being exerted to resist, would have been employed to augment, the means of annoyance possessed by Buonaparte. The continent then, would have remained in a state of vassalage, and the return of the empire of Charlemagne, would have ceased to be a political chimera. What prevented a consequence so much to be deprecated by every sincere friend to the liberty of mankind ? A strict adherence to the principles, and to the policy, of Mr. Pitt, by Statesmen who had been bred in his school, and who had wisely resolved to tread in his footsteps, and hence, we are fully justified in our conclusion, that the restoration of the House of Bourbon, by a confederacy, of which England was the life and the soul, completed the TRIUMPH OF PITT POLICY, and that the peace which it produced was a PEACE ON PITT PRINCIPLES ! To such a peace we say, ESTO PERPETUA.

We sincerely wish that the allies had proceeded with more decision and consistency, after they had subdued all opposition, and taken possession of the metropolis of France BY CONQUEST. For such is the fact, however French arrogance, and French vanity, may be disposed to deny it: We could have wished that they had prescribed, as they had an unquestionable right to do, the terms on which they would grant peace to France, and restore to her the territories subdued by their arms. They should have recommended the dissolution of the legislative bodies, and the unconditional restoration of the legitimate monarch, to whom it should have been left to frame a new constitutional code, in conjunction with the old States-General of the kingdom, on the ancient bases of the monarchy. This would have obviated many difficulties which have occurred, and many anomalies which have been committed. Much allowance is to be made for

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regulations hastily adopted, under the pressure of extraordinary circumstances, and it may be expected that time and attention will cure many of the defects now visible in the new constitution of France. We were, at first, disposed to object strongly to the creation of an aristocracy for life only; but, when we reflected that there might exist a political necessity for raising to the peerage some of the upstarts of the revolution, we immediately admitted the wisdom of securing to the crown a power of distinction between such individuals, and the faithful adherents to the monarchy; and also the propriety of limiting honours to the original founders of such a spurious race.

We always expressed our opinion that, whenever a counter-revolution should occur, it would be carried on with greater rapidity than the revolution itself. Yet when we contemplate this stupendous event, and consider all the circumstances connected with it, we are lost in astonishment, and discover abundant cause for gratitude to a superintending providence.

Bonaparte, by his conduct, during the two last campaigns of his public life, has forfeited all claim to the character of a great general. Of his want of military skill we have, at different times, exhibited many notable specimens, and, indeed, his last campaigns abound with such instances. But what will our readers think, when informed, that at the very period of his *abdication*, as his friends chose to call it, but of his *deposal*, as the fact really is, he had an army on foot, notwithstanding all his losses, of not less than *six hundred thousand men*. It is no matter whether this was actually at the time a *disposable force*, it is sufficient for our argument, that he had such a force, and that, with common ability and foresight, he might have rendered such a portion of it disposable, as would have sufficed to cope with the allied forces. When he must have known the intention of the allies to pursue him to his revolutionary den, and to fight the last battle with him on French ground, why did he not withdraw his troops from the different fortresses in Germany, which, previous to his occupation of Dresden, he might easily have done? Why, at a subsequent period, when, if any doubt had before remained on his mind it must have been dispelled, did he not withdraw the garrisons within his reach, and, with a large concentrated force, make one desperate attack on the great army of the allies? During the whole of the

campaign he displayed neither skill nor vigour. All his movements wanted arrangement, combination, and decision. And, when at last, he had suffered so many opportunities to escape him, he divided his force, and made a desperate movement to the rear of the allies, and left his capital exposed to their attacks. In this, he made no calculation of consequences; he provided against no reverse, no disappointment; he did not resolve what he should do in case the allies (as he ought to have foreseen) should prefer an attack on Paris, to following him to the banks of the Rhine. If, instead of this, he had either made a gallant stand on the heights near Paris, with the whole force under his command; or had, by a rapid march, joined Soult's army, and made a resolute attack on Lord Wellington, with a greatly superior army, he might either have averted his downfall, or have fallen with more consistency, and with less disgrace.

His abdication, after his deposal, was a most dastardly and ignominious act; he begged for life on the most abject terms; and consented to become a miserable exile, dependent for a subsistence on the eleemosynary contributions of a country which he had at once impoverished and enslaved. The means by which this pension were obtained, makes no difference in the nature of it; it does not diminish, in the smallest degree, the weight of his degradation; nor will it afford him one moment of consolation, in his hours of reflection, for such hours he must now have. He lives, it is true, though no death which the vengeance of insulted nations, or the spirits of murdered millions, if allowed to revisit the earth, could have inflicted, would have been adequate to the magnitude, the enormity, or the multitude, of his crimes; but he lives an object for the finger of scorn to point at—an object, too, of execration to the whole earth. Who, but a dastard in spirit, a coward in heart and mind, who, (to include every thing that is base and infamous in human nature, in its worst state of depravity, in two words) who, but NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE, would have consented so to live?

It is not the least extraordinary part of the circumstances connected with this transaction, that, after the Senate had deposed Buonaparte, and reduced him to the state of a proscribed individual, the allied sovereigns should have thought it consistent with their dignity to enter upon a negotiation with him on equal terms. They even acknowledge him as EMPEROR after he has lost his empire, gave him the so-

verieignty of an island which belonged to none of them, and assigned pensions to him, and to every branch of his family, out of funds to be provided by France, who was no party to the treaty. The title of KING is to be retained by Joseph and by Louis, a concession most insulting to the lawful monarchs of Spain and Holland ; for, as with the idea of a king, that of a kingdom is necessarily associated, the people will naturally consider them as kings of those countries which the great usurper had allotted to them. The other branches of this upstart and beggerly family are also to retain their titles of Princes and Princesses. To say nothing of the injustice of these proceedings, the impolicy of them is most glaring ; for they tend to keep alive those revolutionary recollections which it is the interest of all to obliterate from the human mind, or to be retained only as instructive lessons to future ages. We are strongly inclined to think, that a treaty of this nature is radically null, being destitute of all those sanctions which the law of nations prescribes. That the conquerors of a country have a right to impose laws on its inhabitants we are not disposed to deny. But, in this case, the allied powers had voluntarily renounced such right, and had referred the decision of Buonaparte's fate, and the settlement of the kingdom, to the French Senate and Legislative Body. Those assemblies had accordingly made provisions for both ; they deposed Buonaparte, and assigned him no revenue ; but the allied powers acted in contradiction to this decision, though emanating from an authority whose competency was acknowledged by themselves. The whole, indeed, was an anomalous proceeding, in which principle and propriety were sacrificed, we suspect, to the wishes and feelings of the Austrian Emperor, who probably did not desire to see the husband (as he was called) of his daughter consigned to the fate which he so richly deserved, or even reduced to insignificance and beggary ! We hope that France will not pay one sixpence of the allotted revenue ; and we are at a loss to conjecture on what principle or plea any of the allies could attempt to enforce the payment. If Austria were anxious to provide for him, why not allot a portion of her own revenue, or some portion of her newly-acquired territory to the purpose ? France was the last country on which she ought to have imposed such a burden. It may be possibly said, that Austria abandoned a legitimate claim which she had upon

France, for the amount of the contributions levied by the French armies on Germany. But, in that case, the burden fell upon her subjects ; and if this were made the plea for the revenue exacted from France for Buonaparte and his family, it must follow, of necessity, that the very people whom Buonaparte had plundered, are virtually made to pay for his support—a regulation still less consistent with the principles of justice than any other.

Though monarchy be restored to France, and a Bourbon once more seated on the throne, still that unhappy country is far from being in a state of settled security and peace. The soldiers, we are concerned to learn, are, almost universally, attached to Buonaparte ; and it may easily be conceived how much mischief *two hundred and ten thousand* of such men (for that is the monstrous amount of the peace establishment of France) may produce. It will require more firmness, decision, and wisdom, than have hitherto been displayed by the new government, to counteract the violence of these armed ruffians, who have been long inured to scenes of plunder, desolation, and death ; and whose only bond of attachment to Buonaparte, was the ready means of gratification which he afforded to their worst passions ! A more detestable body of men, men guilty of more atrocious acts, never disgraced any age or country. LOUIS THE EIGHTEENTH has, no doubt, done great violence to his own feelings, in taking the wily Bishop of Autun, Prince of Benevento, for his minister. But, though wholly destitute of principle, Talleyrand possesses information and talents that render him a valuable acquisition to the new government. *Sieyès* and *Maury*—two men of a very different description, have been proscribed and banished ;—one of them, the cold calculating artificer of new constitutions ; the other the servent defender of monarchy, but the servile panegyrist of an usurper ! Strange, that in the various revolutions of fortune's wheel, the man who audaciously consigned his monarch to the scaffold, and the man who defended him at the imminent hazard of his own life, should be involved in the same sentence of proscription ! Many, however, more criminal than the one, and not less criminal than the other, have been not only suffered to remain, but have retained their situations and their honours ! There may be reasons to justify this distinction, but till they are known, such apparent inconsistency must excite wonder.

Spain, alas ! in recovering her monarch, has been restored to the empire of superstition and despotism. Ferdinand has signalized his accession by acts of injustice, oppression, and cruelty. We were far from approving all the proceedings of the Cortes or of the Regency ; we condemned the principles on which they professed to found their new constitution ; and we arraigned their conduct in trespassing beyond the bounds of their legitimate authority. But, still, we were aware that great allowance must be made for men placed in a novel situation, and under most perilous circumstances. Ferdinand had, either by a credulity the most foolish, or by a pusillanimity the most decided, consigned the strongest fortresses of the kingdom, and surrendered himself and his family, into the hands of the French. His people were thus deserted, and left, like a vessel in a storm, without a pilot or a rudder. They struggled with their difficulties, and, by the aid of this country, overcame them. The independence of the kingdom was restored ; the fortresses which the weakness of the King had surrendered, the courage of his subjects recovered ; those subjects preserved their fidelity, and replaced their Sovereign on his throne.

In what way did this sovereign display his gratitude to those subjects for these signal services ? By dissolving every authority which had preserved the political body entire ; by devoting numbers to exile, imprisonment, and death ; by establishing his own will in the place of law ; and by re-erecting that odious instrument of Papal persecution, the inquisition !!! Such are the lessons which Ferdinand has learned in the school of adversity ! Such is the prospect opened to the Spaniards by his restoration ! No wonder that the prince who could thus fail in gratitude to his people, should be deficient in gratitude to the country, without whose assistance he would have had no crown to wear, no power to abuse ! In his scandalous proclamation, not unlike the memorable proscriptions of Sylla, England and her services are not deemed even worthy of notice. It is impossible to speak of such conduct in the measured language of cool disapprobation ; it involves everything calculated to rouse the most indignant feelings of the human heart ; and everything which the human understanding, unwarpd by prejudice, must condemn. Admitting, even, that the cortes had, in some respects, mistaken their functions, exceeded their powers, and acted unwarrantably, was no allowance to

be made for the difficulties of their situation ? Were no thanks, was no gratitude due to them, for the preservation of social order, and the maintenance of civil government ? Where they had erred, their errors might have been corrected ; but they should have experienced the correction of a father, and not the punishment of a master. We respect, we venerate, ancient institutions, and legitimate governments, but God forbid ! they should be either preserved or restored by acts of injustice, and by the exercise of despotic power.

Ferdinand has promised, it seems, to convoke the Cortes, according to ancient forms, and to revise the constitution in conformity with ancient usage. But, if we mistake not, he will find, on reference to the national archives, that the language and the principles of the late Cortes, were more in unison than his own with the language of their ancestors, and with the old constitutional principles of the Spanish government.

Our ministers are proceeding, with an alacrity highly honourable, to contract the national expenditure, and to reduce our forces as nearly to a peace establishment, as the continued war with America will admit. We hope no attempt will be made to continue any of the *war-taxes* beyond the present year. By that time, we hope and believe, the contest with America will be brought to a close ; and, at all events, it will be better to impose new taxes, than to be guilty of even an *apparent* breach of faith with the country.

MISCELLANIES.

THE BIRTH-DAY OF MR. PITT.

On the 28th of May the birth-day of this illustrious statesman was celebrated with a degree of joy and exultation, more easily conceived than described, in various parts of the kingdom. The *Pitt Clubs*, both in town and country, were most numerous and most respectably attended. The deposition of Buonaparte, the restoration of the House of Bourbon, the destruction of all the revolutionary governments, and the conclusion of a peace, thus affording indemnity for the past, and security for the future, proclaimed the proud triumph of **PITT PRINCIPLES**. The club, in London, met at Merchant Taylors' Hall, where six hundred persons, including the chief members of administration, and many of the nobility, sat down to dinner, and

enjoyed, if not the most sumptuous fare, 'the feast of reason and the flow of soul.'

"If ever there was," justly observes a contemporary writer, "a day when the steady adherents to the principles of Mr. Pitt had a right to rejoice; if ever there was an occasion on which even extravagance of triumph were allowable in those who, standing steadfastly on the ground marked out by him as the truly British position, and manfully maintaining the post at which he died, have at last seen their glorious struggle crowned with a perfect victory; if ever the professors of any political opinion had cause to exult and to gratulate each other on the share they had borne in saving a world from degradation and slavery,—thus to rejoice, triumph, exult, and expand in mutual gratulation, did well become the friends of that immortal patriot, and the supporters of his measures, who met on Saturday throughout the country, to celebrate his birth, and pay a tribute to his memory. Surely the finger of Providence was there. Surely a power far superior to mortal has thus clearly demonstrated to mankind, that perseverance in a good cause will ultimately prevail, and that despair in a nation, as in an individual, is as criminal as it is cowardly. And this auspicious day was, we have reason to believe, a day which will be to the end of time memorable in the annals of the human race—memorable as the era of the pacification of Europe—memorable, above all, as the end and consummation of the system of Mr. Pitt, which preserved his own country amid the wreck of nations, and has now finally rescued the continent from the darkness of barbarism and the chains of oppression.

"The school of Pitt have fought the good fight—against crime and mighty power abroad, and against faction, and falsehood, and reviling, at home. But the grandeur of the object they had in view, rendered them fearless of the dangers threatened by the one, and regardless of the calumnies lavished by the other. Firmly and intrepidly they held on their course—they have reached the goal—and the meanest of them all is entitled to assume his proud station among the victors, decorated at once with the resplendant Laurel of Glory, and the lovelier Olive of Peace.

"Elevated by these noble sentiments, and exalted by the cordial reciprocity of feelings which loyal and patriotic bosoms can alone taste and communicate—cheered to the pinnacle of human pleasure

by the great success which has rewarded all their exertions, the meeting of the Pitt Club in London, was one which would beggar description, were we to attempt to give an idea of the harmony, the joy, the gratitude to the Almighty Disposer of events, which reigned throughout this happy assemblage. We must leave it to imagination to paint a scene of universal, and uninterrupted, and excessive pleasure.

“ The Duke of Richmond, in rising to propose ‘ the immortal memory of Mr. Pitt,’ was sensible that no language of his could heighten those feelings of enthusiasm with which this toast would be received. His only reason for troubling the assembly with one word on the subject, was to notice the change intended to be made in the manner of drinking it. It had been usual to drink it in solemn silence ; it was now proposed to give it with three times three. This change had been suggested by the stewards, as it was thought the present state of Europe justified such an expression of joy when drinking to the memory of him to whom the world owed so much.

“ ‘ The Ministers of the Prince Regent,’ were drunk with abundant applause, which was continued till (the Prince Regent’s ministers present standing up) Lord Liverpool, in their name, begged to return thanks for the honour they had just received. The principle and policy of Mr. Pitt had ever been their guide, and the chief rule of their conduct. The assembly had now before them the test of experience on these principles, and on that policy which had distinguished the great man whose birth they were then met to commemorate. The objects which Mr. Pitt had in view, were the safety of this country, and the deliverance of Europe.—(*Loud applause*). He lived to accomplish the first by his own exertions and his own talents.—(*Applause*). He met with disappointment as to the second ; but, though baffled, and unable to execute the great design he had formed, through errors not his own, he never despaired of ultimate success, but returned again and again to the charge, from the conviction, that the emancipation of the rest of Europe was essential to the lasting prosperity of this country.—(*Loud applause*). It had been the aim of his Majesty’s present ministers, to follow the traces which he had marked, to persevere in his plans, and to oppose that fatal delusion, which falsely called economy, had prepared the way for the submission of most of the continental nations to the tyrant of France. By perseverance they had now the happiness to see the accomplishment

of all those objects, which Mr. Pitt, in the warmest moments of exultation, had hoped to achieve for his country and the world. Would to God that he had lived to see what they had witnessed within the last three months.—(*Loud applause*). The experience of the last twenty years had taught them one great lesson, which he hoped would make a lasting impression on the present generation, and on their posterity, and establish that doctrine and knowledge which Mr. Pitt had never ceased to inculcate, that in a just and necessary war we never should despair.—(*Loud applause*.)

“ The Lord Chancellor rose. In the ordinary course of their proceedings, the next toast would be the health of his Grace the Duke of Richmond, the president of the Pitt Club. He was persuaded they knew enough of that illustrious character, duly to appreciate the great merits he had with the public. He meant to propose the health of the noble president, and to couple with it that which, by their indulgence, he had done on former occasions, and which he had much at heart, ‘ Prosperity and perpetuity to the Pitt Club.’ In proposing this sentiment, he declared it was impossible for him to sit down without offering a few observations on the present situation of this country. That these tributes, just as they were, which they offered to the memory of the departed Statesman whom they had met to honour, should add to his fame, was impossible. Mr. Pitt had consecrated his name to all posterity, by what he had done for this country and for the world. He begged to mention what Mr. Pitt had once said, at a time when the situation of this country was very different from what it was at this day. He was then asked what his measures had gained for this country? His answer was, that they had gained for it what they had saved, its constitution. This declaration was made at a moment of great disaster, with respect to foreign countries. They would give him leave now to hope, that in the energies of the constitution, such as it is with its acknowledged excellencies and supposed defects, the safety of this country had been sound, and the consequence of that safety was security and independence to every other country in the world. This he wished to impress upon them, and all he had to say on this subject was, he hoped no rash innovation would be made in a constitution which had achieved so much. That constitution which had enabled us to put forth all our great military and financial means, and to call upon the other powers of Europe to do

the same, had, in effecting their deliverance, given permanent safety to this country. Mr. Pitt was aware of all their importance; and having put forth our financial and military means for our own security, in the first instance, he directed them to the support of other countries, struggling to recover their independence. This he knew to be true political economy; this, he felt, was the best mode of husbanding our resources, which directed to restore the balance of Europe, in establishing that salutary equilibrium which ought to prevail, where applied in the best possible way. Through perseverance in Mr. Pitt's policy, this country and Europe were delivered from danger, and the danger thus averted was greater than had ever menaced their existence before. It was not for him, though an ardent admirer of that great man, and an humble sailor in the ship which, under the guidance of Mr. Pitt, had for twenty years weathered the storm, to add any thing to the glory of her illustrious commander. His name was consecrated by his actions to the latest posterity. When he proposed 'Prosperity and perpetuity to the Pitt Club,' it was from a conviction that the most lasting and beneficial effects would flow from it; he meant in a national point of view. The great incitement it must give to men to serve their country, must make it of the greatest importance. He did not intend to say that public men had not great incitements to serve their country, by the ordinary rewards held out to them by that country. Great rewards were provided for public services, and great honours were bestowed on those who deserved well of their country while they lived. But he was sure there was no generous man that did not feel in the reflection, that after he was gone, a great and respectable body of men would assemble to honour his memory, that he might still live in the esteem, admiration, and gratitude of his countrymen—an additional motive for laudable exertion in the cause of his native land.

The health of the Vice-Chancellor of the university of Cambridge having been drunk, Dr. Chafy (the Vice-Chancellor) was much flattered by the kind manner in which they had done him the honour to drink his health. When he looked round, and saw an assembly comprising persons of the first rank, talents, and importance in the country, he could not help reflecting with pride, that Mr. Pitt had once been of the university over which he had the honour to preside. He elo-

quently dwelt at some length on the virtues of Mr. Pitt, and observed, he was so beloved at the university, that no sooner was it the will of Providence to call him hence, than a subscription was set on foot to erect a statue to his memory, and no sooner was this commenced, than a sum more than adequate was subscribed. With the superfluity a Scholarship had been added to the university, to perpetuate the name of Mr. Pitt, and to promote the interests of literature, of which he had been at once the pride and the ornament.—(*Loud applauses.*) This was now called the Pitt Scholarship. The funds which supported it had been much increased by the munificence of the club; and he hoped it would keep alive, to the remotest period of time, the memory and the principles of that great man, who had entitled himself to the lasting recollection and gratitude of his country.

“When ‘Lord Kenyon and the Pitt Club of Wales, and the Pitt Club of Leeds, &c.’ were given, Mr. Hardy (Recorder of Leeds) returned thanks for the honour done the club of which he was a member, who in a distant part of the country, he was sure, were commemorating the birth of Mr. Pitt, with zeal nothing inferior even with that of the present assembly. Their representative in Parliament (for they know but one), who was their president, would, in future, be as proud of the club, as the club was of him. He much approved of the change made this day, in the form of drinking to the memory of Mr. Pitt. They had celebrated his birth at a time when doubts and fears overclouded the prospect before them, when ‘the Child and Champion’ of Jacobinism, having

‘Waded through slaughter to a throne.’
seemed about

‘To shut the gates of mercy on mankind;’
when, with one foot resting on the borders of the Mediterranean, and the other on the shores of the Baltic, he seemed the Colossus of the European world. If, at such a time, they had drunk his health in solemn silence, surely, on a day of glory like this, when their fondest wishes were more than fulfilled, they were justified in uniting their shouts with the acclamations of the world, in honour of that Statesman, through whom all Europe had, at last, obtained repose—supported, as his principles had been, by the courage and wisdom with which his successors had wielded the energies of this lion-hearted nation. There were persons in this city who, he believed, had called

themselves 'prognosticators of prophecies,' who now wished their predictions to be forgotten.—These individuals were very anxious to ascribe all that had taken place to the interposition of Omnipotence. They were right, they were right. (*Applause.*) All was in the hands of Providence, and they paid the admirers of Mr. Pitt the greatest possible compliment in acknowledging the blessing of the Most High was bestowed on his policy. He took occasion to observe, there was a singular coincidence in the march to Paris, and the consequent downfall of Jacobinism being accomplished during the administration of that minister, on whom the vocabulary of scorn had been exhausted; for having suggested that measure on a former occasion, when, unfortunately, it was not adopted. The history of poisons furnished their antidotes, and the history of monsters recorded the might by which they had been overthrown; so posterity, in the history of the French revolutionary hydra, would read the greatness and power of the principles of Mr. Pitt, by which it had been successfully opposed, not only in the wane of its power, but in the plenitude of its Herculean strength."

Mr. Harvey continued, in a strain of manly eloquence, and of powerful argument, to pourtray the permanent features of Mr. Pitt's policy, and the beneficial results which it had produced not only to this country, but to all Europe, to the whole frame, indeed, of civilized society. His speech, which was highly impressive, was heard with attention, and interrupted only by frequent bursts of applause.

Among the songs and poetry sung and circulated on this occasion, were the following new pieces:

A NEW SONG,

Written for the Triennial Commemoration of the Anniversary of Mr. PITT'S BIRTH, at Merchant Taylors' Hall, the 28th May, 1814.

BY A MEMBER OF THE PITT CLUB.

WERE mine the fire which warmed the Mantuan bard;
And strong, with wilder notes, th' Horatian lyre,
All meaner subjects would my muse discard,
And, soaring, none but loftiest themes inspire.
But TRUTH shall consecrate the lay
Which sings THE PATRIOT'S natal-day.

Science to HIM her darkest page revealed,
 To HIM the maid her richest treasures brought ;
 Philosophy HIS early wisdom sealed,
 Whose life exemplified the truths she taught.
 Sing, we, in virtue's purest lay ;
 Th' enlightened PATRIOT's natal-day.

HE bade the sails of Commerce to expand ;
 His breath rekindled Credit's mould'ring flame ;
 HE roused the vigour of a drooping land,
 And taught her Chiefs to earn a deathless name.
 Then hail, with patriotic lay,
 The genuine PATRIOT's natal-day.

Oh ! born to govern, and to bless, mankind !
 No STORIC, though to selfish feelings dead ;
 Thine, PITT, the purest heart, the noblest mind,
 That e'er Ambition fired, or Virtue led.
 Then sing in Virtue's purest lay
 The virtuous PATRIOT's natal-day.

Nations, benumbed by slavery's icy power,
 Too long had ceased to reason or to feel ;
 ENGLAND alone forbade her Sons to cower
 Beneath the tyrant's threat, the tyrant's steel.
 For this be sung, in virtue's lay,
 The PATRIOT STATESMAN's natal-day.

HIS Spirit speaks—and Freedom's hallowed fires
 Extend their generous flame from pole to pole—
 Its cheering influence every breast inspires,
 And wakes to energy the dormant soul.
 Then hail, with gratitude's pure lay,
 The generous PATRIOT's natal-day.

HIS councils wise o'er weaker thoughts prevail ;
 See the fell tyrant crouching at our feet :—
 UNITED heads, and hearts, and hands assail :—
 He flies, he falls ;—PITT's triumph is complete.
 Then tune to praise the grateful lay,
 And hail THE PATRIOT's natal-day.

His Country's proud pre-eminence of fame,
 Freedom and Order to a world restored,
 His matchless talents, matchless worth, proclaim ;
 Admired by EUROPE, and by Us* adored.
 With pride, with rapture, then, we'll tune the lay,
 And hail our matchless PATRIOT's natal day.

† Trained in His school, and in His councils bred,
 His policy for You success ensures ;
 The Flame which He enkindled You have fed,
 Then let the praise which He deserved be YOUR'S.
 Hail we, in strains of gratitude most fit.
 The Friends of FREEDOM, in the Friends of PITT.

THE LILY AND THE ROSE.

A NEW SONG.

*Written for the Triennial Commemoration of the Anniversary
 of MR. PITT's Birth-Day, at Merchant Taylors' Hall,
 the 28th May, 1814.*

BY A MEMBER OF THE PITT CLUB.

No longer to France will defiance be hurled,
 No more she'll contend for the throne of the world ;
 For in every bosom now harmony glows,
 So henceforth be the Lily entwined with the Rose.

Since hushed are the storms of contention and war,
 And Loyalty's seated in Liberty's car ;
 Let BOURBON with BRUNSWICK in Amity join,
 And with England's fair Rose the French Lily entwine.

The Wreath thus presented, by Wisdom was wove,
 When PITT against Treason and Anarchy strove :
 'Twas His wish, 'twas His aim, the two States to combine,
 And our Rose with the Lily of France to entwine.

* The Members of the Pitt Club.

† This last verse was addressed immediately to the Ministers of the Prince Regent, who were present at the time.

Then with feelings consoling to Age and to Youth,
 Let Prejudice yield to the TRIUMPH OF TRUTH ;
 Peace, Interest, Policy, Principle, shows
 'Tis wise, thus, the Lily to entwine with the Rose.

A NEW SONG,

*Written for the Triennial Commemoration of the Anniversary of the
 Birth-day of the late Right Honourable WILLIAM PITT, at
 Merchant Taylors' Hall, on the 28th July, 1814.*

1.

No more boasts the Tyrant his deep marshall'd legions,
 And madd'ning with pride would control even Fate,
 Would rule from the Po to the Don's ruder regions,
 But chary of life sinks too mean for our hate ;
 The Tyrant's unscepter'd, no more the fight rages,
 Elate o'er the scene, as 'twere magic, we glance,
 Retrace in our span the mark'd features of ages,
 And hail with new feelings regenerate France.
 To thee, noble Britain ! the triumph is owing ;
 From thee Europe's freedom and happiness spring ;
 More proud be thy sons, could aught render more glowing
 The love of our Country !—The love of our King !

2.

What Britain has borne, though as Britons we measure,
 (While singly, yet mighty, the conflict she brav'd,)
 We mourn less the blood, we regard not the treasure,
 That rivets her Glory and Europe has sav'd.
 The once fated Conscript, the now happy father,
 May traverse in safety the Elbe or the Rhine,
 Dares boast his own hamlet, in freedom may gather
 The plant of his furrow—the fruit of his vine :
 And when scenes of carnage are known but in story
 The sons of cheer'd Europe will gratefully sing,
 And hand down in legends, the triumphs—the glory
 Of Britain our country—great George our good king.

3.

Blest shades of our soldiers who nobly have fallen,
 And ye who survive every blood-furrow'd field—
 'Tis the same, did your arms, 'mid the thunders appalling,
 The staff of a Marshal, or bayonet wield.
 Alike round your weapons her laurels entwining,
 The voice of Britannia echoes your fame,
 In him whom you love, your won honours combining,
 Ye live in the statues which blazon his name.
 Hail WELLINGTON! loud though Fame's trumpet may flourish,
 To thee thine own soldiers the sweetest meed bring,
 Inspir'd by thy valour they conquer or perish,
 For Britain our Country—great George our good king.

4.

High swells every bosom with ardent devotion,
 And hallow's the day that gave PITT to the world;
 Through whose loyal counsels we still rule the ocean,
 And see our proud banners o'er Europe unfurl'd;
 Oh PITT! if thy spirit on earth hovers o'er us,
 And dwells on those scenes which in life were thy pride,
 Hear how the whole nation with gratitude chorus,
 How truly for Britain you liv'd—and you died!
 In Europe's redemption, thy energies tracing,
 Each age to thy fame a fresh tribute will bring,
 Till Time's glass has ebb'd, every record effacing
 Of Britain our Country—great George our good king.

5.

No more roll the sounds which for victories swelling
 Still mingled lone griefs with the national joy,
 In plenty and peace ev'ry rival excelling,
 Yet bear our bright fortunes one tint of alloy:
 Hear heaven our orisons, humble yet glowing,
 One boon yet we ask, yet one blessing we crave,
 Restore our GOOD KING, on his virtues bestowing
 Our feelings, our joys, ere he sinks to the grave!
 And when Nature claims the last mournful oblation,
 Enthron'd, may our PRINCE to his SIRE's model cling,
 Still Chief of good Monarchs—still chief mighty Nation—
 Great Britain our Country—Great George our good king.

STANZAS

*To the Memory of the RIGHT HON. WILLIAM PITT, intended for
the Anniversary of his Birth, the 28th of May, 1814.*

WRITTEN AND SET TO MUSIC FOR THE OCCASION.

1.

ARISE thou bright auspicious day
O'er Europe's desolated plains !
While nations greet thy welcome ray,
And join the triumph of our strains.
Arise with milder radiance crown'd ;
Where'er thy genial beams expand
Diffusing peace and joy around,
But chief o'er BRITAIN's favour'd land.

CHORUS.

And ye, her sons, from year to year
Still consecrate to patriot worth
The morn, to BRITAIN justly dear,
That gave HER MIGHTY STATESMAN birth.

2.

Remember Gallia's awful fate,
Her Royal Lillies drench'd in blood,
And all the glories of her state
O'erwhelm'd beneath the sanguine flood ;
While Anarchy, with impious pride,
The standard of her wrath unfurl'd,
And Britain's arm alone defied
The terror of the prostrate world.

CHORUS.

And think on HIM whose daring hand
Could stem the torrent's headlong force,
Its wild unbridled rage command,
And turn the deluge from its course.

3.

Hush'd is the storm, the waves repose ;
The halcyon reign of peace succeeds ;
And Honour's hand the meed bestows
Of loyal truth and valiant deeds.

But where is HE whose lofty soul
Unmov'd beheld the tempest lower,
Opposing to its wild controul
The Ægis of HIS Country's pow'r?

CHORUS.

Alas ! HE sleeps in silent dust,
Where sleep the virtuous and the brave :
Go, Britons ! kneel before HIS bust,
And strew your laurels o'er HIS grave !

ODE.

*On the Anniversary of the Birth-day
of the RIGHT HON. WILLIAM PITT, May 28, 1814.*

EXULT, ye friends of Freedom and of Man !
The reign of Tyranny at length is o'er :
BARRONS, exult ! for ye sustain'd the plan
That made insulted States submit no more ;
Your perseverance in a righteous cause,
Secures to latest times well-earn'd applause.

" The Child and Champion,"* of Rebellion born,
Whom Fortune rais'd to such a tow'ring height,
Whate'er his menace, ye behold with scorn,
While many a nation sunk beneath his might ;
And, if arous'd at last, they now are free,
The bright example, BRITAIN ! came from thee.

Upheld by HIM, to whom again we pay
The grateful homage which HIS virtues claim,
The firm Supporter of well-order'd sway,
To guard HIS Country's weal HIS proudest aim,
Upheld by HIM, the bold defiance hurl'd,
The dread, yet bulwark, of a suff'ring world.

* " The Child and Champion of Jacobinism," was the designation
of BUONAPARTE by Mr. PITT.

Oh ! had it been indulgent Heav'n's decree,
 That PITT, whose counsels sav'd his parent State,
 Had but surviv'd their glorious fruits to see,
 We less had sorrow'd o'er his mortal date !
 But let those counsels spread from shore to shore,
 And Tyranny shall curse mankind no more.

LINES

*On the Anniversary of the Birth-day
 of the late RIGHT HON. WILLIAM PITT, May 28, 1814.*

By a young Lady sixteen years of age.

HAIL thou bright day ! illustrious period, hail !
 Which must be honor'd though the muse should fail :
 Auspicious Era in the lapse of time !
 Whose name is glorious, whose renown sublime :
 Again, admiring, grateful Britons see
 An hour of glory to return in thee ;
 Again in mute and glad applause they stand
 To greet the blessings of their native land ;
 To trace the current to its primal source,
 And own its grandeur as they feel its force.

Whence sprung the ardour which, with pride we own,
 Led forth our freemen to defend the throne ?
 Whence rose the mighty energy of mind
 Which burst to view in grandeur unconfin'd
 Which scorn'd the terror of the despot's sway,
 And lighten'd Europe by its silver ray ?
 Whence flow'd the firmness by our land display'd,
 When, all exulting at the effort made,
 She rose triumphant from inglorious rest,
 And honour sparkled on her waving crest ?
 When through the fatal slumber she advanc'd,
 And broke the trammels of a world entranc'd,
 Alarm'd their fears, forbade them to submit,
 And taught them wisdom in the school of PITT.

Yes! thou illustrious, ever honour'd name,
 Enrich'd by glory and adorn'd by fame;
 To thee who shew'dst us for our land to feel,
 Risking thy welfare for the public weal;
 Who felt the patriot's virtue warm thy breast,
 And taught'st us what was right and what was best,
 To thee in lively gratitude we pay
 The humble tribute of a thankful lay,
 Invoke thy hallow'd dust to leave its urn,
 And with the zeal of patriotism burn;
 Invoke thy spirit to appear again,
 And pace the cities and the haunts of men;
 Till lost in fancy's sc^h delightful maze,
 Our grateful numbers echo forth thy praise.

How hast thou mock'd the littleness of fear,
 Which blam'd the boldness of thy bright career;
 Censur'd the active zeal thyself hadst shewn,
 To guard the nation and protect the throne;
 How hast thou trampled on sedition's head,
 And rais'd thy fame where soul-ey'd treason bled!
 How hast thou taught a grateful land to see
 A Statesman, Patriot, Loyalist, in Thee!

Perhaps thy spirit in the realms above
 Yet feels th' emotion of illustrious love;
 Thy country's welfare yet may warm thy breast,
 And thou be witness that the land is blest;
 Perhaps to thee the grand events are known,
 Which deck'd the triumphs of the Bourbon's throne;
 It is enough—the glorious meed is gain'd,
 The toil unthought of, and the end obtain'd.

And ye! illustrious, and distinguished band,
 Ye watchful guardians of your native land,
 Shall the fond verse forget your praise to sing,
 Nor for your brows triumphal garlands bring?
 Shall we the well-earn'd recompense omit,
 For those who follow'd in the steps of PITT?

Shall not a feeling, grateful, undefin'd,
 Pervade each bosom, and exalt each mind ?
 Shall not this ardent love each bosom warm,
 Tow'rd's those who steer'd us in the fearful storm ?
 Tow'rd's those who led us through the danger past,
 And brought us cheerly to the port at last ?
 Who with one word declar'd our toils should cease,
 The men were Patriots—and the word was Peace.

To thee, departed Statesman ! we revert,
 Our joy acknowledge, and thy fame assert :
 Oh ! may thy counsels still our senate guide,
 And faith yet triumph by fair freedom's side,
 May blooming-liberty go hand in hand
 With bright allegiance, and protect our land ;
 And may the praise which we would e'er bestow
 On the firm Patriot, who with zeal shall glow,
 In this applauding, simple current run,
 “ 'Tis thus that PITT had thought, that PITT had done.”—

ANNA.

May 23, 1814.

 LINES

*For the Anniversary of the Birth of the late RIGHT HON. WILLIAM
 PITT May 28, 1814.*

YE friends of PITT, on whose persuasive tongue
 Wisdom and truth and strong conviction hung,
 Have ye forgot, ere shrowded in HIS grave,
 The words prophetic which HIS spirit gave ?
 “ England, firm standing with her flag unfurl'd,
 “ By her example shall redeem the world !”
 Dark was that hour, when o'er each prostrate land
 Waved the stern vengeance of the Victor's hand ;
 Which buried Europe in sepulchral gloom,
 And burst the narrow bounds of Nature's tomb.

Forced from her home, amid his wild career,
 The outcast Freedom found a refuge here ;
 Beneath our shield reposed her languid form,
 Till trained by Danger, stronger from the storm,
 On Lusitania's cliffs she took her stand,
 And placed her cause in WELLESLEY's guardian hand:
 Then o'er the North with radiant wings she flew—
 Expiring nations fresh existence drew ;
 Concord and hope bade warring nations cease
 Their civil feuds, and joined their hands in Peace.
 O ! sacred bonds, in which entwined we see,
 By Mercy's hand, a crown of Victory,
 A purer wreath than ever lab'ring thought,
 Or patriot hope, or youthful fancy wrought.
 But when once more is sheathed the conquering blade,
 Before whose edge Ambition shrunk dismayed,
 When Freedom smiles upon the closing scene,
 And olives deck the plains where Mars has been,
 With mad Ambition's victim now declare,
Th' avenging hand of Providence is there.
 But next to HIM who o'er this changeful ball
 Decrees the rise of empires and the fall,
 Be HIS the meed, whose firm unerring hand
 Maintained the freedom of HIS native land ;
 Whose vigorous mind the mightiest barrier stood
 Against invasion's desolating flood :
 Though check'd untimely in HIS high career,
 Not less a nation's thanks shall deck HIS bier.
 Oh, had he seen by Europe's patriot band
 The work completed which HIS wisdom planned,
 Then had we hailed, the howling tempest o'er,
 That " polar star of Europe's darkest hour ;"
 For well it glads the conquering veteran's eye
 To see, unhurt, the Victor chief pass by ;
 Then had we proved, by loud and grateful cheers,
 That love, alas ! now clouded by our tears.
 Yet, fill in silence, by each heart approved :
HERE'S TO THE MEMORY OF THE MAN WE LOVED !

Among the speeches delivered at the different meetings on this auspicious day, none was more remarkable for strength and reasoning, and justness of remark, than that of Mr. Alderman Hall, the Chairman of the LEEDS PITT CLUB, who, on his health being drunk, thus addressed the meeting.

GENTLEMEN,—I know not how to address you, in language expressive of my own feelings, or at all commensurate with the mighty events which serve to render the present Anniversary of the Birth-day of WILLIAM PITT distinguished above others. Under what circumstances are we this day assembled? We associated ourselves from admiration of the character, and for the encouragement of the principles, of PITT, as those which alone could save our country; and already the complete triumph of our cause calls forth our unbounded exultation.

Honoured, for the second time, by a call to this chair, I refer you, with much satisfaction, to the view which we took last year of passing events. We then presumed to flatter ourselves, from the great occurrences which had already taken place, that the downfall of tyranny and the deliverance of nations were near at hand.—But how are our pleasing dreams realized! or rather, how, as the fleeting visions of night, do they vanish before the glorious day of liberty and happiness which has burst upon the astonished world! For, Gentlemen, we were, at that period, still in a season of night: the clouds of apprehension still enveloped us: the day-star of hope, which beamed upon us, served but to shew to us more clearly the horrors which surrounded us, and to discover the tyrant of darkness writhing indeed from pain, and wounded, but still dreadful in his strength.—The daemon of war was not yet sated with the blood of human victims: Europe's cup of misery was not yet full: her fertile fields and towering cities must yet be ravaged, her sons be driven to the slaughter, decrepid age and helpless infancy perish from cold and want, ere the price of her ransom should be completed. But what a serene day has succeeded! on every side is presented to our view a boundless horizon of light. Europe beholds her whole family knit together in bonds of love: what shall henceforth divide it?

How wonderful the series of events which has led to this happy state of things ! how nobly have the Allied Sovereigns run their career of glory ! In return for the fire and sword, and desolation, carried by France into the bosom of their States, they bring to her, deliverance and freedom. How do the glories of GEORGE, and ALEXANDER, and FREDERICK, and FRANCIS, eclipse the glories of former conquerors ! the blessings of present and future generations shall attend them. But to what an unrivalled pitch of greatness has our happy Britain attained ! how doth she reign Queen of the Nations !—Amidst the awful commotions which have convulsed Europe, she alone has maintained her constancy unshaken ; this has enabled her to preserve her territory, unsullied by the foot of tyranny, and to enjoy, amid the clang of arms, the tranquillity of peace ; to this she owes her thriving commerce, her flourishing finances, that sum of naval and military greatness, which has secured her own privileges, raised to their thrones fallen Monarchs, carried deliverance to oppressed nations, fixed the liberties of Europe.

This is doubtless a season of joy for all ; but who can join in triumph ? not those who were ever crying “ Peace, Peace ! ” when there could be no peace, not the Ministers, whose vacillating policy brought us into contempt with foreign nations, and who deserted their Sovereign in the hour of danger ; not the Senators, whose only efforts were to palsy the arm of Government by wicked and frivolous opposition, and by advocating the cause of our enemies ; not the Writers, who depreciated our own successes, and magnified those of our foe, who fomented the worst passions of the multitude, and endeavoured to set them in array against the Government ; none of those recreant Britons, in short, who would have bowed the neck of the British Lion to whatever monster, have swayed unhappy France, from the Hydra of Democracy to the Imperial Python, that last monster, engendered amidst the filth deposited by the deluge of revolution and anarchy, and doomed to affright and ravage the subject nations, till he should be prostrated at length by the thousand arrows of the Apollo of returning reason and legitimate power.—These all may rejoice in the good which they enjoy, and in their escape from that destruction which they would have prepared for themselves ; but the triumph is for those, who, by their active exertions, have contributed to bring about

the present happy state of things; for the Regent, who has trampled upon jacobinism and vanquished tyranny: for the Ministers, who, true to their charge, have steered the vessel of the State in safety to the haven of repose, unseduced by the false lights which tempted them from their course: for the Senators, whose steady support sustained the Government, and whose watchful care preserved our Constitution: for all, who by their personal exertions, their writings or their influence in society, have made head against the progress of revolution, curbed licentiousness, and cherished principles of subordination and loyalty: for the patriotic Yeomen and Volunteer Bands, who took up arms in defence of the throne, their homes, and their altars: for my friend near me, (Col. Lloyd) whom so many of us have proudly acknowledged for our leader; who at the expence of great personal exertion, his time and his purse, rendered the corps of this town efficient for the purpose of its association, and who contributed so much to spread the blaze of loyalty through the country: for our brave soldiers and sailors, and their gallant leaders, who, having nobly fought and won their country's battles, return to wear their laurels in honourable repose, and to receive the grateful applause and rewards of their country; for you also, my brethren, who having constantly cheered and encouraged the Government to proceed in the steps of our immortal PITT—behold his prophetic words gloriously verified; for “England has saved herself by her firmness, she has saved other nations by her example.”

Alas! that our beloved Sovereign, the Father of his People, cannot join in our triumph;—alas! that the Minister, whose great mind formed the measures, and whose skill directed the energies which have saved Britain, is not with us, to receive the blessings and rewards of his grateful country: he is gone to his reward; but his name shall live for ever; the whole policy of his administration now stands vindicated by the final success which has crowned it: those who refused credit to his measures, when living, honour his memory and join us in his praise.—(*Thunders of applause.*)

If wise and virtuous Ministers may be considered as blessings conferred by the Almighty, on favoured countries; if PITT was endowed with a rare combination of talents and virtues; if he preserved our Government and Constitution safe, during a season of revolutions, when the most ancient establishments were falling to pieces around us,

methinks, we may, without impropriety and incurring a charge of blasphemy, apply to him that title which has provoked the scoffs and taunts of his enemies, the title of—the Heaven-born Minister — Called to the helm of the State, in earliest prime, he displayed all the graces and qualifications of the accomplished Senator, the judgment and dexterity of the consummate Statesman. His very first act was to rescue his country from that peril, which, soon after, was to prove the ruin of France ; in both countries there was a disposition in the representatives of the people to degrade the Royal Authority and to arrogate to themselves a controul over the Executive Power. In France, by doubling the Tiers Etat and the Union of the Chambers, the counterpoise was destroyed ; the National Assembly, by successive encroachments, undermined the Throne ; the Government had not the courage to appeal to the nation, and the Monarchy fell. In Great Britain, a Factioned Opposition had acquired a majority in the House of Commons, and presumed to dictate to the King on the choice of his servants ; the Minister had the courage to recommend to His Majesty an appeal to his people ; the balance was restored, and the Constitution was saved.

During the question of a Regency, uninfluenced by that selfish principle which prompted minor Statesmen to pay their devotions to the rising Sun, Pitt was intent, solely, upon preserving the rights and interests of the people, the prerogative and dignity of the Crown ; and though by the happy recovery of His Majesty, his Bill became of none effect, it remained a sound precedent for future Parliaments, the ground-work of that Regency, whose matchless achievements have astonished Europe.—(*Loud applauses.*)

Throughout the progress of the French Revolution, we beheld him constantly rise greater with difficulties ; he perceived clearly, that his country could be saved only by determined resistance to revolutionary arms and revolutionary principles ; compelled to adopt measures of extraordinary vigour, to increase the burthens of the people, and to lay temporary restraints on the liberty of the subject, no dread of unpopularity—no factioned clamour—no malicious ravings of opposition could move him from his fixed purpose : again and again, he roused Europe to arms against the common foe, and though, by treachery and the perverseness of the nations of Europe, his vast plans were frustrated, and his mighty heart burst, at length, with disappoint-

ment and excess of feeling for his country, yet the work of our final triumph is his : it is by copying his firmness, his example, that Britain has saved herself---has saved Europe.

Of such a Minister we are proud to own our unqualified admiration. I attempt not to blazon on his character, as, both in public and private life, his virtues were transcendent, so had he few, very few foibles which need the screen of the curtain of oblivion. The tongue of calumny dares not assail his inflexible patriotism, the unstained purity of his motives of action. The main fault which his enemies could impute to him was perseverance in the war in spite of disaster, and with little apparent prospect of success : and final success has rendered this charge his greatest glory : he has been accused of a general pertinacious adherence to once formed opinions, though he has afforded us a remarkable instance that he was not ashamed to retract error. Hereditarily attached to the British Constitution, he wished to render it perfect in theory as it was excellent in practice : no wonder that, in early youth, his ardent mind was captivated by the plausible scheme of restoring the symmetry in our parliamentary representation ; but he soon was convinced, that Parliament, constituted as it was, was a fair representation of the whole of the people, and fully competent to the protection of our persons, our properties and our liberties : his views, henceforth, were to guard the good which we enjoyed, and not, by meddling with those who were given to change, incur the risk of evils which we knew not of.

PITT has been charged, wrongfully, with being an enemy to peace : peace alone could enable him to carry into effect his grand plans of finance, and raise his country to that height of commercial greatness at which he aimed : he anxiously endeavoured to avoid war with France. Had he at an earlier period of the Revolution, strengthened the confederacy of Princes with the energies of this country, perhaps—but I check myself ; let us not, who acknowledge the finger of Providence in the revolutions and changes which have taken place, trace them to secondary causes : all these things must needs be : it was only through much suffering that the depraved nations could be rendered worthy their present happiness ; their Governments, debased by many corruptions, must undergo the ordeal of revolution ; the British Constitution has escaped entire ; who shall now presume to amend it ? (*Loud plaudits.*)

I congratulate you on the acceptance of the Presidency of this Club by the Hon. Henry Lascelles ; than him we could find none more worthy, none more likely to promote the prosperity of our Club ; the conformity of his principles with those of PITT, recommended him to us as our Representative in Parliament. We have seen him, side by side, with PITT, fight the battles of the Constitution ; he honoured him, when living ; his care it was, that his country should pay the last sad honors to the manes of the mighty dead.---(*Great applause.*)

Remain true to your principles : let not the triumph of your cause beget security : there are those who yet are not content with the good they enjoy. Our Monthly Magazines, our Morning Chronicles, our Evening Statesmen, talk of corruption in the State, of necessary Reforms, of extending the pale of Liberality ; keep jealous watch over these ; ever rally round the Constitution ; “ eye your great Pole Star,” PITT ; copy the bright example of that great man, who to conclude with the brief but comprehensive eulogy pronounced over his grave, “ lived not for himself, but for his country.”

The whole of this address was received with the most unbounded applause.

When the health of the worthy vicar of Leeds was drunk, the Rev. G. Wray, returned thanks, in the following words :

GENTLEMEN,—I hope it will not be considered too presuming in me, to return you thanks for the honour which you have just conferred upon our worthy Vicar. I regret that he should feel himself too far advanced in life to become a Member of this Society, for I know no man whose attachment to the principles and memory of Mr. PITT is more sincere than his.---Indeed, the longer we all are permitted to live, and the better do we become acquainted with the virtues and genius of that illustrious Statesman, the more we see of human life, and the higher does our admiration rise of his commanding talents and his mighty mind.---His was the head to form those gigantic plans which almost dazzle by their vastness---his the arm to ward off impending blows, and make the aggressor tremble for his rashness---and his the soul to rouse that spirit of resistance, which no dangers can dismay, and no disasters vanquish. In vain shall we look for such another Statesman---To him his country turned for an example of courage, and he armed the hearts of our patriot sons. Through him, prostrate nations sought for their deliverance ; and they have found it in the councils he established.

GENTLEMEN,---It is the lot of few men to see their works brought to maturity. The shortness of human life rarely admits of this enjoyment ; but posterity (as was eloquently expressed by my worthy friend the chairman) scanning their merits with an impartial eye, and reaping the harvest of their labours, is ever prompt to do them justice. So will it be with our departed Statesman. The final triumph of successful war---the humiliation of the haughty despot---and all the wondrous changes which have followed, have been reserved for other men ; but the glory of these achievements settles on the grave of WILLIAM PITT, and sheds its lustre through the world.--- There the conqueror, returning with the spoil of war, may pile his arms and his trophies ; and there too the pacificators of Europe may deposit their treaty of peace. (*Unbounded plaudits.*)

GENTLEMEN,---The patriots and heroes of ancient times were wont to have their statues and triumphs decreed them, and to be honoured as gods at their decease. The history of the world will furnish out the best triumph for Mr. PITT, and the affection which his country bears him be found his highest honour.

This commemoration of the birth-day of our immortal statesman, WILLIAM PITT, at the present moment, when the adherents to his line of policy have gained so decisive and happy a triumph over the infernal myrmidons of anarchy and jacobinism, created a more than ordinary interest. Never, surely, had the professors of any political opinions greater cause to exult. The share they have taken in producing those measures which have terminated in a victory fraught with blessings to a whole world, will ever form a just cause for gratulation and satisfaction. Opposed to successful crime and mighty power abroad, and rancorously assailed by falsehood and reviling from a detestable Faction at home ; firm and intrepid, they held on their course, alike fearless of the dangers threatened by the former, and regardless of the calumnies heaped upon them by the latter. By the blessings of Providence, they are now permitted to witness the fulfilment of the heart's-wish of their immortal leader, in the downfall of jacobinism, the restoration of legitimate authority, and the establishment of peace upon (we hope) a solid and durable basis.

In immediate relation to this subject, we transcribe, with pleasure,

a correct copy of Mr. Canning's Speech, at Liverpool, when the following toast was drunk :—" The immortal memory of the Right Hon. WILLIAM PITT, whose system and principles are leading the contest to so glorious an issue."

GENTLEMEN,—In the enjoyment of social or domestic life there is no man who has not occasionally felt a sensation of regret for the absence of some dear friend with whom he would have been delighted to have shared them. This feeling, Gentlemen, which we have all experienced in the circle of our families, I am sure we all experience at the present moment, in reference to the great name which has just been brought before us.

Gentlemen, we know that up to the period at which, by the blessing of Providence, the late auspicious change has taken place in the affairs of the world, in every moment of public distress the name of that great man has been brought forward by his political enemies; as the source of all the sufferings and the origin of all the difficulties which we have undergone.

" The evil that men do lives after them,
The good is oft interred with their bones :"

So let it *not* be with Mr. Pitt ! If enmity is still alive and active against him, let those who admired him when living acknowledge, in the events of this time, the fruits of his long and anxious labours ; and while reposing under the safety to which those labours have ultimately led, —let them mingle with the enjoyment of that repose a grateful recollection of him to whom they are indebted for it.

It seldom happens that great men reap during their lives the full harvest of all their toils. Contentions, passions, interpose : and the complete operation of a system is not always seen, and is seldomer acknowledged, while the author of it is an object of rivalry or of envy. But, Gentlemen, when the history of these times come to be read ;---when events are traced to their causes,---posterity will acknowledge with one voice, that to the stand made by Mr. Pitt in the early period of the French Revolution,---and to the uniform firmness of his counsels,---Great Britain is indebted for her present elevation, and Europe for the security which she is now about to enjoy.

On the present state of Ship Building in Great Britain, and the advantages of the owners of India built ships over the owners of British Built ships.

Great Britain.

THE decrease of ship-building in Great Britain will appear by the official account referred to below,* before which there was not any regular return of the ship-building in this country.

	Ships.	Tons.
In 1788 there were built in Great Britain	935	91,543
In 1809 do	447	46,657
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Decrease	488	44,886
	<hr/>	<hr/>

The ships built in Great Britain in the following years cannot be accurately shown, as the accounts were burnt at the Custom-house, but it is presumed on the average of these years, namely,

1810	} they did not exceed 70,000 tons annually.
1811	
1812	
1813	

If so, the decrease of Ship-building in Great Britain, as compared with 1788, will be about 21,500 tons.

It is to be regretted, that more correct data are not afforded by the official accounts, which contain the number and the tonnage of vessels of all sizes built in Great Britain, from three tons and upwards; consequently include *river craft* of all descriptions in Great Britain. By the 26th Geo. III. c. 60, sec. 3, "Every ship or vessel *having a deck*, or being of the burthen of 15 tons or upwards, is required to be registered:" and from the length of the war and the increase of craft on rivers, a much greater number of them are registered now than formerly, in order to obtain protection from the impress, of the persons appointed masters, &c. of them, by which means the gross amount of tonnage is kept up *without any increase of the number of the average-sized ships for the merchants' service*, to shew which, there should be an account of the several classes built in different years, and then the public would be able to form a correct judgment of the state of the navigation of the kingdom; that is, of the ships employed in the merchants' service from 150 to 400 tons. The ships built exceeding that tonnage being comparatively few in number.

London.

The decrease of ship-building in the Port of London, will appear by the official accounts referred to.*

* See Page 76, Table 3, of the Minutes of Evidence, printed by the order of the select committee of the House of Commons on India shipping.

† P. 76, *ibid.*

	Ships.	Tons.
In 1788 were built, of all sizes.....	61	16,990
In 1809.....	27	4,602
Decrease.....	34	12,307
In 1813 (it appears by an official account signed by Mr. Willoughby, dated the 30th day of April, 1814), there were only built of all sizes, in the port of London, -	12	1,811
Making the decrease, as compared with 1788.....	49	13,188

In 1814, there is not yet one ship or vessel building on the Thames.

The decrease of ship-building in the port of London is further illustrated by the following abstract of ships built in the Thames for the East India Company's service from 1794, when India-built ships were first admitted to registry.

	Ships.	Tons.
From 1795 } Both inclusive, there were built in the port to } of London for the East India Compa- 1804 } ny's service,	77	76,127
1805 } Both inclusive, in ditto, for ditto.....	21	22,590
to } Decrease of East Indiamen in the Thames 1813 } since 1804	56	53,537

*India-built Ships.**

In 1794, the first India-built Ship was admitted to registry in London.

	Ships.	Tons.
From that time to March, 1813, there were of those ships admitted to registry	76	47,475
From March 1813 to 31st March 1814, ditto, namely, in one year	11	9,443
	87	56,918
From 31st March 1814, to 20th May, 1814, ditto...	5	2,425
Total India built ships admitted to registry in the port of London	92	59,343

There are other India-built ships now in the river Thames not yet admitted to registry, and more are expected in the next fleet.

It may be correctly observed, that the above account does not include all the India-built ships which have arrived in London from India and China, as many were admitted to entry under the temporary acts of the 35th Geo. III. c. 115, and 42d Geo. III. c. 20, and afterwards returned to India without being admitted to registry here.

Many of these ships which have been admitted to registry have

* P. 86. *ibid.* (No. 10.)

have been employed in the general trade of the country ; indeed their tonnage will shew they were not all of a size to be employed by the East India Company. Many of them are in the West India trade, others in the transport service, and recently some of them have been taken up to carry convicts to Botany Bay.---These observations are not meant to convey any disapprobation of the latter employment of them, but only to shew how India-built ships have interfered with the general ship-building of Great Britain.

		Ships	Tons.
Great Britain	{ The decrease of the general ship-building of Great Britain has been shewn to be a fall off, as compared with 1788, of	488	44,886
London.....	{ And the decrease of the building in the port of London, since 1804, of <i>East Indiamen</i> , as compared with the preceding 10 years, to be a fall off..... of	56	53,537

That the ship-builders in the port of London *relied* on the building for the trade to India and China, and *not* on building for the merchants' service, it is only necessary to observe, that in 19 years, from 1795 to 1812, both inclusive, there were built (exclusive of East Indiamen,) in the river Thames, 542 Ships, sloops, and craft, averaging *only* 76 tons each.

Whilst the increase of the India-built ships admitted to registry since 1794 is..... } 92 | 59,343
Ships. Tons
exclusive of the number of the ships built in India, which have arrived in London and returned to Asia since 1794, under the temporary acts before mentioned.

It is presumed, that after this correct exposition of the actual state of ship-building in Great Britain since the admission of India-built ships to register, it will not be denied that they have seriously interfered with the general ship-building of this country, as the India tonnage admitted to registry exceeds the difference or fall off in the building here.

English Oak Timber.

The evidence adduced on this subject before the select committee having completely established the fallacy of the assertion, that there has been a scarcity of Oak Timber in Great Britain, and dispelled the delusion which had been so very improperly propagated and kept up in that respect, it is only considered necessary to shew that the *consumption* of oak timber for all the purposes of ship-building, both naval and commercial, has been greatly exaggerated, and is small in comparison with that at which it has been estimated.

Oak--for the Navy.

The following is the account of oak timber and plank EXPENDED in the King's yards since 1803.*

* P. 394, *ibid*.

Oak Timber.		Loads.	Office, dated 19th May, 1814, including foreign as well as Eng- lish oak plank and thickstuff. A correct estimate of the latter can- not be made; it is however thought it may be fairly stated at 10,000 loads of English oak plank and thickstuff per annum, the total quantity of foreign and English being for these years.
1803.....		21427	
1804.....		30728	
1805.....		25556	
1806.....		37813	
1807.....		23908	
1808.....		26674	
1809.....		32694	
1810.....		27014	
1811.....		25552	
1812.....		34403	
10 years		285,764	Loads.
ABSTRACT.			Plank..... 100,908
			Thickstuff..... 51,450
			10 years 152,358
Annual average consump- tion of oak timber		28,576	Ann. average consumption 15,235
Ditto plank.....		10,000	Estimate of English plank 10,000
Total average annual consumption of timber		38,576	Ditto Foreign plank.... 5,235
and plank for the navy			Total 15,235
Oak Plank and Thickstuff.			
The return from the Navy			

Oak---for ships and vessels of all sizes in the Merchants' service.

The number of ships, vessels, and river craft of all sizes, built and registered in Great Britain in twenty two years; that is,

From 1788 to 1809, both inclusive, were

Ships	Tons
15,142	1,677,068

Average annual building 688 76,230*

And it having been proved that for ships and vessels of all sizes for the general trade of the country, a load and a quarter of English oak timber might be fairly estimated to a ton of the ship or vessel's burthen, though elm, beech, and other timber are likewise used in the construction of them. The annual consumption of English oak timber for the general building of merchant ships in Great Britain for the above period is estimated, on an average, at 95,242 loads. Of this a very small proportion is large timber, as very few ships, compared to the whole number built, exceed 400 tons burthen.†

So that---For the navy it requires annually, of English oak timber, including plank and thickstuff, about -	Loads. 40,000
And for the merchants' service about -	95,242
Together total annual consumption of oak timber, and plank for the navy and mer- chants' service -	135,242

* P. 76, *ibid.*

† P. 362, *ibid.*

Although the annual consumption of oak timber in Great Britain for the use of *the navy* has been stated by the commissioners* of woods and forests at - - - 63,861 loads, And by Mr. Money,† the superintendant of marine at Bombay, at - - - 100,000 loads, who does not hesitate to compute the quantity consumed for *the King's and the Merchants' service* at the enormous quantity of 270,000 loads per annum !!

This last reference is made to shew the extreme exaggeration resorted to on this subject. It, however, must prove highly gratifying to the public, to find that no scarcity of oak timber, for the purposes of ship-building, has existed, or does now exist, or will hereafter exist, if a fair and reasonable return is allowed to the LANDED PROPRIETORS, to induce them to continue in future the same care and protection of their woods as have been shewn during the last twenty five years.

The evidence on this interesting subject is to be found in the printed minutes; namely,

P. 127 . Mr. Isaac Sparrow.	P. 259 . Mr. Ed. Ellis.
149 . Mr. James Alexander.	297 . Mr. B. Castledine
161 . Mr. W. Driver.	300 . Mr. Bull.
185 . Mr. J. Kershaw	360 . Mr. J. Reed.
203 . Mr. T. Alexander	309 . Mr. I. Barnard.
215 . Mr. A. Driver.	310 . Mr. R. Harvey.
239 . Mr. C. Richardson.	321, &c. Mr. Wicken, Mr. Ramidge.
249 . Mr. W. Preston.	Mr. Stoveld, and others.

From which it is evident that even *the home counties* are by no means exhausted, but contain within them a progressive succession of fine oak timber, fit for all the purposes of ship-building, and equal to supply *annually* (with care and judgment with reference to succeeding years) all the wants of the London market and the eastern yards, including Portsmouth, of his Majesty; the western yards being mostly supplied from the Welch and western counties, that is, as to both divisions, inclusive of the quantity drawn annually from the king's forests for the public service.

The quantities of oak timber, proved by the witnesses before the committee to be now fit for cutting in the counties to which they spoke, great part of which they said required to be cut to forward the succession, may be estimated fairly at 398,430 loads, and to be worth, including lop, top, and bark, at 12l. per load, the sum of 4,781,160l.

This quantity is exclusive of the other woods they mentioned, and of which they could not form any estimate, and does not include ornamental timber.

Many other witnesses were ready, and would have been adduced to prove the abundance of oak timber fit for ship-building in other counties, but the counsel for the English ship-builders considered the

* See their last Report. † See his Work, p. 31, 32.

case in this respect to be proved beyond the possibility of a doubt. The counties to which this evidence would have applied are Gloucestershire, Shropshire, Flintshire, Montgomeryshire, Derbyshire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, Cheshire, Nottinghamshire, Oxfordshire, &c. Indeed, the witnesses for the India owners corroborated and confirmed this important fact!

It may be proper to observe, that the quantity of oak timber required for building *five** Indiamen of 5,400 tons in the river Thames, is only 8,100 loads; namely,

6,075 loads of 40 feet and upwards, meeting 55 feet.
2,025 loads of timber, at 80 feet meeting.

Total.... 8,100 loads, at the rate of a load and a half of timber to a ton, that being the quantity of timber allowed to a ton for ships of large dimensions.

Surely so small a quantity of large timber ought not to have given rise to the allegation that it was necessary to abandon the building of large ships in this country from the scarcity of oak timber. It is now, however, evident, the building establishments on the Thames cannot be maintained unless they continue to have *intervening* employment, namely, the building of large ships for the India trade as formerly, for it is alleged they are not to build any more large ships for the navy.

Navy.

To shew the importance of the private ship-building establishments to the empire, it is only necessary to state, that of the existing navy on the 7th of April, 1813, the following ships were built in the private yards:

Third rates	91
Fourth.....	5
Fifth.....	100
Sixth	51
Sloops rigged as ships	56
Ditto as brigs	137
Brigs and other smaller vessels	197

Total ships and vessels of war built in the private } yards } 537

Exclusive of the repairs of the navy, which have on great and pressing emergencies been done in the river Thames, especially in 1805, when the repairs were performed within a shorter period of time than was ever known; for nine ships of the line were thoroughly repaired and sent to sea in less than four months.

Shipwrights bred in the Private Yards, and now employed in the King's Yards.†

Men.	Apprentices in the private	Apprenticed in the King's
Total 3,789	yards, 2,197	yards, 1,592.

* 2 of 1,200 tons each, 3 of 1000 do. do. † P. 229, *ibid*,

Abstract.—Men.

From the private yards.....	2,197
From the king's yards	1,592*

Majority from the private yards 605 men.

Revenue.

The effect on the public revenue by extending the employment of India-built ships, and allowing them (for the purposes of the trade to and from India and China, to the United Kingdom, and to all the intermediate places within the limits of the East India Company's Charter) the privileges of British registry, is apparent by the following quotation from the evidence of Charles Hampden Turner, Esq.

"What is the average number of ships employed by the company within the last five years ? †

"From sixteen to seventeen ships of 1000 to 1200 tons; fourteen ships from 700 to 1000 tons, and sixteen ships from 500 to 700 tons : Then, supposing those ships to be replaced by ships from this country, or supposing them to be annually outfitted in this country, it would require 1375 tons of hemp, and 3300 barrels of tar to make 1650 tons of cordage, which is the quantity required. It would require 170 tons of flax, and 50 tons of hemp for the sail-cloth; and there are a variety of other articles. *The duty paid to government upon the hemp and flax would be thirteen thousand six hundred pounds !*"

If such is the result on the amount of the tonnage employed only by the East India Company, what may fairly be considered the loss of revenue on the quantity of tonnage to be employed generally in the trade to and from India, it being evident from the evidence of Abel Chapman, Esq. John Pascal Larkins, Esq. ‡ and others, that if India-built ships are admitted to registry, as proposed by the bill now before Parliament, § the India trade will be wholly carried on in them. and not in home-built ships; thus annihilating at once the hopes of the out-port builders as well as of those in the port of London.

The East India Company.

The East India Company have evidently a powerful inducement to encourage ship-building in India. It is clearly proved by the testimony of Mr. Morice, one of their chief clerks, who was examined by Mr. Harrison, as follows :

Mr. Harrison. "Have you known any instance of a vessel built in Bombay freighted by the company from Bombay to China, and from China home ?||

"No : I do not recollect any instance of it.

"What has been the freight that has been paid for India-built vessels that have brought home a cargo for the East India Company from China ?

* Navy Office Account, dated 29 April, 1814.

† P. 47. Ibid. ‡ P. 140. Ibid. § P. 149. Ibid. || P. 327. Ibid.

" It has varied, I think, from 19l. to 16 guineas ; that is, from Canton."

" Have the East India Company ever freighted vessels from Bengal or Bombay direct to England of that description without letting them go to Canton first ?

" One ship they have.

" What vessel was that ?

" The Castle Huntley.

" What freight did they pay per ton for that vessel ?

" To the best of my recollection 19l.

" Was that a vessel chartered to begin her voyage from England ?

" She was built at Bengal to go out from this country on six voyages.

Committee. " Had she full freight from Canton ?

" From Bengal she had full freight ; she was fully laden by the company.

Mr. Harrison. " When did she come home ?

" She came home in 1813.

" Was she a 1200 ton vessel ?

" She was.

" The freight on that amounts to between *two and three and twenty thousand pounds* ?

" Yes.

" Then am I to understand from one of your former answers, that the freight that this vessel earned home was *in lieu of the allowance that would have been given to the same vessel if she had been built in and sailed from England immediately* ?

" Undoubtedly."

The saving to the East India Company by the employment of India-built ships is thus shewn :

The average rate of freight paid by the India Company on a British built ship of 1200 tons, is per ton,	£ 36
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The freight paid by the Company for goods brought to England in an India-built ship on the <i>first</i> voyage to London is about, per ton, - - -	19
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Difference per ton in favour of, or a saving to the Company of - - - - -	£ 17
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Which on an India-built ship of 1200 tons amounts to,	£ 20,400
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To which add half freight on 300 tons surplus tonnage	£ 2,400
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And the saving of allowance for <i>War Building</i> not paid to the owners of India-built ships, for a ship of this size, - - - - -	£ 7,200
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Actual saving or profit to the East India Company on the first voyage only to England of an India-built ship, - - - - -	£ 30,000
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Notwithstanding the advantage to the owners of India-built ships of this *first* freight to London, the contract freight paid by the Company for the subsequent *six voyages* of an *India-built ship* is the same as that which is paid for British-built ships, namely, from England to India, &c.

The advantages of the owners of India-built ships over the owners of British-built ships are, therefore, such as to preclude all competition, unless they are made liable to a duty on their arrival in the United Kingdom.

The effect of the Peace on the Ship-building interests of Great Britain.

That these important interests are not likely to experience any general relief by the ensuing peace, it is only necessary to state, that immediately after the war the following ships will be discharged.

	<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Tonnage.</i>
From the Transport Service, - - -	1,017	274,675 *
And from the service of the Navy Board, - - -	29	3,453
Total, - - -	1,046	278,128

And these are exclusive of the small vessels belonging to the crown, which are usually sold at the termination of a war. The whole of this enormous tonnage will, therefore, merge in the general trade of the country, and preclude for many years to come any general ship-building in Great-Britain.

Of the probable durability of these ships, it is only requisite to quote the evidence of Mr. Fearnall,† the surveyor for the Transport Board.

"You are acquainted with the ships in the transport service?"

"Yes.

"What is the proportion of those ships that are likely to come into the trade of the country?"

"I should suppose *seven-eighths*.

"What is the condition of them generally?"

"The general condition of the ships in the Transport service may be said to be good.

"Have most of them been repaired?"

"Many of them have.

"How long do you think they would last?"

A new ship in the Transport service may be supposed to last *four-and-twenty years*.

"Is that the natural life of a ship?"

"I should rather imagine it is in the Transport Service.

"But none of those transports are new ships?"

"*Very many of them were new*, having only performed the voyage from the out ports to the river Thames to be taken up as transports."

Under all these circumstances it is the opinion of well informed practical men, that unless India-built ships are subject to a duty on

* P. 75. Ibid.

† P. 116. Ibid..

their arrivals in the United Kingdom; and the China trade is, in future, to be carried on in British-built ships; the great ship-building establishments must be abandoned from the want of employment: Therefore, the opening of the trade to India, instead of being an advantage to the nation, will be attended with the most injurious consequences, by its undermining and destroying the means by which its naval power has hitherto principally been maintained and supported.

The ship-builders of Great Britain presume to think, they have equal claims on the attention of the legislature and government, with the linen and silk manufacturers; and, therefore, they hope an equal protection will be extended to them. The political objections to the bill now before Parliament are concisely, but impressively stated in Mr. Harrison's speech, a correct copy of which was given in our last number.

We have great pleasure in laying before our readers the following excellent speech of Mr. Canning at a dinner given him by his constituents, at Liverpool, in the month of January last, as it exhibits a brief, but masterly view of the policy which led to the present prosperous state of public affairs; and exposes the futility and absurdity of those who would ascribe this state to a *change* of principles and of policy.

GENTLEMEN,

As your guest, I thank you from my heart for the honourable and affectionate reception which you have given me. As the representative of Liverpool, I am most happy in meeting my constituents again, after a year's experience of each other, and a year's separation: a year, the most eventful in the annals of the world; and comprising within itself such a series of stupendous changes as might have filled the history of an age.

Gentlemen, you have been so good as to couple with my name the expression of your acknowledgments for the attention which I have paid to the interests of your town. You, Gentlemen, I have no doubt, recollect the terms upon which I entered into your service; and you are aware, therefore, that I claim no particular acknowledgment at your hands for attention to the interests of Liverpool, implicated as they are with the general interests of the country. I trust at the same time that I have not been wanting to all or to any of you, in matters of local or individual concern. But I should not do fairly by you if I were not to take this opportunity of saying, that a service (which certainly I will not pretend to describe as without some burthen in itself) has been made light to me, beyond all example, by that institution which your munificence and provident care have established—I mean the office in London through which your correspondence with your Members is now carried on. I had no pretension, Gentlemen, to this singular mark of your consideration: but neither will it, I hope, be thought presumptuous in me to confess, that I might not have been

able to discharge the service which I owe you in a way which would have satisfied my own feelings as well as yours ; that I might, in spite of all my endeavours, have been guilty of occasional omissions, if I had not been provided with some such medium of communication with my constituents. Of an absent and meritorious individual, it is as pleasing as it is just to speak well : and I do no more than justice to the Gentleman whom you have appointed to conduct the office in question, (with whom I had no previous acquaintance,) in bearing public testimony to his merit ; and in assuring you that it would be difficult to find any one who would surpass him in zeal, intelligence and industry.

Having dispatched what it was necessary for me to say on these points, I know, Gentlemen, that it is your wish, and I feel it to be my duty, that I should now proceed to communicate to you my sentiments on the state of public affairs, with the same frankness which has hitherto distinguished all our intercourse with each other. Gentlemen, that duty is one which it does not now require any effort of courage to perform. To exhort to sacrifices, to stimulate to exertion, to shame despondency, to divert from untimely concession, is a duty of a sterner sort, which you found me not backward to discharge, at a period when, from the shortness of our acquaintance, I was uncertain whether my freedom might not offend you. My task of to-day is one at which no man can take offence. It is to mingle my congratulations with your rejoicings on the events which have passed and are passing in the world.

Gentlemen, if in contemplating events so widely (I had almost said so tremendously) important, it be pardonable to turn one's view for a moment to local and partial considerations, I may be permitted to observe that, while to Great Britain, while to all Europe, while to the world and to posterity, the events which have recently taken place are matter of unbounded and universal joy, there is no collection of individuals who are better entitled than the company now assembled in this room (in great part I presume identically the same, and altogether representing the same interests and feelings, as that of which I took leave in this room about fourteen months ago,) to exult in the present state of things, and to derive from it, in addition to their share of the general joy, a distinct and special satisfaction.

We cannot forget, Gentlemen, the sinister omens and awful predictions under which we met and parted in October, 1812. The penalty denounced upon you for your election of me was embarrassment to the rich, and famine to the poor. I was warned that when I should return to renew my acquaintance with my constituents, I should find the grass growing in your streets. In spite of that denunciation you did me the honour to elect me ; in spite of that warning I venture to meet you here again. It must be fairly confessed that this is not the season of the year to estimate correctly the amount of superfluous and unprofitable vegetation with which your streets may be teeming ; but without presuming to limit the power of productive nature, it is at least satisfactory to know that the fields have not been starved to clothe your quays with verdure ; that it is not by economizing in the

scantiness of the harvest that nature has reserved her vigour for the pastures of your Exchange.

But, gentlemen, I am sure you feel with me that these are topics which I treat with levity, only because they are not, nor were at the time when they were seriously urged, susceptible of a serious argument: they did not furnish grounds on which any man would rest his appeal to your favour, or on which your choice of any man could be justified. If I have condescended to revert to them at all, it is because I would leave none of those recollections untouched which the comparison of our last meeting with the present I know suggests to your minds as well as to my own; and because I would, so far as in me lies, endeavour to banish from all future use, by exposing their absurdity, topics which are calculated only to mislead and to inflame. That the seasons would have run their appointed course, that the sun would have shone with as genial a warmth, and the showers would have fallen with as fertilizing a moisture, if you had not chosen me for your representative, is an admission which I make without much apprehension of the consequence. Nor do I wish you to believe that your choice of any other than me would have delayed the return of your prosperity, or prevented the revival of your commerce.

I make these admissions, gentlemen, without fear, so far as concerns the choice between individuals. But I do not admit that it was equally indifferent upon what principles that choice should be determined. I do not admit that if the principles which it was then recommended to you to countenance had unfortunately prevailed in parliament, and through the authority of parliament had been introduced into the counsels of the country, they would not have interfered with fatal operation, not indeed to arrest the bounty of Providence, to turn back the course of the seasons, and to blast the fertility of the earth, but to stop that current of political events, which, "taken at the flood," has placed England at the head of the world.

Gentlemen, if I had met you here again on this day in a state of public affairs as doubtful as that in which we took leave of each other, if confederated nations had been still arrayed against this country, and the balance of Europe still trembling in the scale, I should not have hesitated now, as I did not hesitate then, to declare my decided and unalterable opinion, that perseverance, under whatever difficulties, under whatever privations, afforded the only chance of prosperity to you, because the only chance of safety to your country; and the only chance of safety to the country, because the only chance of deliverance to Europe. Gentlemen, I should be ashamed to address you now in the tone of triumph, if I had not addressed you then in that of exhortation. I should be ashamed to appear before you shouting in the train of success, if I had not looked you in the face and encouraged you to patience under difficulties. It is because my acquaintance with you commenced in times of peril and embarrassment, and because I then neither flattered nor deceived you, that I now not only offer to you my congratulations, but put in my claim to yours, on the extinction of that peril, on the termination of that embarrassment, and on the glo-

rious issue to which exertion and endurance have brought that great struggle in which our honour and our happiness were involved.

Gentlemen, during the course of a political life, nearly co-eval with the commencement of the war, I have never given one vote, I have never uttered one sentiment, which had not for its object the consummation now happily within our view.

I am not ashamed,—and it is not unpleasing or unprofitable—to look back upon the dangers which we have passed, and to compare them with the scene which now lies before us. We behold a Country inferior in population to most of her Continental neighbours, but multiplying her faculties and resources by her own activity and enterprise, by the vigour of her constitution, and by the good sense of her people, we behold her, after standing up against a formidable foe, throughout a contest in the course of which every one of her allies, and at times all of them together, have fainted and failed—nay, have been driven to combine with the enemy against her—we behold her at this moment rallying the nations of Europe to one point, and leading them to decisive victory.

If such a picture were merely the bright vision of speculative philosophy, if it were presented to us in the page of the history of ancient times, it would stir and warm the heart. But, gentlemen, this Country is our own; and what must be the feelings which arise on such a review in the bosom of every son of that Country? What must be the feelings of a Community such as I am now addressing, which constitutes no insignificant part of the strength of the nation so described;—which has suffered largely in her privations, and may hope to participate proportionably in her reward? What (I may be permitted to add) must be the feelings of one who is chosen to represent that community, and who finds himself in that honourable station at the moment of triumph, only because he discountenanced despair in the moment of despondency?

Gentlemen, from the contemplation of a spectacle so mighty and magnificent as this, I should disdain to turn aside to the controversies of party. Of principles, however, it is impossible not to say something, because our triumph would be incomplete, and its blessings might be transient, if we could be led astray by any sophistry,—if we could consent in a sort of compromise of common joy—to forget, or misstate the causes from which that triumph has sprung. All of one mind, I trust and believe, we are, in exulting at the success of our country; all of one mind, I trust, we now are throughout this land, in determining to persevere, if need be, in strenuous exertion to prosecute, and I hope to perfect, the great work so happily in progress. But we know that there are some of those who share most heartily in the public exultation, who yet ascribe the effects, which happily cannot be disputed, to causes which may justly be denied. No tenderness to disappointed prophecies, gentlemen, ought to induce us thus to disconnect effect and cause. It leads to errors which might be dangerous, if unwarily adopted, and generally received.

We have heard, for instance, that the war has now been suc-

cessful, because the principles on which the war was undertaken have been renounced ; that we are at length blessed with victory because we have thrown away the banner under which we entered into the contest ; that the contest was commenced with one set of principles, but that the issue has been happily brought about by the adoption of another. Gentlemen, I know of no such change. If we have succeeded, it has not been by the renunciation, but by the prosecution, of our principles ; if we have succeeded, it has not been by adopting new maxims of policy, but by upholding, under all varieties of difficulty and discouragement, old established, inviolable principles of conduct.

We are told, that this war has of late become a *war of the people* ; and that by the operation of that change alone the power of imperial France has been baffled and overcome. Nations, it is said, have at length made common cause with their sovereigns, in a contest which, heretofore, had been a contest of sovereigns only. Gentlemen, the fact of the change might be admitted without therefore admitting the argument. It does not follow, that the people were not at all times equally interested in the war, (as those who think as I do have always contended that they were,) because it may be and must be admitted, that the people, in many countries, were for a time deluded. They who argue against us, say, that jarring interests have been reconciled. We say, that gross delusions have been removed. Both admit the fact, that sovereigns and their people *are* identified. But they who contend that this has been effected by change of principles, let them specify the change. What change of principles or of government has taken place among the nations of Europe ? We are the best judges of ourselves—what change has taken place *here* ? Is the constitution other than it was when we were told, (as we often were told in the bad times,) that it was a doubt if it were worth defending ? Is the constitution other than it was, when we were warned that peace on any terms must be made, as the only hope of saving it from popular indignation and popular reform ?

There is yet another question to be asked. By what power, in what part of the world, has that final blow been struck, which has smitten the tyrant to the ground ? I suppose, by some enlightened republic ; by some recently regenerated government of pure philanthropy and uncorrupted virtue ; I suppose, by some nation which, in the excess of popular freedom, considers even a representative system as defective, unless each individual interferes directly in the national concerns ; some nation of enlightened patriots, every man of whom is a politician in the coffee-house, as well as in the senate ;—I suppose it is from some such government as this that the conqueror of autocrats, the sworn destroyer of monarchical England, has met his doom. I look through the European world, gentlemen, in vain ; I find there no such august community. But in another hemisphere I do find such a one, which no doubt must be the political David by whom the Goliath of Europe has been brought down. What is the name of that glorious republic to which the gratitude of Europe is eternally due ; which, from its innate hatred to tyranny,

has so perseveringly exerted itself to liberate the world, and at last has successfully closed the contest ? Alas ! gentlemen, such a republic I do indeed find ; but I find it enlisted, and (God be thanked !) enlisted alone, under the banner of the despot.---But where was the blow struck ? Where ? Alas for theory !---In the wilds of despotic Russia. It was followed up on the plains of Leipzig---by Russian, Prussian, and Austrian arms.

But let me not be mistaken. Do I therefore mean to contend---do I therefore give to our antagonists in the argument the advantage of ascribing to us the base tenet---that an absolute monarchy is better than a free government ?---God forbid ! What I mean is this---that in appreciating the comparative excellence of political institutions, in estimating the force of national spirit, and the impulses of national feeling, it is idle---it is mere pedantry---to overlook the affections of nature. The order of nature could not subsist among mankind, if there were not an *instinctive* patriotism ; I do not say unconnected with, but prior and paramount to, the desire of political melioration. It may be very wrong that it should be so. I cannot help it. Our business is with fact. And, surely, it is not to be regretted that tyrants and conquerors should have learned, from the lessons of experience, that the first consideration suggested to the inhabitant of any country by a foreign invasion, is not---whether the political constitution of the state be faultlessly perfect or not ;---but---whether the altar at which he has worshipped, whether the home in which he has dwelt from his infancy, whether his wife and his children, whether the tombs of his forefathers, whether the palace of the sovereign under whom he was born, and to whom he therefore owes, (or, if it must be so stated, fancies that he therefore owes) allegiance---shall be abandoned to violence and profanation ?

That, in the infancy of the French Revolution, many nations in Europe were unfortunately led to believe and to act upon a different persuasion, is undoubtedly true ; that whole countries were over-run by reforming conquerors, and flattered themselves with being proselytes till they found themselves victims. Even in this country, as I have already said, there have been times when we have been called upon to consider whether there were not something at home which must be mended before we could hope to repel a foreign invader with success.

Gentlemen it is fortunate for the world that this question should have been tried, if I may so say, to a disadvantage ; that it should have been tried in countries where no man in his senses will say that the frame of political society is such as, according to the most moderate principles of regulated freedom, it ought to be ; where, I will venture to say, without hazarding the imputation of being myself a visionary reformer,---political society is not such, as, after the successes of this war, and from the happy contagion of the example of Great Britain, it is sure gradually to become. It is fortunate for the world that this question should have been tried on its own merits ; that after twenty years of controversy we should be authorised by un-

doubted results to revert to nature and to truth ; and to disentangle the genuine feelings of the heart from the obstructions which a cold, presumptuous, generalizing philosophy had wound around them.

‘ One of the most delightful poets of this country, in describing the various proportions of natural blessings and advantages dispensed by Providence to the various nations of Europe, turns from the luxuriant plains and cloudless skies of Italy to the rugged mountains of Switzerland, and inquires whether there also---in those barren and stormy regions---the “ patriot passion” is found equally imprinted on the heart ? He decides the question truly in the affirmative ; and he says of the inhabitant of those bleak wilds---

“ Dear is that shed to which his soul conforms,
And dear that hill which lifts him to the storms ;
And as a child, when scaring sounds molest,
Clings close and closer to the mother’s breast,
So the loud torrent, and the whirlwind’s roar
But bind him to his native mountains more.”

What Goldsmith thus beautifully applied to the physical varieties of soil and climate, has been found no less true with respect to political institutions. A sober desire of improvement, a rational endeavour to redress error, and to correct imperfection in the political frame of human society, are not only natural but laudable in man. But it is well that it should have been shown by irrefragable proof, that these sentiments, even where most strongly and most justly felt, supersede not that devotion to native soil, which is the foundation of national independence. And it is right that it should be understood and remembered, that the spirit of national independence alone, aroused where it had slumbered, enlightened where it had been deluded, and kindled into enthusiasm by the insults and outrages of an all-grasping invader, has been found sufficient, without internal changes, and compromises of sovereigns or governments with their people, without relaxations of allegiance, and abjurations of authority, to animate, as with one pervading soul, the different nations of the continent ; to combine, as into one congenial mass, their various feelings, passions, prejudices ; to direct these concentrated energies, with one impulse, against the common tyrant, and to shake, (and, may we not hope ? to overthrow) the *Babel* of his iniquitous power.

Gentlemen, there is another argument more peculiarly relating to our own country, which has, at times, been interposed to discourage the prosecution of the war. That this country is sufficient to its own defence, sufficient to its own happiness, sufficient to its own independence ; and that the complicated combinations of continental policy are always hazardous to our interests, as well as burthensome to our means, has been, at several periods of the war, a favourite doctrine, not only with those who, for other reasons, wished to embarrass the measures of the government, but with men of the most enlightened minds, of the most benevolent views, and the most ardent zeal for the interests as well as the honour of their country. May we

not flatter ourselves that upon this point also experience has decided in favour of the course of policy which has been actually pursued.

Can any man now look back upon the trial which we have gone through, and maintain that, at any period during the last twenty years, the plan of insulated policy could have been adopted, without having, in the event, at this day, prostrated England at the foot of a conqueror? Great, indeed, has been the call upon our exertions; great, indeed, has been the drain upon our resources; long and wearisome has the struggle been, and late is the moment at which peace is brought within our reach: but even though the difficulties of the contest may have been enhanced, and its duration protracted by it, yet is there any man who seriously doubts whether the having associated our destinies with the destinies of other nations, be or be not that which, under the blessing of Providence, has eventually secured the safety of all?

It is at the moment when such a trial has come to its issue, that it is fair to ask of those who have suffered under the pressure of protracted exertion, (and of whom rather than of those who are assembled around me, for by whom have such privations been felt more sensibly?) it is now, I say, the time to ask whether, at any former period of the contest, such a peace could have been made, as would, at once, have guarded the national interests, and corresponded with the national character? I address myself now to such persons only as think the character of a nation an essential part of its strength, and consequently of its safety. But if, among persons of that description, there be one who, with all his zeal for the glory of his country, has yet, at times, been willing to abandon the contest in mere weariness and despair, of such a man I would ask, whether he can indicate the period at which he now wishes that such an abandonment had been consented to by the government and the parliament of Great Britain?

Is it when the Continent was at peace; when looking upon the map of Europe you saw one mighty and connected system, one great luminary with his attendant satellites circulating around him; at that period could this country have made peace, and have remained at peace for a twelvemonth? What is the answer? Why, that the experiment was tried. The result was the renewal of the war.

Was it at a later period, when the continental system had been established? when two-thirds of the ports of Europe were shut against you; when but a single link was wanting to bind the continent in a circling chain of iron, which should exclude you from intercourse with other nations? At that moment peace was most earnestly recommended to you; at that moment, Gentlemen, I first came among you; at that moment I ventured to recommend to you perseverance, patient perseverance; and to express a hope that by the mere strain of an unnatural effort, the massive bonds imposed upon the nations of the continent, might, at no distant period, burst asunder. I was heard by you with indulgence, I know not whether with conviction. But is it now to be regretted that we did not, at that moment, yield to

the pressure of our wants, or our fears? What has been the issue? The continental system was completed, with the sole exception of Russia, in the year 1812. In that year the pressure upon this country was undoubtedly painful. Had we yielded, the system would have been immortal. We persevered; and, before the conclusion of another year, the system was at an end; at an end, as all schemes of violence naturally terminate, not by a mild and gradual decay, such as waits upon a regular and well spent life, but by sudden dissolution; at an end, like the breaking up of a winter's frost. But yesterday the whole continent, like a mighty plain covered with one mass of ice, presented to the view a drear expanse of barren uniformity; to-day the breath of heaven unbinds the earth; the streams begin to flow again, and the intercourse of human kind revives.

Can we regret that we did not, like the fainting traveller, lie down to rest, but indeed to perish, under the severity of that inclement season? did we not more wisely to bear up, and to wait the change? Gentlemen, I have said that I should be ashamed, and in truth I should be so, to address you in the language of exultation, if it were merely for the indulgence, however legitimate, of an exuberant and ungovernable joy. But they who have suffered great privations have a claim not merely to consolation, but to something more. They are justly to be compensated for what they have undergone, or lost, or hazarded, by the contemplation of what they have gained.

We have gained then a rank and authority in Europe such as for the life of the longest liver of those who now hear me, must place this Country upon an eminence which no probable reverses can shake. We have gained, or rather we have recovered, a splendour of military glory which places us by the side of the greatest military nations in the world. At the beginning of this war, while there was not a British bosom that did not beat with rapture at the exploits of our navy, there were few who would not have been contented to compromise for that reputation alone; to claim the sea as exclusively our province, and to leave to France and the other Continental Powers the struggle for superiority by land. That fabled Deity (*a figure of Neptune*) whom I see pourtrayed upon the wall, was considered as the exclusive patron of British prowess in battle; but in seeming accordance with the beautiful fiction of ancient mythology, our Neptune, in the heat of contest, smote the earth with his trident, and up sprang the fiery war-horse, the emblem of military power.

Let Portugal, now led to the pursuit of her flying conquerors,—let liberated Spain,—let France invaded in her turn by those whom she had over-run or menaced by invasion, attest the triumphs of the army of Great Britain, and the equality of her military with her naval fame? And let those, who even after the triumphs of the Peninsula had begun, while they admitted that we had indeed wounded the giant in the heel, still deemed the rest of his huge frame invulnerable;—let them now behold him reeling under the blows of united nations, and acknowledge at once the might of British arms and the force of British example!

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Gentlemen, I do not say that these are considerations with a view to which the war, if otherwise terminable, ought to have been purposely protracted :—but I say, that upon the retrospect, we have good reason to rejoice that the war was not closed ingloriously and insecurely ; when the latter events of it, have been such as have established our security by our glory.

I say we have reason to rejoice that, during the period when the continent was prostrate before France, that especially during the period when the continental system was in force, we did not shrink from the struggle ; that we did not make peace for the present and momentary ease, unmindful of the permanent safety and greatness of this country ; that we did not leave unsolved the momentous questions whether this country could maintain itself against France, unaided and alone ;—or with the continent divided—or with the continent combined against it ;—whether when the wrath of the tyrant of the European world was kindled against us with seven-fold fury, we could or could not walk unharmed and unfettered through the flames ?

I say we have reason to rejoice that throughout this more than *Punic* war, in which it has so often been the pride of our enemy to represent herself as the Rome, and England as the Carthage of modern times, with at least this colour for the comparison, that the utter destruction of the modern Carthage has uniformly been proclaimed to be indispensable to the greatness of her rival)—we have, I say, reason to rejoice that, unlike our assigned prototype, we have not been diverted by internal dissensions, from the vigorous support of a vital struggle ; that we have not suffered distress nor clamour to distract our counsels, or to check the exertions of our arms.

Gentlemen, for twenty years that I have sat in Parliament, I have been an advocate of the war. You knew this, when you did me the honour to choose me as your representative. I then told you that I was the advocate of the war, because I was a lover of peace : but of a peace that should be the fruit of honourable exertion—a peace that should have a character of dignity—a peace that should be worth preserving, and should be likely to endure. I confess I was not sanguine enough at that time to hope that I should so soon have an opportunity of justifying my professions. But I know not why, six weeks hence, such a peace should not be made as England may not only be glad but proud to ratify. Not such a peace, Gentlemen, as that of Amiens,—a short and feverish interval of unrefreshing repose. During that peace which of you went, or sent a son, to Paris, who did not feel or learn, that an Englishman appeared in France shorn of the dignity of his country ;—with the mien of a suppliant, and the conscious prostration of a man who had consented to purchase his gain or his ease by submission ! But let a peace be made to-morrow, such as the allies have now the power to dictate ; and the meanest of the subjects of this kingdom, shall not walk the streets of Paris without

being pointed out as the compatriot of Wellington; as one of that Nation, whose firmness and perseverance have humbled France and rescued Europe.

Is there any man, that has a heart in his bosom, who does not find in the contemplation of this contrast alone a recompence for the struggles and the sufferings of years?

But, Gentlemen, the doing right is not only the most honourable course of action; it is also the most profitable in its result. At any former period of the war, the independence of almost all the other countries our allies, would have been to be purchased with sacrifices profusely poured out from the lap of British victory. Not a throne to be re-established—not a province to be evacuated—not a garrison to be withdrawn—but this country would have had to make compensation, out of her conquests, for the concessions obtained from the enemy. Now, happily, this work is already done, either by our efforts, or to our hands. The Peninsula free; the awful commonwealth of European States already in a great measure restored, Great Britain may now appear in the Congress of the world rich in conquests, nobly and rightfully won, with little claim upon her faith or her justice, whatever may be the spontaneous impulse of her generosity or her moderation.

Such, Gentlemen, is the situation and prospect of affairs at the moment at which I have the honour to address you. That you, Gentlemen, may have your full share in the prosperity of your country is my sincere and earnest wish. The courage with which you bore up in adverse circumstances eminently entitles you to this reward.

For myself, Gentlemen, while I rejoice in your returning prosperity, I rejoice also that our connexion began under auspices so much less favourable; that we had an opportunity of knowing each others' minds in times when the minds of men are brought to the proof—times of trial and difficulty. I had the satisfaction of avowing to you, and you the candour and magnanimity to approve, the principles and opinions by which my public conduct has uniformly been guided, at a period when the soundness of those opinions, and the application of those principles, was matter of doubt and controversy. I thought, and I said, at the time of our first meeting, that the cause of England and of civilized Europe must be ultimately triumphant, if we but preserved our spirit untainted, and our constancy unshaken. Such an assertion was at that time the object of ridicule with many persons: a single year has elapsed, and it is now the voice of the whole world.

Gentlemen, we may therefore confidently indulge the hope that our opinions will continue in unison; that our concurrence will be as cordial, as it has hitherto been, if unhappily any new occasion of difficulty or embarrassment should hereafter arise.

At the present moment I am sure we are equally desirous to bury the recollection of all our differences with others in that general feeling of exultation in which all opinions happily combine.

ORIGINAL POETRY.

The Rose and the Fox-glove.

(A FABLE.)

ON a fair bank (the garden's pride)
 With plants of various use supplied,
 A rose through many a season bloom'd,
 The fence preserved, the air perfumed ;
 (Perhaps 'twere better to suppose
 This fabled plant a briar rose.)
 With care the gardener kept the ground,
 And check'd the weeds that grew around ;
 Save that too near the rose's root,
 A haughty fox-glove rear'd its shoot ;
 Swell'd like a toad with baneful phlegm,
 It rudely press'd the rose's stem,
 And when the briar's prickly side,
 Repell'd its touch and gall'd its pride ;
 With noxious breath in vulgar prose,
 The angry weed assail'd the rose ;
 Denied its merit and its use,
 And gave it common-place abuse,
 Rail'd like Bear garden politician
 And charg'd the rose with rank sedition.
 " Malicious weed !" the rose replied,
 " My leaves and root no poison hide,
 Around my stem no mischief lurks,
 In me no rank sedition works ;
 Not deadly night-shade, hemlock's juice,
 More noxious bane than *thine* produce ;
 Nay, when by Chymists medicated,
 Part of thy venom is abated.
 Whether in powder, draught, or pill,
 The FOX-GLOVE IS A POISON STILL.
 Hence, then, thy garden state resign,
 To hedge and ditch thy growth confine,
 Here thy abuse, thy pride I scorn,
 Attack the rose, you'll find a thorn."

May 22, 1814.

 LINES,

On the realization of Mr. Pitt's memorable words ;—
 " England hath saved herself by her firmness---Europe will be de-
 livered by her Example."

" True to herself, her liberty, her laws ;
 " Lo ! England triumphs in the righteous cause.
 " By her example fir'd, the day will come,
 " When prostrate Europe, shall her right resume."

Thus spake our statesman, whilst he fearless stood,
 And stemm'd the tide of Revolution's flood.
 True to his King—the Pilot of the state ;—
 In friendship firm—commanding in debate.
 Admiring bands his manly spirit caught,
 Pale treason stood aghast, and faction sunk to nought.
 O ! had our much-lov'd PITT but liv'd to see,
 The wond'rous change he view'd prospectively !
 How sound his judgment ! how profound his plan !
 All now must own, and venerate the man.
 Nor should the world forget the tribute due,
 To BURKE's pure zeal, and penetrating view.
 He early saw ill-fated *Gallia's* doom,
 And with prophetic truth, foretold the ills to come.

First *Lusitania* offers grateful meeds,
 To British councils, and to British deeds.
 There, where the *Tagus* rolls his ample flood,
 The haughty foe was gloriously withstood ;
 There taught the eagled plumes of *France* to yield,
 And leave the Lion, master of the Field.
 To Spain refer—her heralds loud proclaim,
 PITT's mighty mind, and WELLINGTON's proud fame.
 Her glorious triumph, o'er a treach'rous foe,
 Beams forth a lustre that will ever glow.
France in her turn become's th' invaded land ;
 Her num'rous hosts unable to withstand }
 The British chief, retires before his val'rous band.
 'Twas he who first dissolved the Gallic spell,
 And prov'd her legions not invincible—
 In vain ye strove insatiate chiefs ! what pow'r,
 Could shield injustice from the avenging hour ?
 Vain every hope—tyrannically brave,
 Ye fought, mankind to conquer and enslave.
 With different views the sword, *Britannia* draws,
 Unfurls her standards in a nobler cause ;—
 To make all Nations free—'tis justice warms
 Her gallant sons, and calls the world to arms.
 Returning Freedom lifts aloft her head,
 And hails the cause for which her heroes bled.
 From Pole to Pole, the heav'n-born Goddess flies,
 And darts her radiance thro' the Northern'skies,
 From *Moscow's* flames she bids the holy fire,
 Burst in full blaze, and every breast inspire.
 Excites in all a patriotic zeal,
 Makes every heart the love of Country feel.
 Thro' Russia's realms the noble ardour runs ;
 The bright example spreads to Prussia's sons.

The German states throw off the oppressive yoke,
 The despot's galling chains at once are broke.
 Now rival Nations with collected might,
 Urge their strong columns to the awful fight ;
 Rush forth, impatient at their Sov'reigns' call,
 Resolv'd to die, or seal the Tyrant's fall.
 One common feeling touches every soul ;
 One common impulse actuates the whole.
Batavia sees the happy hour arrive,
 When she her ancient freedom can revive.
 On every side bright prospects re-appear,
 And prove " the hand of Providence was there."
 O glorious epoch ! the historic page
 No parallel can shew in any age.
 Tho' *France* had greatly wrong'd all other states ;
 No retributive vengeance on her waits,
 Tho' *Moscow's* walls in smoking ruins lie,
 An awful scene of French barbarity ;
 No hostile sword, no insult, *Paris* knows,
 No like return from irritated foes.
 The victors conquer but to set her free,
 Forget her crimes, and give her liberty :
 Bid her lost sons return and greet the day,
 Uncloaked by the gloom of slavish sway ;
 Behold her ancient line of Kings restor'd,
 A sacred branch of him they once ador'd :
 A *Louis* comes—the olive in his hand,
 Bring's healing comfort to his native land ;
 Bids cruel wars, and savage discord cease,
 And *Europe* hail a safe and lasting Peace.

O ! bless'd result ! this was our *PITT's* fond hope ;
 To him, let grateful praise take ample scope.
 He form'd the system—acting on his plan,
 We see completed, what he first began.
 Rear'd in his school, a patriotic line
 In *WELLESLEY*, *CANNING*, and a *HAWKESBURY* shine.
 They caught his mantle, rallied round the throne,
 And made their country's better cause their own—
 Nor shall thy claims, O *PERCEVAL*, pass by
 Unrecognized, amidst the general joy.
 Thy public conduct, and thy private worth,
 Shall long their kindred sentiments call forth.
 A Villain's prey—thy fate the virtues mourn ;
 A Nation's sympathy attends thy urn.

JOHN WICKES TOMLINSON.

Rugby, May 17th, 1814.

THE MARCH TO MOSCOW.

We have been favoured with a copy of the following droll ballad, written by one of the most distinguished poets of the age, but never before published :—

BUONAPARTE he would set out
 For a summer excursion to Moscow ;
 The fields were green and the sky was blue,
 Morbleu ! Parbleu !
 What a pleasant excursion to Moscow !
 Four hundred thousand men and more,
 Hey ho for Moscow !
 There were Marshals by the dozen, and Dukes by the score,
 Princes a few, and kings one or two,
 While the fields are so green and the sky so blue,
 Morbleu ! Parbleu !
 What a pleasant excursion to Moscow !
 There was Junot and Augereau,
 Heigh ho for Moscow !
 Dombrowsky and Poniatowsky,
 General Rapp and the Emperor Nap,
 Nothing would do,
 While the fields were so green and the sky so blue,
 Morbleu ! Parbleu !
 But they must be marching to Moscow.
 But then the Russians they turn'd to,
 All on the road to Moscow,
 Nap had to fight his way all thro',
 They could fight but they could not parley vous,
 But the fields were green and the sky was blue,
 Morbleu ! Parbleu !
 And so he got to Moscow.
 They made the place too hot for him,
 For they set fire to Moscow ;
 To get there had cost him much ado,
 And then no better course he knew,
 While the fields were green and the sky was blue,
 Morbleu ! Parbleu !
 Than to march back again from Moscow.
 The Russians they stuck close to him,
 All on the road from Moscow :
 There was Tormazow and Jemalow,
 And all the others that end in *ow* ;
 Rajefsky and Noverefsky,
 And all the others that end in *efsky* ;
 Schamscheff, Souchosaneff, and Schepeleff,
 And all the others that end in *eff* ;

Wasiltschikoff, Kostomaroff, and Tchoglökoff,
 And all the others that end in *off*;
 Milaradovich, and Jaladovitch, and Karatchkowitch,
 And all the others that end in *itch*.
 Oscharoffsky, and Rostoffsky, and Kazatichloffsky,
 And all the others that end in *offsky*;
 And last of all an Admiral came,
 A terrible man with a terrible name,
 A name which you all must know very well,
 Nobody can speak and nobody can spell;
 And Platoff he played them off,
 And Markoff he mark'd them off,
 And Tutchkoff he touch'd them off,
 And Kutousoff he cut them off,
 And Woronzoff he worried them off,
 And Dochteroff he doctor'd them off,
 And Rodinoff he flogg'd them off.
 They stuck close to them with all their might,
 They were on the left and on the right,
 Behind and before, and by day and by night;
 Nap would rather parley vous than fight;
 But parley vous no more would do,
 Morbleu! Parbleu!
 For they remembered Moscow!
 And then came on the frost and snow,
 All on the road from Moscow!
 The Emperor Nap found as he went,
 That he was not quite Omnipotent;
 And worse and worse the weather grew,
 The fields were so white and the sky so blue,
 Cacrebleu! Ventrebleu!
 What a terrible journey from Moscow!
 The Devil take the hindmost,
 All on the road from Moscow!
 Quoth Nap, who thought it small delight,
 To fight all day and to freeze all night;
 And so not knowing what else to do,
 When the fields were so white and the sky so blue,
 Morbleu! Parbleu!
 He stole away, I tell you true,
 All on the road from Moscow!
 'Twas as much too cold upon the road,
 As it was too hot at Moscow:
 But there is a place which he must go to,
 Where the fire is red and the brimstone blue,
 Morbleu! Parbleu!
 He'll find it hotter than Moscow.

APPENDIX

TO

VOL. XLVI.

OF THE

Antijacobin Review.

THE PITT SCHOLAR.

MR. LAWSON, of St. John's College, Cambridge, the successful candidate for the PITT SCHOLARSHIP, the particulars of which were detailed in one of our former numbers, has, at the solicitation of his friends, collected his public exercises, and printed them for private circulation. They are, very appropriately, dedicated to the members of the PITT CLUB. As they are not *published*, and as they reflect credit on the classical talents of MR. LAWSON, we shall lay before our readers such of the exercises as secured his success, in the formidable contest for the PITT SCHOLARSHIP. They are preceded by the following brief and modest preface.

" Having been solicited by many of my friends for copies of the different exercises here printed, I resolved to strike off a few impressions for private distribution among my acquaintance.

" The six first of these claim great indulgence, having been composed according to the rigid laws of public examination; in a room with the other candidates, and that only for a limited time, with no assistance but pens, ink, and paper.

" The time allowed for the original exercises, the fifth and sixth, was five hours each; for the four translations, two hours each. The first and sixth exercises were unsuccessful, being done at an examination for an University scholarship in April, 1813. The second, third, fourth, and fifth were successful, being done at the examination for the PITT SCHOLARSHIP in January, 1814. The seventh gained one of Sir William Browne's medals in 1812. The eighth, ninth, and tenth, written for the same medals in 1813, were all unsuccessful. The eleventh was merely a college exercise done in November, 1811.

" These exercises, as they are here printed, are, I believe, nearly exact verbal copies of the original; though, as in the six first, a good deal depended on memory, here and there a trifling difference may occur.

APPENDIX, ANTIJAC. REV. Vol. 46.

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"Least any misconception should arise from the mottoes prefixed, by which it is only meant, that sometimes an unsuccessful exercise, one year, is better than a successful one, another year ; I beg leave to acknowledge the decided superiority of the exercises preferred to mine, and to disclaim every kind of competition."

" I ne'er could any lustre see
In eyes that would not look on me ;
I ne'er saw nectar in a lip,
But where my own did hope to sip.
Has the maid who seeks my heart
Cheeks of rose, untouch'd by art ?
I will own the color true,
When yielding blushes aid their hue.

" Is her hand so soft and pure ?
I must press it, to be sure ;
Nor can I be certain then,
Till it grateful press again.
Must I, with attentive eye,
Watch her anxious bosom sigh ?
I will do so, when I see
That anxious bosom sigh for me.

R. B. SHERIDAN.

DUENNA. Act 1. Scene 2.

" Phyllidis effugiunt nos lumina. Dulcia sunt.
Pulcra licet, nobis haud ea pulcra micant.
Nectar erat labiis, dum spes erat ista tenendi,
Spes perit, isque simul, qui erat ante, decor.
Votis me Galatea petit. Caret arte puella,
Parque rosis tenero vernat in ore color :
Sed nihil ista juvant. Forsan tamen ista juvabunt,
Si jaceant, victa mente, rubore genæ :
Pora manus molliisque fluit. Neque credere possum.
Ut sit vera fides, ista premenda mihi est,
Nec bene credit amor (nam res est plena timoris)
Conscia ni dextram dextera pressa premat.
Ecce movet pectus suspiria. Pectora nostris
Ista legenda oculis, si meus urat amor.
Et, nostri modo cura memor nostrique calor
Tangat eam, facere id non pudor ullus eris

" January 20, 1814."

" Spectator, No. 505.

" Those who have maintained that men would be more miserable than beasts, were their hopes confined to this life only, among other considerations take notice, that the latter are only afflicted with the anguish of the present evil, whereas the former are very often pained by the reflexion on what is passed, and the fear of what is to come.

This fear of any future difficulties or misfortunes is so natural to the mind, that, were a man's sorrows and disquietudes summoned up at the end of his life, it would generally be found, that he had suffered more from the apprehension of such evils, as never happened to him, than from those evils, which had really befallen him. To this we may add, that, among those evils which befall us, there are many, which have been more painful to us in the prospect, than by their actual pressure.

" This natural impatience to look into futurity, and to know what accidents may happen to us hereafter, has given birth to many ridiculous arts and inventions. Some found their prescience on the lines of a man's hand, others on the features of his face ; some on the signatures which nature has impressed on his body ; and others, on his own hand-writing. Some read men's fortunes in the stars, as others have searched after them in the entrails of beasts, or the flights of birds. Men of the best sense have been touched, more or less, with these groundless horrors and presages of futurity, upon surveying the most indifferent works of nature. Can any thing be more surprising than to consider Cicero, who made the greatest figure at the bar, and in the senate of the Roman commonwealth, and at the same time outshone all the philosophers of antiquity in his library and in his retirements, as busying himself in the college of augurs, and observing, with religious attention, after what manner the chickens pecked the several grains of corn, which were thrown to them ?

" Cum multa et varia ab iis soleant disputari, quibus hominum hæc ætas, quam bestiarum tristior esse videtur, nisi aliâ vita nostra esset terminis circumscripta, aliis animi expectatio ; tum illud præcipue notant, quod, cum cæteris animalibus præsentium tantum malorum adit molestia, homines tamen et præteriti doloris cogitatione et metu venturi sæpiissime angantur. Et quidem tales nos intus mehercule formavit natura, et tam anxio animo quod ad futura mala, ut, si modo, quæ in singulis singulorum ætatibus curæ versantur et ægritudines, quasi in unum coacervari possent, quisque fere, frustra susceptis timoribus, quam veris læus magis fuisse videretur. Quibus quidem illud forsân est adjiciendum, ut vel ex iis ipsis, quæ patimur mala, multa cogitatione prospecta, quam re percepta, magis noceant.

" Ex isto autem animi ardore, quo ad futura prospicienda et venturos casus quasi præcipiendos impellimur, plurimæ nascuntur artes et inventa, reverâ risu digna. Aliis enim manus, aliis frons et vultus futuri præbuerunt augurium, aliis corpori impressæ notæ, aliis singuli cujusque chirographum. Aliis ex astris ducitur de rebus venturis conjectura, aliis e victimarum volatibus inspectio, aut avium vultibus. In his vero, magnis quibusdam et sapientibus viris, siquando rerum naturum quantumvis leviter oculis perstringerent, aliquis saltem, nescio quo pacto objectus est futuri metus et augurium. Quid vero jam ipso Cicerone mirabilius, qui, cum summâ laude forensi et reipublicæ bene gerendæ gloriâ vigeret, omnesque veteris istius philosophiæ magistros in otio et Tusculano illo idem antecelleret, augurum tamen collegio

studiosam dedit operam, quoque pacto objecta pulli frumenta devorarent, religiosissime observare solebat.

"January 25th, 1814."

"Sophoclis Fragmentum.

Ἦ παῖδες, ἦ τοι Κύπρις, οὐ Κύπρις μόνος,
 Ἀλλ' ἵστί πολλῶν ὀσμάτων ἰπᾶντος.
 Ἔστι μὲν Ἀΐδης, ἵστί δ' ἄψ' ἵπτος βία,
 Ἔστι δὲ λύσσα μαυρὰς, ἵστί δ' ἄμερος
 Ἀκρατος, ἵπ' οἰμαγμός. ἐν κείνῃ τὸ πᾶν
 Σπευδαῖον, ἥσυχαιον, εἰς Κίαν ἄγει.
 Ἐτίκειται γὰρ πνίμοσιν ὧ', ὅσοις ἐστὶ.
 Ψυχὴ τίς οὐχὶ τῆσδε τῆς θεᾶς βορᾶ;
 Εἰσίσχεται μὲν ἰχθύων πλωτὴ γίνος.
 Ἔστι δ' ἐν χερσὶ τετρασκελὶ γοῇ
 Νῆμα δ' ἐν αἰνέοισι τοικεῖν πτερόν,
 Ἐν θηρόν, ἐν βροτοῖσιν, ἐν θεοῖς ἄνω,
 Τί' οὐ παλαιόν· εἰς τρεῖς ἐβαλλὰς θιῶν;
 Εἰ μοι θίμης, θίμης δὲ τάλανθ' ἴλγαι,
 Διὸς τυραννὶ πνιμῶνι, ἄναι δόρος·
 Ἀνυ σιδήρου πάντα τοι ζυγίμνεται
 Κύπρις τὰ θνητῶν καὶ θιῶν βουλευματα.

"Ah, children! surely love is more than love,
 A name for every name, all things that move.
 'Tis death, almighty force, pain dead to joy,
 Wild phrenzy, passion, pure without alloy,
 Fount of domestic sweets, of virtuous ease,
 Of life, and all that makes that life to please.
 Love melts each heart—he reigns beyond control,
 Waves his light wings, and feasts on every soul.
 His are the tribes, that pierce the wand'ring wave;
 The beasts, that haunt dark dell or forest cave.
 Soar high, ye birds—ye 'scape not winged love,
 He rules frail men below, the blest above.
 Once and again though Gods his power shall slight,
 Ev'n they the third time must decline the fight.
 In truth and truth is never best conceal'd,
 Jove's self to love's unwarlike shafts shall yield.
 He, without steel, rules earth, air, heaven, and sea;
 And parts in twain what Gods and men decree.

"January 22, 1814."

"Hæc studia adolescentiam alunt, senectutem oblectant, secundas res ornant, adversis solatium et periculum præbent.

"Siquis, occupatæ vitæ graviore contentione relaxatâ, e curis aliquando et molestiis, quæ multæ in hominum vitâ fortunâque versantur, quasi in portum se recipere voluerit plurimum quidem interest, ut ea adhuc juveni vitæ comparata sint adjumenta, quibus et refici possit et sustineri ætas maturior. Sive enim virtus sit alicui in pretio,

sive, ut plerisque propositum est, felicitas, sive, qui optimo cuique votorum finis esse solet, ut sibi dignitas, patriæ autem, si liceat, utilitas et gloria e vitâ suâ procedat, nihil sane mihi cogitanti occurrit, quod cum scientiâ humaniori conferri potest. Satis enim superque omnibus est compertum, quam multis hoc ævi spatium tristiciis et laboribus obsideatur; paucis autem, antequam acciderint, quo minus eveniant, provisum est. Quo igitur tempore in nobis erat, ut bene vivendi præsidia haberemus, molliores sumus, quando autem nihil jam profecerit consilium, tum demum stultitiam nostram, quæ sit, intelligimus. Ex quo fit, ut quisque fera in naturam sua malit vitia, quam in seipsum conferre. Proinde quasi parens optima nullam ægritudinum medicinam, nulla nobis curarum solatia præstitisset. Illa autem, quo nihil amplius optari potuit, ea dedit nobis, quibus recte adhibitis, aliquam saltem, si non omnem felicitatem liceret attingere. Dedit rationem, quæ docet optima, memoriam, in quâ omnis sita est discendi facultas, tum inventionem, quæ adhuc in tenebris res conditas in lucem protrahit, iudicium denique, quo ita disponuntur inventa, ut cum lepore aliquo inter se consentiant. Quæ omnia nunquam sane nobis impertita fuissent, nisi, ut ad summam nos sapientiam et virtutem perducerent.

Excitentur igitur istæ, si lateant, scintillæ, quo facto, tum demum, qui et quales simus, intellectum erit. Hocque in pulcherrimis ponamus, ut, quâ in re hominum natura bestiarum præstet, in eâ homo hominem antecellat. De omni autem scientiâ quam fructuosa sit, quam honesta, nemo, nisi, qui eam nescivit, potest dubitare. Quæ enim singula plerisque pulcherrima videntur, ea omnia complexa est vera scientia, non ea quidem in argutiis posita, qualis olim erat in deliciis isti apud Aristophanem Chærephonti, sed ipsâ a naturâ et veritate ducta. Quid vero? Nonne vel ipsa vitia emollit, eosque animi impetus, qui recto solent adversari, amicos virtuti ex inimicis facit? Hinc nimirum e temeritate nascitur fortitudo, e ferocitate iustitia, ex invidiâ æmulatio, e calliditate denique prudentia.

Quam misera autem illa senectus sit, necesse est; quæ cum propter ætatem corporis frui deliciis parum valet, quod infirmitatis est, animi etiam propter ignorantiam caret voluptatibus, quod summæ, ne gravius dicam, est stultitiæ. Pabulum enim est senectutis sapientia literata, amicos enim fatum eripuit, ætas libidines. Quocirea ad suum cuiusque pectus est confugiendum, quo sane litteris instructo, et humanitate abundanti, nullus unquam fuit aut utilior, aut jucundior conviva. Quod enim Tullius de Africano narrat, nunquam minus fuisse eum solum, quam cum solus, id de seipso doctissimus quisque potest gloriari. Quare igitur tanto sapienti opus est instrumento in vitæ comparandâ societate, qui, omni antiquitatis copiâ expositâ, vel intra suos parietes convivas tenet non modo numero sed etiam laude majores? Quodque Zeuxis Heracleotes in suâ arte præstitit; qui, cum summæ et absolutæ pulchritudinis esset ducturus effigiem, sex virgines formâ illustres delegit, ut ex singulis pulchris singula pulcherrima quasi in unum transferret, id multo magis docto homini in vitâ est efficiendum. Quid vero jam divitiis tanto opus est sapienti, qui, ut verissima est sententia, in se divitias semper habet, immo neque has in casu sitas neque temporibus

gubernatas? Non enim, quo plura habeam, eo eris locupletior, sed quo minus inultis eges, et quo minus multa in deliciis habes, quæ feriat fortuna. Quocirca non sine causâ, Xerxi, vel se fatente, defuit quiddam, cum tamen Diogeni e tam paucis rebus abundaret aliquid. Si enim cum constantiâ et dignitate victori simus, pro quâ omnis omnibus debet esse contentio, certa magis quam splendida cupienda sunt, cum sit tanta fortunæ inconstantia.

Ei igitur, qui magnam ætatis suæ partem in studiis honestis collocaverit, omnia rectius procedant necesse est. Hinc vita fit honesta, hinc jucunda, hinc illustris. Hinc, quibus vulnus aliquod a fortunâ sit acceptum, solatium venit et medicina. Hinc ii, qui variis officiis constricti et implicati sunt, aluntur et sustinentur. Hinc vera nascitur libertas, cujus proprium est nullâ re egere, nulli, neque homini, neque perturbationi animi succumbere. Hinc vera ducitur virtutis ratio, hinc pectoris tranquillitas, cum persuasum sit, omnia potentiâ superari mala, et siquid adversi evenierit, ferendum esse potius quam querendum. Nequis igitur Cæsarem miretur, qui tum, cum maxima erat militæ severitas, musis tamen interdum vacavit, neque Alexandrum eo nomine Achillem beatum putasse, qui talem laudis præconem haberet. Siquis enim bellicas putet artes his otiosis anteponendas esse, minuenda est hæc opinio. Nihil enim hæc illis, his autem illa multum debent. Imperator enim, quantumvis sit eximius, suæ modo patriæ laudes suorumque civium vindicare potest; viri autem sapientiæ opera, cum suorum et peregrinorum, æqualium et posterorum utilitatibus æque versantur.

Omnes autem eâ utimur naturæ imbecillitate, ut, nisi quæ semel animis insederint certis temporibus continuo revocentur, pereant et in nihilum redeant. Itaque, nisi nova quotidie accedant incrementa, etiam vetera amittuntur, fontesque marcescunt. Quamobrem perpetua quædam solertiæ adhibenda est disciplina, et videndum, ne omnem nobis ludorum licentiam indulgeamus, eos tantum, qui literis digni sunt, neque ab iis nimis abhorrent. Jam vero hoc de literis jactari potest, quod tantam in se capiant varietatem, ut alteris alteras excipientibus, suavissima ingenio novitas præbeatur. Inter enim legendum, semper aliquid nescio quo pacto menti objicitur, quod singuli cujusque fortunæ se accommodat, sensimque animus erigitur, et sua, siquæ sint, incommoda vel parvi facit vel obliviscitur.

Alter præterea est locus cautionis, ne, qui invictum se a labore præstiterit, a voluptate vincatur, quæ, tanquam ipsa mortalis cum immortalis sapientiâ pugnare videtur. Cum enim omnibus tum præcipue sapientibus nihil indignius est, quam ita vivere aliquem, ut si ad nihil agendum natus esset. Quis enim in vitâ datur locus inertiae, quis non alacritati? Quod igitur de Æneâ, de Thetidis filio poetæ finxerunt, quorum altar Didonis illecebris soperatis, alter Calypsonis ad patriam festinarunt, id singuli in vitâ audeamus. Est enim sapientia nobis et parens et patria. Quo cum perventum fuerit, tum demum intellectum erit, quam similis eorum vita sit exilio, qui aut rectum non vident, aut videntes parum faciunt. Pergamus igitur, et Piinianum illud semper animis insculptum teneamus, "omne scilicet tempus perire, quod studio alicui non impertitur." Unus enim dies,

qui cum sapientiâ et philosophiâ divisus fuerit, vel immortalitati sese, et unde sit, ignoranti anteponendus est.

" January 19, 1814."

Our readers, we are persuaded, will thank us, for transcribing another prize Essay of this able student, on a subject of general interest—**THE PRAISE OF HONOURABLE POVERTY.**

HONESTÆ PAUPERTATES LAUS.

*" Quem tu sub almâ, Pauperies, casâ,
Amplexa, casto nutrieris sinu,
Illum neque ad fluctus vocabit
Aura dolos meditata, nautam ;*

*" Neque empta merces crimine principem
Vestibit ostro ; martia nec ducem
Tropæa, nec frondens olivæ
Cinget honos ; sed inermis ætas*

*" Fauno et choreis tradet agrestibus,
Vallisque, custos nota puertiæ
Mulcebit infractæ senectæ
Canitiem, placidasque rugas.*

*" O Nympha, sacrorum incola saltuum,
Tecum, loquaces circa avium domos
Et fontium insomnes susurros
Tempus agam, Dryadumque sedes*

*" Sub imminente tegmine rupium
Sero revisam vespere, et immemor
Splendoris, oblitusque curæ
Sorte fruam potiore regum.*

*" Quo more priscos aurea sæcula
Finxere divos, tuque, Pelasgia
Firmasse narraris juventam,
Gente rudes agitante cultus.*

*" Felix, recessus inter amabilis
Qui pace floret ! Sive jacens humi
Percurrat antiquis avorum
Nomina perpetuata fagis ;*

*" Seu feriato deditus otio,
Myrtosque carpens et fragiles rosas
Parvos rubescenti coronet
Flore lares, humilis sacerdos.*

*" Ergo uda cœli pascua roribus
Spiransque odores hortus, et arborea
De rupe pendentes, et antra
Pumicibus laqueata vivis*

" Anni salutant perpetuas vices
Frugum ministras. Dives ager tumet,
Tellusque, sub cœlo faventi
Fronde novâ redimita turget.

" Ergo labores nunc bene providus
Committit arvis, vel saturas oves
Per prata compellens avenâ
Mota petit fruticeta ventis.

" Nunc larga fraudat jugera messibus,
Fructusque ramis pinguibus invidet ;
Aut ille decerpens aprici
Veris opes, nova fraga portat,

" Vel sarta, Floræ numera, Phyllidis
Ad mulctra, sylvis et grege testibus.
Nec cortici insculptos amores
Tempus edit memorique saxo.

" O quid soluto pectore lætius ?
Nam pauca desunt pauca petentibus,
Curæque visuræ tyrannos
Stramineos fugiunt penates.

" Quâvis sub umbrâ spes datur et metus
Permittere auris prætereuntibus ;
Nec fallit incautos futuri
Lene jubar properantis horæ.

" Hic forte rostris aptior et foro
Linguæ coruscet prodiga fulmina
Regesque vel regum ministros
Increpet. Ille paterma ferro

" Aratra mutans quærat Ibericos
Inter triumphos funera. Me juvet
Cum Pane sylvestrique Musâ
Innocuæ sociasse vitæ

" Parvos honores. Me teneræ nuceæ
Et mala pascant, non procul a foco
Rudi reclinatum sedili,
Mente dies revocante lætos,

" Dum vernat ætas blanda, nimis cito
Lapsura. Tristis quid sapientia
Prodest, quid impendentis ævi
Sollicitas aperire portas ?

" *May 20, 1812.*"

The ode, on the destruction of Moscow by fire is highly spirited, and has considerable merit. And the epigrammatic lines in Greek

and Latin, to Buonaparte, flying from his army, are neat and well-timed. The *Addenda* to this elegant collection has merit of a different nature, and prove the possession of diversified talents by the author.

“ ADDENDA.

“ *March 24th.*

“ It has been a custom long established at Cambridge, that, on each of what are called the tripos days, when the degrees taken in the Senate-house are confirmed, two copies of verses should appear on the same paper with the names of the new-created bachelors. Having been appointed to write one of these poems since my other exercises went to the press, I thought it might be as well to add it to this little collection, and, at the same time, a translation of that masterly epitaph on Mr. Pitt by Mr. Canning. This last was an unsuccessful exercise, done in the limited time of four hours, at an examination for an University scholarship in April 1813.

“ In the choice of my subject for these verses, which is entirely optional, I was induced to take the two political debating societies at Cambridge; and chiefly because, in consequence of the recent establishment of a new one, much interest on this head had been excited in the university.

“ As to my plan, I have endeavoured in the first part of these verses, to represent five characters, common in most political meetings;—the first, a man of some show of eloquence, affecting the minister of state, and much looked up to by the society; the second a man, who comes prepared to make his maiden speech, and breaks down; the third a tiresome proser, who wearies out the hearers; the fourth a buffoon, who turns every thing to a jest; the fifth a man of confused ideas, who causes an explanation to be called for, and a subsequent altercation. After this I introduce a description of an anniversary dinner.

“ So far, while speaking in my own character, I have carefully abstained from all personality, and nearly so from local allusions, most of the lines being applicable to any debating society whatever. What follows in the shape of a dream is merely local. The two societies are represented in the persons of an old landlady and a young one, who had previously lived in her service. They meet in the street and quarrel. The undergraduates are the mob, who take different sides, and the seniors of the university, who are in general averse to these societies, are represented by the grave tutor, who orders both forthwith to jail. In this part there is frequent allusion to the rise of the new society. This was in consequence of a candidate for admission being blackballed, on which a part of the old society withdrew and formed the new one. In this part all is to be considered as said by the characters, nothing by me.

“ With respect to the mottoes, the two first may be supposed to delineate the sentiments of the senior part of the university, the third,

that of the undergraduates. The two first may be understood as spoken by the 'Prælector gravitate severus.'

" 'Yes, yes, it is you that have tutored them in all this spouting and cackle, that makes my lecture-room always so thin, and teaches the young men to say 'I won't' to their tutors; though I know this that when I was an undergraduate all our rhetoric was bawling out for our commons, or squaring $a + b$.'

" 'What, a dwarf like you to affect the grenadier.'

" As many unusual words and proverbs occur, in order to save the reader the trouble of referring too frequently to his dictionary, I have subjoined a kind of glossary.

Εἴτ' αὖ καλὴν ἐπιτηδεύσαι καὶ σταμόλαια ἰδίδασκε

Ἡ ἔκλειψεν τὰς τι παλαιότητας, —————

————— καὶ τὸς παράλους ἀνέκτισεν

Ἀνταγορεύει τοῖς ἀρχαίοις· καίτοι τότε γ' ἦν ὁ γυν, ζων,

ὄν ἠπίσταντ' ἄλλ', ἢ μάζαι καλίσαι, καὶ ῥυπαρὰ ἱππῶ.

" ARISTOPHANES, *Ranæ*. 1072.

" — Longos imitatoris, ab imo

Ad oymum, totus moduli bipedalis.

" HOR. *Sat.* II. 3. 308.

" *Ephraim Suds*.— 'Why, I must be made an orator on; indeed I did speechify once at a vestry, concerning new lettering the church buckets, and came off 'cutely enough; but I want to speak speeches, as I tell you, at our meetings, about politics, and peace, and addresses, and the new bridge, and all them kind of things.'

" FOOTE'S *Orator*. Act I. Scene 1.

" *Mos meus est, et erit, post templa et sobria pocla,
Qualia sunt Mosis ita chara, ut quis putet istis
Parnassi costas hirsutas frondibus, unde hic
Tam mire sapiens coquitur liquor; Ut redeam ad rem,—
Mos meus est fora per vicosque errare, Deus quo-
-cunque rapit; nam cuique Deus fit dira libido,
Hic mihi, dum meditor, Godofredus quid docet Hermann,
Quid scopulos Bos semper arans, quique urget aratra
Schæferus, in patrem mirâ vitulus pietate;
Et loca acu tango corrupta, fidelis amicus* 1Q
*Obvius it, clamans. 'Bipedum carissime, vae tu,
' Quid facis? Ipsa vocat te nocte hæc Curia. Magni
' Res agitur; seu, necne putes, quod publica debent
' Munia Papicolis.' Ego ad hæc. 'Res nulla vetabit,
' Me licet expectent tres quantum, ludere quicquam
' In tabulis pictis, et cœnâ fallere noctem.'*

" *Pergitur ad limen; miscentur publica verba,
Mandamus laqueos Proctori et verbera; donec
Majestate manûs jubet alta silentia ginnæ
Vir gregis, omne sedet mutem pecus. Haud ego mollem* 2Q
Ludos hic ullos sanus spectasse. Precauntur

Indoctus doctusque simul, cultumque professus
 Trossulus, in statione comis hærentibus aptâ ;
 Stercoreus venit hic, stabulis catulisque relictis,
 Vulpem sectatus, contusus cæstibus ille.
 Hic spatiosus homo est doliari ventre rotundus,
 Sese aliquem credens ; hic tantum trama figuræ
 Uinctis incomptus braccis ; cui deinde subibit,
 Qui nimios tetigit calices, jactantior Anco.

“ Nunc mihi, Musa, velim, memores, quo turbine linguæ 30
 Contulerint animos. Namque hi sunt vestra propago,
 Aonides, vestris calamistris semper inurunt
 Sermones, quanquam pedibus numerisque solutos.

“ Non nemo surgit, cui (parcite risibus) opplet
 Charta pugillaris dextram, quia vult imitari
 Regum tetrarchas. Nunc quercos crede Pelasgas
 Dicere, nunc tripodes Clarios. Namque omnia novit,
 Quæ sint, quæ fuerint, quæ mox ventura trahantur,
 Atque Chao numerat pugnas et fœdera, credens 40
 Non sibi se genitum, lati sed finibus orbis.
 Antithetas rasas, trutinataque commata ructat,
 Continuatque tropos plures phalerataque dicta,
 Omnia magna loquens, gestitque disertus haberi.
 Novit, quid protthesis, quid possit epenthesis, omnes
 Mæandros novit, pictæ et tectoria linguæ,
 Signa scyphis velut includens, testesque frequentes
 Magnidicos laudat, Burkum, prolemque Chathamii,
 Callida enim est odio Vulpes imitata leonem.
 Sed parvum in multo est, tunica ut pulcherrima turpi
 Strata super vetulâ, cui frons madet illita face, 50
 Dum specie quondam deceptus clamat amator.
 ‘ Vestem amo, sed vestis non fartum. Vive valequo.’
 Euge tamen belleque vocat per transtra juvenus.
 Stulta, theatrales operæ. Quam pulchra locutus !
 Considet hic oleo tranquillior. Incipit alter.

“ Non ita et ille, ferens sermones nocte paratos ;
 Nec primos Lucina beabit prole labores.
 Heu sors, semper eras crudelis, semper iniqua,
 Illudens hominum rebus. Sed multa minantis
 Et præclara fuit vultus ; speratque repente 60
 Prodire orator. Felix, modo semper haberet
 Dimidium, qui cœpit ! At incipit, et cito promit
 Odi γέν, sicut homo, cui sit constrictior alvus.
 Obtutu figit laquear, quod, sidera tanquam,
 Descripsit radio, Coghlan* præcipiente,
 Ipse domi ; hic reges ponens, hic fœdera regum.
 Tum falsas tusses accersit, plurimaque hem hem atque hem hem.

* Vide Coghlani Mnemonica.

Perfricat os, mungit, quæ nulla est stiria nasi.
 Tum nervos tennes culpât capitisque dolorem,
 Et latices poscit, quos jussa focaria vergit
 Ilia contendens risu, quasi flumine flumen
 Eloquii aucturus neque vero proficit hilum,
 Abrodens unguis crudos stomachatus Apollo.
 Quem deludificans aliquis. ' Quam te, puer, ut sis.
 ' Vitalis, metuo; cui linguæ tanta facultas
 ' Ante pilos rerumque venit prudentia velox,
 ' Ne tibi sit fatum Demosthenis et Ciceronis !'

70

" Suscipit hunc alter, exultans plenius horâ
 Infabre sculptos sermones et sine nervis,
 Ut præco, reddensve puer dictata magistro :
 Persolas nugas, ni forte quid aptius exit,
 Surreptum e Scotiæ thesauriq. More Lyæi,
 Sperat enim, verbis quod reddent tempora vires;
 Lucernasque in sole adhibet, nunc putidus ipsam
 Expellens furcâ rationem, nunc resonantes
 Ingeminaus scloppos, dum in rugas mille redibit
 ' Libertas.' Tamen hæc et multo plura locutus
 Clepsydras poscit plures pulmoneus heros.

80

" Interea jacet hic porrectus lumina somno,
 Stertitque incoxans. Legit alter publica scripta,
 Vel dentes pennâ levat. ' Heu ! Natura,' ait alter.
 ' Quid me alio poscis ?' meditans stomachi lupientia
 Delenire famem, et rediens post pempora plenus,
 Incusat medici calices ventremque solutum.

90

" Surgit ad hos, callens bene vertere seria ludo,
 Aliis subnixus, sparso ore salesque protervos
 Metitur modio, voces quacunque monetâ et
 ' Πηματα γομφωπαγη fingens. Hic, siquid amœnum
 Venerit in buccam, et tabellas narrat aniles,
 Effoetasque sapit leges jurisque medullas,
 Potu plura vomens, et colligit auribus escas
 Jam saturis, seque ut miretur turba, laborans,
 Omnia transformat faciem in miracula rerum.

100

" Alter adest, durit involvens sensa loquelis,
 Rerum desultor, atque omnia miscet in unum,
 Flans simul et sorbens. Medium pro fine locatur,
 Finis pro medio. Rerum confundit acervos,
 Frontibus adversis secum pignantia pangens.

" " Te revoca ad verbum," conclamant unus et alter.
 ' Quæ loqueris, Chaos est. Quo res hæc pertinet atque hæc ?
 ' En nodum in scirpo ! Ipse tuâ te cuspe figo.'
 Tum vero in quantos se contortuplicat orbes !
 Quam ductat labiis, caperatâ fronte severus !
 Proh Dii ! sub pugnâ plutei trepidant scapulares.*

* " ' Servus scapularis' quod Plautianum est, idem vult, quod

‘Ergo tu istud ais? Vivo tibi commodus. At si
 ‘Nos ita compelles, non compellabor inultus.
 ‘In te extra verbum peccabo, scommate læsus.
 ‘Scire tnum nihil est. Mendose colligis.’ O si
 In terris Heraclitus! Jam parceret istis
 Invitus, credo, lacrymis, dum parta tuentur,
 Dum penitus pugnant, et litem lite resolvunt.
 Parturit hic contra. Tumet ille medullitus ardens
 Respondere prior, ruditque pedaria turba,
 Cornua quod vincatque tubas. Sedet Æolus arce
 Et premit irato luctantes turbine ventos.

120

“Solvitur extemplo cœtus clamore secundo,
 Puncta ferunt vulgus. Turbæ sententia vincit.
 Proxima festa dies. Male conciliata parantur
 Prædia cum vinis et piscibus urbe petitis.
 Tum curvæ in mensas animæ atque edentula pocla
 Ilia deripiunt doliis fructusque trucidant.
 Depositis curis, græcatur saucia Musa.
 Nec canis a corio desistit. Prædicat alter
 Alterius famam. Nemo minor est Cicerone.
 Nec credi labor est. Res est ita credula vinum.
 Mollibus auriculis fiunt oracula laudes.
 Deinde oritur lepidæ libertas vernula linguæ,
 Tum joca, tum cantus Musis et Apolline digni.
 Et Rex, ‘En miseris brevis est hic fructus homullis.
 ‘Damnose bibite,’ inquit, et incubuere cohortes.
 Tum calices truncos, multo jam mane, virosque
 Labentes, lapsos, lapsuros ordine nullo
 Cernere erat, culpâ late dominante magistrâ.
 Nos tenuit vinctos, sub mensâ, crapula somno.

130

140

“Tum vero (horresco referens, nam somnia vera
 Post mediam noctem) species certissima rerum
 Objicitur menti, vicisque videtur in ipsis
 Inter anum et pupam consurgere rixa procacem.
 Non aliam ob causam, nisi quod meritoria avaræ
 Deservit vetulæ ancilla, novosque penates
 Incolit, et quæstûs rationem exercet eandem :
 Hinc odia et surgunt iræ subito capitales,
 Hinc probra, et verba ad caveam spectantia summam.

150

“Anus———‘Dii te eradicent, quæ sic mihi vana minaris,
 ‘Pigmentisque ornas frontem, neque parcius æquo
 ‘Laudas, quicquid habes venale, gradusque molestos
 ‘Grandis, quod paucos nostræ paulo ante farinæ,
 ‘Dives pollicitas, lactasti. Quin age schæno

servus semper contusus, unde nos paulo fortasse audacius ‘plutei
 scapulares’ derivamus. Similiter Butlerus in loco celeberrimo,

“ ‘And pulpit, drum ecclesiastick.’ ”

' Illita, turpi hornum quadrante extrude Falernum.
 ' Hospita, fac, vappis sis et nebulonibus aedes. 160
 ' Nostra domus pura est, prensosque in crimine tanquam
 ' Serpentes refugit. Vestra se jactet in aula
 ' Perfidus *οἰνοχοός*,* cogens sub signa novella
 ' Pantolabum scurram Nomentanumque nepotem.'

" *Puella.*—' Ad restim tibi res, sapientum octava, revertit.
 ' Nostra omnis lis est. Multo plurus sumtis. At te
 ' Quisque odit, vinum ut fugiens, sycophanta meraca.
 ' Illicet ad corvos, Acheruntis pabula. At unde
 ' Tanta fides meriti? nisi quod fiducia crevit,
 ' Hic fore vel nusquam, quæ quærit quisque viator. 170
 ' Sed dolor unius Danaos pervenit ad omnes,
 ' Et fragili frustra sperans illidere dentem
 ' Offendis solido. Neque quenquam impune lacesces
 ' Posthac, nec fraudes quisquam patietur insultus,
 ' Nec deridicula et turpis factidia nasi.
 ' Tempus erit quo tu, quæ nunc excludis honestos,
 ' Pallanta intactum permagno optaveris emptum,
 ' Mutatam sortem deserte in limine plorans.'

" Concurrit vulgus animum clamore fatentes.
 ' Hancine an hanc sequeris? subeas alternus, oportet.' 180
 Adsunt, formido decoctorum et nebulonum,
 Proctores, prytaesque, et cætera prima virorum.
 Tum prælector ait quidam gravitate severus,

" ' Ambas inscribo sceleris. Quæ justior arma
 ' Sumpsit, scire nefas. Hæc Scylla est, illa Charybdis;
 ' Par diis invisum. Frænis hinc lapsa juvenus,
 ' Ante annos homines, monitoribus ardet iniqua.
 ' Hinc omnis morbi causa est, morumque malorum
 ' Messis me insanum concinnaus; qualiter olim,
 ' Diggorio† ante focum grandes imitante cothurnos, 190
 ' Res male processit dominis, operæque diurnæ.
 ' Sic modo jam nucibus positus puer, esca flagelli,
 ' Rana bovem sequitur; quærens, cur aurea‡ non sint
 ' Sæcla; quid annonam incendit; seu necne tyranni
 ' Jure occidantur. Priscum est parere magistris.
 ' Priscum est Newtonum callere et dogmata Locki,
 ' Quæque malum est nescire, velut bellaria pastus
 ' Fastidit pernas stomachus carnemque bovinam.

* " ' Nay though the treach'rous tapster, Thomas,
 Hangs a new Angel two doors from us,
 As fine as dauber's hand can make it,
 In hopes some stranger may mistake it,
 We think it both a shame and sin
 To quit the true old Angel inn.'

Swift."

† " Vide ' All the World's a Stage.'
 ‡ " Anglice, ' Why are not payments made in bullion? '"

' Quod satis est, sibi quisque sapit, neque curat haberi
' Græcus homo, totusque aliena negotia sectans 200
' Excutitur propriis : ' O Jupiter optime,' quis non
' Exclamaret avus ? Videas, quo pertinet ista
' Præcoquis ambitio Buccæ, cum vult imitari
' Rudentes asinas, et ovantes gutture corvos.'

" Fit turba, atque ambas lapidas et saxa loquentes
Lictores rapiunt ad dira ergastula. Somnis
Excussus, voveo Diis depellentibus agnam.
Deinde ad haram titubo, temulentâ de grege porcus.

GLOSSARY.

1. *Templa et sobria pocla* : chapel and tea. Chapel being about half past five in the afternoon, and tea following soon after, will bring the evening walk to near seven, the hour at which these societies meet.

4. See a poem written in Latin by some Italian, entitled " *Laudes Theæ*."

6. An allusion to a line in the ninth book of Virgil.

7. *Hermann* : a plodding German critic, on whom Person wrote a satirical epigram.

8. *Bos* : another German, whose works have been edited, and swelled out to an enormous size, by Schäfer.

10. *Loca acu tango corrupta* : " while I patch together as with a needle ; a phrase peculiar to the slang of critical writers.

15. *Tres quantum ludere quicum in tabulis pictis* : " to make up a rubber at whist ;" a strong proof of the zeal of the speaker, who, with true patriotism, breaks a private contract to perform his public duties.

16. *Publica verba* : " common conversation and civility."

17. *Mandamus laqueos proctori et verbera* : " we vote a halter and cat of nine tails for the proctor." Nothing is more common.

19. *Ginnæ vir gregis* : " the bell-wether of the motley groups."

21. *Ludos his ullos* : " any stage play."

22. *Cultumque professus trassulus* : " the man of fashion affecting gaiety."

24. *Stereoreus* : " smelling of the stable."

26. *Doliari ventre rotundus* : " with caglike paunch rotund."

27. *Sese aliquem credens* : " not thinking small beer of himself."

27. *Trama figuræ* : " the mere skeleton of a shape."

28. *Unctis incomptis bracciis* : " uncouth with greasy small-clothes."

29. *Jactantior Ancæ* : " Ancus is mentioned as a braggart by Virgil in ' Jactantior Ancus.'"

32. *Calamistræ semper inurunt* : " turn with your curling irons."

34. *Nex nemo* : " may be understood either as a mere individual, or as a man of importance.

35. *Pugillaris* : " filling the hand."

36. *Regum tetrarchas* : the prime ministers of state."

36. *Quercus Pelasgus* : " oaks of Dodona."

38. A line of Virgil.

40. *Non sibi se genitum* : " born to be a public character."
41. *Antithetas rusas* : " refined antitheses."
41. *Trutinataque commata ructat* : " he belches forth even-balanced periods."
42. *Phalaratequa dicta* : " gorgeous expressions," literally, words equipped in all their trappings.
44. *Quid prothesis, quid posset epenthesis* : figures of rhetoric.
45. *Tectoria* : " white-wash."
46. *Signa scyphis velut includens* : " as one carving devices on plate."
46. " *Testesque frequentes magnidicus laudat* : " he quotes numerous authorities," another phrase out of the critical slang.
48. *Astuta ingenum vulpes imitata leonem*. Horace.
49. *Multum in parvo*. Horace.
52. A proverb. " I like the dish but not the pudding, my service to you "
53. *Euge* : " hear, hear."
54. *Theatrales operæ* : " hirelings, engaged to applaud a new play or actor."
55. *Oleo tranquillior* : " more composed than oil."
56. *Sermones nocte paratos* : " a speech made over night."
60. *Speratque repente prodire orator* : " he flatters himself he shall leave the room orator complete."
61. *Dimidium qui coepit habet*. Horace.
63. *Oudi γῆν* : " not a grunt." Aristophanes.
64. *Cœlique meatus describent radio*. Virgil.
66. Mr. Coghan recommends, in his new Art of Memory, the portioning out a room into so many parts, and affixing a particular event or meaning to each part ; by which help the learner will, on going into any room and looking at that part, recal readily the meaning affixed.
68. " He puts on a bold countenance, or, pretends to wipe his nose when there is no icicle depending."
70. *Focaria vergit* : " which the kitchen maid pours out for him."
72. *Hilum* : " a jot."
73. *Stomachatus Apollo* : " this wiseacre overcome with disgust."
74. *Deludificans* : " making game of."
74. *Quam te, puer, ut sis vitalis, metuo* : " how apprehensive I am, child, for your safety."
76. *Ante pilos* : " before your beard."
77. *Eloquio sed uterque perit orator*. Juvenal.
78. *Exantlans* : " drawling out."
79. " Sentences devoid of spirit, and manufactured in an unworkman-like manner."
80. Like the town-crier, or some school-boy saying off his lesson to his master."
81. *Persolas nugas* : " downright nonsense."
82. *Serreptum e Scotiae thesauris* : " filched out of the Edinburgh review."
84. *Lucernasque in sole adhibet* : " he'll hold you a lanthorn at noon-day."

84. *Putidus* : "pragmatical."
85. *Expellens furca rationem* : transporting common sense for life."
86. *Scloppo* : a word expressing by its sound, its meaning ; called by sailors, binnacle words, bombastic expressions, or jaw-breakers, which they offer to obalk up on the binnacle.
86. *In rugas mille redibit libertas* : " while the word liberty comes over a thousand times," a metaphor taken from the wrinkles of a woman's garment. This line in particular, as well as the whole of this passage, is a delineation of the mob orators too frequent in our days.
88. *Clepsydris poscit plures* : calls for more time to speak." " And now would I add, (but I see the uplifted hammer,) five minutes being allowed, and no more, which time is determined by a watch, Mr. President, and a hammer." *Old Woman's Magazine*. p. 169.
88. *Pulmonicus* : " long-winded."
90. *Steritique incorans* : he snores, sitting cross-legged."
90. *Publica scripta* : " the paper of the day."
91. *Dentes penna levat* : " picks his teeth."
92. *Lupientis* : " ravenous as a wolf."
93. *Plenus* : " crop-full."
93. *Post tempora* : " after long absence."
94. *Medici calices* : " the apothecary's purging-dose." This he does to extenuate his long absence, the calls of nature being the only legitimate pretext for leaving the room.
96. *Allis subnixus sparsor* : " with arms a-kimbo, and distended mouth."
96. *Salesque protervos metitur modio* : " he measures out to them his jests by the bushel."
97. *Voces quacunq̃ moneta et quatuor yonforayn fingens* : " coin-ing words on any stamp, and expressions tacked together as by a nail."
99. *Venerit in buccam* : " comes into his brain."
100. " Is deep read in obsolete statutes and the very marrow of jurisprudence."
101. *Potis plura vomens* : a proverb in derision of a man who exaggerates and tells what he hears or reads with additions of his own.
103. *Rerum desultor* : " skipping from one thing to another." Ovid has *desultor amoris*; the metaphor is taken from the dragoon who has two horses, and rides them by turns.
105. *Omnia miscet in unum* : shakes up all his arguments together in a sack."
106. *Flans simul et sorbens* : breathing and drawing breath at once." A proverb in derision of a man who contradicts himself.
109. *Te revoca ad verbum* : confine yourself, Sir, to the question before the house."
111. *En nodum in scirpo* : " a knot in a bulrush." This is a proverb intimating you make a difficulty where there is none, a bulrush being perfectly smooth.
111. *Ipse tua te cuspidis figo* : " I combat you with your own arguments, Sir."

112. *Se contortuplicat* : " he writhes himself."
113. *Ducat labiis* : " makes wry mouths."
113. *Caperatâ* : " frowning."
114. *Pluiei scapulares* : " the thumped tables."
115. *Ergo tu istud ais ?* " you do then mean to say so, do you, Sir ?"
115. *Vivo tibi commodus* : " I wish to be on good terms with you."
116. *Non compellabor insultus* : " I'd have you know, Sir, I won't be attacked in this manner with impunity."
117. *In te extra verbum peccabo* : " I'll have a more practical address, Sir, than words can give."
118. *Scire tuum nihil est* : " what is your ipse dixit."
118. *Mendose colligis* . " you make a false inference."
120. *Parta tuentur* : " while each defends his offspring."
121. " While they fight in good earnest, and settle one dispute by another."
122. *Parturit hic contra* : " this man is breeding a reply."
123. *Pedaria turba* : " the voters who don't speak ;" the mere eyes and noses. The Roman senate used to divide into two parts, as is sometimes now done at county meetings ; hence those who merely went from side to side were called *pedarii*, from *pes*, a foot.
124. *Rudit quod vincat* : " brays louder than."
124. A parody on Virgil's "*celsa sedet Æolus arce*."
127. *Puncta ferant vulgus* : " the multitude prevail." The Romans used to vote by points being made in a piece of paper, as is done now in the chapel-bills at Cambridge. Hence the phrase " carry their point."
128. *Festa dies* : " the anniversary dinner."
128. *Male conciliata* : " procured at a dear rate." This I can say from sad experience.
129. *Urbe petitis* : procured from town."
130. *Curvæ in mensas animæ* : " souls imbruted in gluttony."
130. *Edentula pocla* : " very old wine ;" literally, " so old as to have lost all its teeth."
132. *Græcatur saucia mæsa* : " the mæse, intoxicated, revels."
133. *Nec canis a curio* : a proverb answering to the English one, " the tradesman still smells of the shop."
133. *Prædicat alterius famam* : " each one blazons forth the other's glory." I believe this is common at most public meetings.
136. " Flattery is gospel to delicate ears."
137. *Vernula* : " slipshod."
139. This is an allusion to the heathen argument for drinking. Herodotus mentions some nations that used to produce an human skull on the table, which the president, taking in his hand, said *εἰς τὸ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τοῦ σώματος εὐδαιμονίᾳ*. However, in these enlightened ages, nothing is more common than for the host to say to his guests, " come, gentlemen, it's getting late, let us make the

most of our time." I have been witness to this myself several times.

139. *Rex*: "the president." Horace mentions the *rex vini*.

141. *Calices truncos*: "broken glasses."

141. *Multo jam mane*: "the morning being now well advanced."

143. *Culpa late dominante magistra*: "excess being the order of the day."

144. *Crapula*: "repletion."

148. *Pupam procacem*: "a malapert miss."

149. *Nisi quod meritoria avaræ deseruit vetulæ ancilla*: but that she being chambermaid, had left the hotel of the covetous old hag."

152. *Capitales*: "deadly."

153. *Verba ad causam spectantia summam*: "language only fit for the gods in the gallery."

154. *Dii te eradicent*: "may the gods tear thee up by the root."

155. *Pigmentis*: rouge."

156. *Gradusque molestos grandis*: "and struttest with a conceited gait."

157. *Nostræ paulo ante farinæ*: "lately of our society;" this is an allusion to those who left the old society for the new.

158. *Lactasti*: "cajoled;" literally milked over.

158. *Schœno*: "an oil extracted from the bulrush," used only by the very lowest order of women at Rome.

159. *Turpi hornum quadrante extrude falernum*: "get rid of your this year's claret for a mere dirty farthing." This is an allegorical allusion to the spirit of opposition, which, as it lowers the fare in coaches, so it, in this case, reduced the original fare of seven shillings for non attendance to three shillings.

160. "Make yourself a house of call for every rake and coxcomb." Before the separation, it was customary to admit none into the society but men of exemplary characters and severe lives—this is alluded to in the four following lines: since that, I believe no one, however exceptionable, has been rejected at either society.

162. *Vestra se jactet in aula*: a parody on Virgil's *illa se jactet in aula Æolus*.

163. *Perfidus αἰσχρός*: it is common in all trades for the foreman to set up for himself after a certain time, if dissatisfied; and particularly among publicans for the tapster, or head-waiter to do this after having married the chamber-maid.

163. *Cogens sub signa novella*: "pressing into this new service."

164. A line of Horace, meaning any low worthless characters.

165. *Sabientum octava*: an ironical expression, "you army of reserve to the seven wise men."

165. *Restim*: "a halter."

166. *Nostra omnis lis est*: "its a hundred to one in our favor."

166. *Multo plures sumus*: this is actually the case.

167. *Vinum ut fugiens*: "as wine going off."

167. *Sycophanta meraca*: "you double-distilled old sycophant."

168. *Ilicet ad corvos*: "you may go be-hanged." A common execration among the Greeks and Romans.

168. *Acheruntis pabula*: a term of reproach to an old person, "you fodder for the sexton."

170. "That those accommodations, looked for by every traveller, were to be met with here at your house, or no where;" an allusion to the fastidiousness of the old society, which, fearing no opposition, like a saucy landlord, rejected strangers at its own caprice.

171. This is a line of Ovid; the next line, and half of the one after, are Horace's: an allusion to the rejected candidate, whose repulse gave rise to the new society.

173. *Offendis solido*: "you hit against a rock."

174. *Fraudes*: "your impositions."

175. "Nor the mockery and disdain of your ugly sneer."

177. A line of Virgil, in allusion again to the rejected candidate.

180. *Subeas alternus*: "you must take one side or the other."

181. *Decoctorum et nebulonum*: "spendthrifts and profligates:" the first is a metaphor taken from a cook who overboils the meat.

182. "The proctors, magistrates, and other seniorities, and heads of houses."

183. *Prælector*: "a tutor."

184. *Ambas inscribo sceleri*: "I charge them both with malpractices."

186. *Par diis invisum*: "accursed pair."

186. *Frænis lapsa*: "slipping the bridle."

187. *Iniqua*: "ungovernable."

189. *Me insanum concinnans*: "making me fit for Bedlam."

190. *Diggorio*: Diggory was a spouting butler, who deranged all the domestic economy of the family by his mania for acting; he is represented as brandishing the carving knife, when waiting at table, in the character of Alexander; as sawing a hole in the kitchen floor, to make a trap-door in it for a stage; and fastening up the housemaid in the oven, to represent Juliet in her coffin.

191. *Operæ diurnæ*: "the daily routine of business."

192. *Nucibus positus*: "having dismissed his toys."

192. *Esca flagelli*: "the banquet of the rod."

193. *Rana bovem sequitur*: "being but a frog, imitates the ox;" an allusion to the fable.

193. *Cur aurea non sint sæcula*: "why this is not the golden age." This play on the word *aurea* will hold good in every language.

194. *Quid annonam incendit*: "what makes corn so dear?"

195. *Priscum est*: "'tis out of date."

196. *Newtonum callere*: "to be deep read in Newton."

197. *Velut bellaria pastus fastidit pernas stomachus carnemque bovinam*: "just as a stomach cloyed with gingerbread, can't touch your good wholesome beef and bacon."

200. *Græcus homo*: "a profound Grecian."

203. *Præcoquis ambitio buccæ*: this premature ambition of the the chaps;" the metaphor of *præcoquis* is taken from fruit forced before the natural season."

205. *Fil-turba* : " a bustle ensues."

205. *Lapides et saxa loquentes* : " uttering Billingsgate language."

206. *Lictores* : " the proctor's men," known by the name of ball-dogs in Cambridge.

206. *Ergastula* : " house of correction."

207. *Vovœ diis depellentibus agnam* : the dii depellentes, or aver-runci, were the averters of ominous dreams. Accordingly, after an ill-boding vision, it was customary to make a propitiatory sacrifice to them. Clytemnestra does this in *Æschylus*.

208. " After this I reel home to my sty, being an hog out of the drunken crew." The members of St. John's College have, from time immemorial, for some unknown cause, been nick-named hogs.

WILLIAM PITT,

Son of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham ;

Inheriting the genius, and formed by the precepts of his father,

Devoted himself from his early years to the service of the State.

Called to the chief conduct of the Administration, after the close of a disastrous war, he repaired the exhausted Revenues,

He revived and invigorated the Commerce and

Prosperity of the Country ;

And he had re-established the Public Credit on deep and sure foundations ;

When a new War was kindled in Europe, more formidable than any preceding War from the peculiar character of its dangers.

To resist the arms of France, which were directed against the

Independence of every Government and People,

To animate other Nations by the example of Great Britain,

To check the contagion of opinions which tended to dissolve the Frame of civil society, to array the loyal, the sober-minded,

And the good in defence of the venerable

Constitution of the British Monarchy,

Were the duties which, at that awful crisis, devolved upon the British

Minister, and which he discharged with transcendant

Zeal, Intrepidity, and Perseverance :

He upheld the National Honor abroad ;

He maintained at home the blessings of Order and true Liberty,

And in the midst of difficulties and Perils,

He united and consolidated the strength, power, and resources of the Empire.

For these high purposes,

He was gifted by Divine providence with endowments,

Rare in their separate excellence ; wonderful in their combination ; Judgment, imagination, memory, wit, force, and acuteness of reasoning ;

Eloquence, copious and accurate, commanding and persuasive,

And suited, from its splendor, to the dignity of his mind

and to the authority of his station.

A lofty spirit ; a mild and ingenuous temper ;

Warm and steadfast in friendship, towards enemies he was forbearing and forgiving ; his industry was not relaxed by confidence

in his great abilities ; his indulgence to others

was not abated by the consciousness of his own superiority.

His ambition was pure from all selfish motives :
 The love of power and the passion for fame were in him
 Subordinate to views of public utility :
 Dispensing for near twenty years the favours of the Crown,
 He lived without ostentation, and he died poor.

A grateful Nation
 Decreed to him those funeral honors
 Which are reserved for eminent and extraordinary men.

TU, Gulielme, vale, præceptis fincte paternis,
 Nec minor ingenio proles patre ; te dolet omnis
 Quæ tua primitias sensit respublica curæ.

En vocat auxilium non fausti patria Martis
 Turbine quassa, vocat fragili succurrere clavo,
 Quisquis adest, tritosque manu tractare rudentes.
 Mox, tua consilio quanquam non aptior ætas,
 Lora regenda capis, nec jam vestigia fraudis
 Antiquæ restant, sed vectigalia turgent
 Ubra fonte novo, necnon commercia rident
 Fluctibus extremis, et naufraga robora gentis
 Inveniunt portas, et tutâ pace renident.

Vix ea, cum positas revocat discordia clades
 Et trepidos demens ciet in sua funera cives,
 Alter adest Mavors, non qui solet horridus armis
 Fidere, sed tacitâ corrumpens regna ruinâ,
 Dissimilisque sui. Jam nunc contagia serpunt,
 Omnia plena minis, vitiato pectore vulgi.
 Civilis tacito mussat concordia damno.
 Nunc, Gulielme, decet totas effundere vires.
 I dux, injicias ferventi vincula pesti.
 I, statuas certos fines et fræna ruinæ.
 Ne tibi defueris. En cives, siquid honesti
 Vivat adhuc, placeatque dolis præponere rectum,
 Te comitem expectant. I, suscipe munera belli,
 Et studia incertæ plebis pacare, memento.

Nempe tuas auso complecti carmine laudes
 Apta parum mea lingua jacet, nec verba canenti
 Sufficiunt, seu damna foras jacularis in hostem,
 Sive domi viget aucta tuis concordia curis.
 Nec mirum. Tibi enim raram clementia cœli
 Indulsit venam, munitaque pectora dote
 Innumero. Tibi risit mellea copia linguæ
 Verbaque non ignara suos attingere fines,
 Seu tenui, seu fors grandi sermone sonarent,
 Ingenium, ratio, gravitas, facilesque lepores
 Contractam frontem solvere, neque aurea mentem
 Gratia destituit, sed amici semper amicum
 Et stabilem sensere, neque hostibus ira manebat,
 Moribus egregiis captis atque indole suavi.

Non tamen ingenio nimium confusus, habenas
 Sprevisi cultûs, neque multæ conscins artis
 Cordesuperbus eras, neque famam præter honestum
 Quæsisisti cupidus, neque te respublica sensit
 Inservire tuis, sed multos ipse per annos
 Regna suprema tenens in paupertate superbâ
 Alter Aristides, invictâ mente peristi.

Haud ingrata tamen tibi patria tota parentat,
 Hasque agit inferias cinerique hæc ultima mittit.
 Munera, nec lacrymâ parcit decorare favillam
 Insolito, tantique vereri nominis umbram.

12th April, 1813.

MISCELLANIES.

An extraordinary instance of Calvinistic presumption:

MR. EDITOR,

Travelling a short time ago, in a stage coach, in one of the midland counties, I had for my companions, a most respectable and worthy clergyman of the establishment, and a decent elderly woman, whom, from some conversation which took place on their meeting in the coach, I found to be one of his flock; and, if I may judge from her propriety of address and behaviour, a respectable, though not elevated member of society. Finding my reverend fellow traveller by no means indisposed to be free and communicative, I at length introduced the subject (for reasons not necessary to be detailed here) of the state of religion, in the peculiar neighbourhood wherein we were then travelling, and in which I had already discovered his residence was situated. To my enquiries freely made, he returned replies of equal freedom, which, at length, gave so much confidence to our good female companion, as induced her to communicate several interesting anecdotes of methodism, which had fallen under her own personal observation; and, among the rest, the following, which I deem too curious to be withheld from your readers; on which account, I anticipate its ready insertion in your excellent pages.

At a distance of about half a mile from the road, and situate on a pleasing eminence, we saw a neat and decent looking farm-house, the owner of which, our female informant told us, was a rigid Calvinistic Methodist. So zealous a disciple was he of the Geneva School, that he actually carried his presumption (and, surely, Mr. E. this is saying a great deal) farther than the almost idolized master in Israel, after whom he gloried in being named. Calvin, as is well known, reckoned the reprobate to be in the proportion of four to one of the elect; but never (at least so far as I know) pushed his presumption to the length of specifying by name, who were the favoured few of heaven, and who the reprobate multitude. This was reserved for his worthy

disciple, of whom I am now speaking : and he improved upon his master so far, that (believe it Mr. E. for it was confirmed by the respectable divine present) he *decided* who of his connections, both relatives and acquaintance, were the elect, and who the reprobate ! Accordingly, he made a constant practice of brewing two sorts of ale ; the one supereminent in every good quality which is expected in that wholesome beverage ; and the other of a description very inferior. Those whom this son of presumption (for such there is no want of charity in designating him) deemed the *favourite few of Heaven* were alone permitted to taste the *former* ; while the unfortunate reprobates were obliged (although, perhaps, equally, or more, deserving than their more distinguished brethren) to put up with the latter : and pleased, there is good reason to suppose, when indulged even with this !!!—Now, Mr. E., I ask, almost with horror, where shall we find so disgusting, and so shocking an instance of presumption and folly, in the annals even of Methodistical absurdity and fanaticism ? May we not address such deluded followers of the daring Whitefield in the strong and animated language of Cicero ? “ Quousque tandem abutere nostra patientia ? Quem ad finem sese effrenata jactabit audacia ? ”

Venerable shade of Calvin ! if thou art, or couldst be, conscious of what is passing here upon earth, how would it pierce thee to witness such scenes of folly, absurdity, and blasphemy ! Do thou, then, inspire those, who rank themselves under the theological banner of him (often vain and erring, though perhaps ever well-meaning) of whom thou art the immortal part, with some slight spark of that *humility*, which he so unremittingly inculcated ; and no longer suffer the mild, the beautiful, the captivating, features of Heaven-descended religion, to be deformed by the foul spots, wherewith they have been stained by the phrenzy and madness of this desperate fanatic. And above all, inspire them with such a measure of that charity, which hopeth all things, as will teach them to esteem every one better than himself : so should we be one fold, under one shepherd, Jesus Christ, our Lord ; united here on earth in harmony and love, and hereafter sharing together, as we humbly hope, in the glories and happiness of Heaven.

AN OXFORDSHIRE CURATE.

An Exposition of American Policy ; or, an Examination of the reasons assigned by the American Government for declaring war upon Great Britain, proving that those reasons are insufficient to justify, and would not have induced them to take, this measure. With a developement of the real causes of the American war, and some observations upon the Policy which Great Britain should adopt in consequence of it. By an ANGLO-AMERICAN.

No. I.

Halifax, March 6th, 1813.

SIR,

As a constant reader of your paper, I request you will accept of my thanks for the publication of the eloquent and interesting speech

of Lord Liverpool, in support of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent's message to Parliament, recommending a grant of money, to relieve those patriotic Russians, who have made such important sacrifices for the benefit of their country and the world. I trust, Sir, that it has arrested the attention of all your readers; and that the passage, in which his Lordship so feelingly describes and deploras the miseries to which a people are exposed, who inhabit a country that becomes the theatre of war, has excited mingled feelings of detestation against the unprovoked author of such calamities, and of admiration of those, who have so heroically endured them. Such feelings, Sir, will naturally arise in every generous bosom; but, unless we have some personal interest in the events which excite them, their duration will be momentary.

The whole civilized world, it is true, is concerned, and deeply concerned, in the recent transactions in the north of Europe, but the inhabitants of these colonies have a peculiar interest in dwelling upon them with attention.

During a warfare of twenty years, in which our parent state has not only maintained her own independence, but has interposed a barrier to an ambition that would know no bounds, we, Sir, have dwelt in peace; and, while pursuing our usual avocations, could scarcely realize to ourselves that so great a portion of the human race was enduring those miseries, which were inflicted upon it by that ruthless tyrant, who has long ruled a nation, that, under every form of government, has been the disturber of Europe.

But the rulers of a neighbouring country have thought proper to light the flame of discord on this side of the Atlantic, and, as even successful war may have its attendant miseries, I would wish my fellow subjects here, to dwell upon those feelings of indignation, which the description of the calamities of the Russians could not fail to excite against the author of them, and then direct them against those men, who have done their utmost to introduce similar horrors among us. That the war which the American government has declared against Great Britain, is wicked, wanton, and unjust, must be evident to all who have paid attention to the transactions between the two countries; but as the majority of your readers may not have had leisure to mark them as they passed, and general assertions are not calculated to produce conviction, I shall endeavour to supply satisfactory testimony in support of this position. The Americans will not, I trust, object to my proof, when I resort to their own official documents to obtain it.

Among the numerous pretexts for the commencement of hostilities, which disgraced the pages of Mr. Madison's message to congress of the first of June last, the orders in council were prominent and pre-eminent; and it is highly probable that, without the aid of the feelings that had been excited against this retaliatory measure, a majority of the congress could not have been obtained in support of the darling object of the American administration. When they laid

so much stress upon this grievance, they were not aware that sound policy would be obliged to yield to popular clamour, and that a combination of interested and factious men had driven the British cabinet to abandon the orders in council at the very moment when America had declared war on account of them. So firmly had they taken their stand upon this ground, and so completely had the attention of the British government been drawn to this subject by the American ministers, that it was considered in England as the cause of the war. It was confidently expected there, that, as the cause was removed, the effect would cease; and in that expectation the British Admiral on this station was directed to devote to negotiation that time, which would perhaps have been better employed in vigorous hostility.

But whatever may have been the honest construction, which British candour gave to American declarations, the conduct of the American government has proved that they had very different views. The revocation of the orders in council certainly took them by surprize: and well indeed, Sir, it might. The foundation of the war was gone, but the superstructure, which the legislature alone could erect, remained, and American ingenuity was at no loss to devise a new one for it. They have chosen one which, they are well aware, cannot slip from beneath the fabric they are so anxious to rear. The war now rests upon a stable foundation. It rests upon a right, which no British minister will, I trust, have the boldness or the treachery to abandon. "The right to employ our own subjects in our own defence." By referring to the report of the committee of foreign relations, made to the house of representatives at Washington on the thirtieth of January last, you will perceive that the American Government are now determined to persist in the war, until Great Britain relinquishes the exercise of the right of impressment on board of American vessels. This report, which occupies three columns of a paper, is one labour'd tissue of falsehood and sophistry. But I shall not at present impose upon myself the task of exposing all its misstatements, but confine my attention to what may be truly termed the burthen of the song.

The report, in order to impose upon the understandings and inflame the passions of the American people, dwells, with wonderful pathos, upon the evils which attend the impressment of American citizens into the British service, and states in so many words, that "the impressment of American seamen being deservedly considered a principal cause of the war, the war ought to be prosecuted until that cause was removed" but, that Great Britain may fully understand how long the war is to be continued, and by what sacrifice peace must be purchased, the report subsequently states, "With the British claim to impress British seamen, the United States have no right to interfere, provided it be exercised in British vessels, or in any other than those of the United States.

Inhabitants of Nova Scotia, listen to these declarations, and learn from them the determination of the American government to inflict upon you the calamities of war, until Great Britain shall be so far

lost to every sense of honour and of interest, as to direct those gallant officers, whose achievements occupy the brightest page in our history, to forego the right of reclaiming British seamen, deserters perhaps from their own ships, from American vessels. Until the commanders of our ships of war shall be told by their own government, if, when the carnage of battle, or the ravages of disease, have thinned your crews, you should meet an American vessel whose decks are covered with British seamen, you must not presume to claim from them the performance of that duty, which they owe their country. True it is, that by the immemorial customs of the civilized world, by the laws established among nations, and by the feelings implanted by the God of nature, every man is bound to protect and defend the country which gave him birth; but the President of the United States of America wills it otherwise, the American congress hath spoken, and the laws of Nations and of Nature must be silent.

Every man, Sir, must feel the insolence and arrogance of this demand: I must acknowledge that it has excited no small degree of indignation in my breast. But I shall endeavour to dismiss those sensations, and, in my next letter, calmly, and, I trust, impartially examine the justice of the American claims.

AN ANGLO-AMERICAN.

No. II.

March 13th, 1813.

SIR,

In my last letter I called the attention of the inhabitants of this province to the resolution of the American government to continue the war which they have declared against us, until Great Britain shall desist from exercising the right of impressing British seamen from American vessels.

I will now endeavour to fulfil my promise of examining impartially the justice of this determination. But I cannot enter upon the subject without premising, that I do so, merely to meet the American government upon the ground which they have assumed, without admitting for a moment, that the war really owes either its origin or its continuance to this cause.

If you should deem these letters worthy of a place in your paper, I shall continue my correspondence, and discuss that subject in some future number. The present I shall dedicate to the consideration of the popular pretext, with which they have endeavoured to impose upon the public; and if even that part of their case, which they dare to reveal, should be proved to have no foundation in justice, what must be our opinion of that, which even they themselves think will not bear the light.

It will be but just to observe that Mr. Madison's committee, do not, at present, claim a right to alter the municipal laws of Great Britain, within her own immediate territories; but content themselves with devising a new code for her government, or what their chief

pompously terms, the great high way of nations—"with the British claim to impress British seamen (says this committee) the United States have no right to interfere, provided it be in British vessels or in any other than those of the United States!"

The American merchants then may employ, British seamen to navigate their vessels over this great high way of nations, and if a British officer should meet them there, and claim from his countrymen the services they owe to their country, he is to be answered in the language of this report. Now, Mr. Editor, I would ask the good people of this country, what opinion they would form of a man, who, having taken the liberty of strengthening his team by the addition of one or two of his neighbour's horses, should gravely tell the owner, when he demanded his property on the high way, "With your claim, Sir, to take your own horses I have no right to interfere; provided you take them from your own team, or from any other team than mine!!!"

I suspect Sir, that they would deem him a most impudent knave.

I am aware that it may be observed, that in case a dispute should arise between these two parties, as to the ownership of the property, they must resort to the magistrate to decide the point, this, Sir, is true; the high way upon which they meet, is within the jurisdiction of the laws under which they live, and they resort to a tribunal to which both are bound to yield obedience. The high way too, Sir, upon which the American merchantmen meet the British ships of war, is not without its laws. This great high way is regulated by the laws of truth, of justice, and of morality, in other words by the law of nations; and strange as the assertion may appear to Americans, common honesty forms a prominent part of this maritime code. That divine precept of "doing unto others as we would be done unto" prevails equally upon the seas as upon the land. But it must be recollected that when a nation infringes these principles, there is no earthly tribunal before whom the violator can be carried for justice.

America, however, while she admits the right of Great Britain to the services of her own seamen, contends, that whenever she is deprived of them, she must resort to American tribunals for redress. The maritime strength, and with it the independence, nay, the existence of Great Britain, is to be placed in the hands of America.—Laws for the security of the rights of Great Britain, are to be enacted by an American legislature, to be administered by American judges and the truth of the facts of which she may complain, is to be investigated by American juries.

And why is Great Britain, thus to bow down before America, and sue to her for that justice, which she has the power to obtain for herself; because, forsooth, in the exercise of her indisputable right, mistakes may be made, and Americans may sometimes be taken instead of British seamen.

Great Britain is therefore to make an unconditional surrender of her rights, to guard those of America from the possibility of violation; and is to hazard her national existence, to prevent a small por-

tion of American citizens from hazarding a personal inconvenience. Let us, Sir, take the subject up at the point to which we have now brought it, and compare the evils which America may endure, in consequence of our practice of impressment, with those which Great Britain would sustain, if she abandoned that practice.*

To do this fairly, it will be necessary to state the just claims of each party, and then to turn our attention to the point in which they may come in conflict.

The native citizens of America, while their country is in a state of peace, have an undoubted right to navigate the ocean, without being molested or impressed by Great Britain, or by any other belligerent power.

Great Britain has an equal right to the services of her native seamen, and may by her established usage impress them into her naval service whenever she is engaged in war.

These rights might be exercised by each of the parties, without interfering with the other, were it not for two habits in which the American people have indulged themselves.

In the first place, Sir, they make use of our language. I would not, however, quarrel with them on that ground, although it cannot be denied, that they often take very unwarrantable liberties with it.

In the second place they make use of our seamen.

Whenever, therefore, we have required those seamen ourselves, we have been obliged to seek for them in the vessels of their American employers; and, from the similarity of language, it has sometimes happened, that Americans have been mistaken for Englishmen, and have been impressed into our service.

This, I admit, is a great inconvenience, and may be a serious evil to the individual who is thus forced into the service of a foreign nation, and obliged to risk that life in fighting the battles of strangers, which his country alone has a right to claim from him; and I would honour the men, who, in the spirit of sincerity and justice, would step forth to vindicate his cause and assert his freedom; as much as I despise those, who only avail themselves of the popular clamour, to accomplish their ambitious objects, who would rather retain the evil, than part with the outcry it occasions; and, who are themselves, the deadliest enemies of that very class of men, of whose cause they profess to be the advocates.

If the subject of impressing our seamen out of American vessels

*I would observe here, that however grating the practice of impressment may be to the feelings of Englishmen, it is a question solely, for our own consideration; and one, with which America has no right to interfere, as her liberal government so candidly admits. The very sensible observations on this subject in the paper immediately preceding my letter, in the *Register*, of the 6th March, are well worthy of the considerations of the readers

were to be considered in the light in which it naturally presents itself to a candid mind, as a right, which it is indispensably necessary for Great Britain to assert, but the exercise of which, under existing circumstances, is frequently productive of serious inconvenience and injury to American citizens; we could not but desire, that its exertion might be so regulated, as to alleviate, if not entirely to remedy the evils which arise from it.

And if the American Government did not wish to avail itself of the feelings, which those evils are so well calculated to produce in the popular mind, in order to increase the clamour against Great Britain, but was actuated by a sincere desire to guard its own rights, without infringing ours: it would not be very difficult to make such arrangements as would accomplish this object. It is not, like the questions which have arisen out of the orders in council or the system of blockades; complicated in its nature, and involved in the measures adopted against our inveterate enemy; it is confined to the two countries, and to a single point on each side; it is a proper subject for negotiation; attended, I confess, with some difficulties, but not with any that are insuperable.

And, although the inconvenience, of which America complains, is owing to the conduct of her own citizens, for had they not employed our seamen, we should never have impressed a man from their vessels; had they not intermingled British with American sailors, we should never have mistaken the one for the other; yet we have been the first to propose a cessation to the effusion of human blood, and a renewal of negotiation upon the differences subsisting between the two nations, subsequent to the repeal of the orders in council. These offers have been rejected by the executive government in America; and the committee of foreign relations have thus observed upon this refusal. "Had the executive consented to an armistice, on the repeal of the orders in council, without a satisfactory provision against impressment, or a clear and distinct understanding with the British government to that effect, in some mode entitled to confidence; your committee would not have hesitated to disapprove it;" and they subsequently add. "It remains therefore for the United States to take their final attitude with Great Britain, and to maintain it with consistency and with unshaken firmness and constancy."

The calamities of war then must continue, nor may the voice of negotiation be heard, until Great Britain shall submissively yield her right and leave America in the full possession of that which she claims; for the United States have taken their final attitude! such at least is the language of those men, whom the representatives of the American people have chosen to prepare an exposition of their sentiments to the public.

As an Englishman, Sir, I answer that the evils which arise from impressment, serious as they may be, neither threaten the existence of the American government, nor the independence of the American people; they are not only confined to individuals, but to individuals of one particular class. But the remedy proposed by America would not merely deprive us of one right, it would endanger every other.

In the contest in which we are engaged, all that is dear to man is involved. Numerous are the blessings which Heaven has bestowed upon the subjects of the British empire; for their preservation, as far as human means are concerned, we have been indebted in an eminent degree to the British Navy. To that glorious bulwark we still look with confidence, but if every American adventurer may launch an asylum for British deserters; and we are implicitly to rely upon American justice, for the restitution of those, whom either the love of ease or the desire of gain, has seduced from the service of their Country, that barrier, which has hitherto defied every enemy, will soon be undermined.

But I have already claimed too large a portion of your useful paper, and shall reserve my further observations upon this interesting subject for another letter.

AN ANGLO-AMERICAN.

No. III.

April 3d, 1813.

SIR,

In my last letter, I admitted that the exercise of our right of impressing British seamen, from American vessels might, under existing circumstances, be productive, occasionally, of serious hardships to some of the American citizens; but I contended that Great Britain could not relinquish this right, without endangering her national existence. I shall now endeavour to convince my fellow subjects here of the truth of this assertion. To you, Sir, and to others, who have perused the many excellent publications upon political topics, which teem from the British press, the assertion may appear self-evident, and the proof unnecessary; but the majority of the inhabitants of this province have not had that advantage; they have neither the means of procuring, nor the leisure to peruse them. They are, however, an intelligent people, and quite capable of comprehending the subject, if it is fairly stated to them.

But when plain though intelligent men are told, that the existence of Great Britain, as an independent nation, depends upon preserving that maritime preponderance, which her navy has so gloriously acquired, and that the preservation of that navy itself depends upon the continuance of the practice of impressment, they are at a loss to conceive how it happens that British subjects should be so deficient in patriotism, as not to step forwards voluntarily in defence of those laws and of that form of government, which secure to Britons a greater degree of civil liberty, than is enjoyed by the subjects of any other country upon earth. They naturally ask, if the sarcastic assertion of our enemies in America is, indeed, true,—that our dearest rights are defended by men, who are forced into our service, and who would leave us defenceless to-morrow, if they were permitted to follow their own inclinations.

No, my countrymen, this assertion is not true.—Numerous, indeed, are the brave fellows in the British navy, whose bosoms glow with enthusiastic attachment to their King and to their country; who feel

themselves incorporated into the service, to which they have devoted their lives; and who are proof against all the arts, which Americans have too frequently employed to seduce them from their duty. These are the supporters, these are the protectors of the British navy, and of your liberties.

Still, however, impressment is essentially necessary, it is not every man who owes a duty to his country, that has sufficient honour to perform it. It is a principle of our constitution, and indeed of the constitution of every other nation, that, when the country is attacked, every man is bound to step forward in its defence: and as, in case of actual invasion, every landsman may be compelled to enter the ranks and march against the enemy, so, in every maritime war, it has been the established usage to apply the same principle to that part of our population who gain their livelihood upon the ocean; and to oblige them to defend the interests of their country on that element, which is peculiarly their own, and where seamen alone are capable of affording us protection.

Many of them, animated by the spirit of patriotism, come forward with alacrity to support the glory of old England, and desire most ardently to meet and to conquer the foes of their country; others there are, who would rather consult their own ease or pursue their own plans of private advantage: and if we reflect upon the evils which attend a state of war, and the hardships endured by those who are actively engaged in it, our admiration will rather be excited by the numbers who voluntarily undergo, than our surprise that many should wish to escape them. But if we were to allow them to indulge this wish, we should not only throw a most unfair burthen upon the brave and generous volunteers, but we should render even their exertions unavailing. A ship that could not be navigated or defended by less than two hundred men, would be unmanageable and defenceless, if she had only one hundred and fifty men, and therefore if there were no means of procuring the other fifty, this vessel would be lost to the service. The honest farmer will easily be made to understand this by the assistance of a very plain illustration. If he was cultivating a piece of ground, which required a plough to till it, that could only be drawn by four horses, three, however free and generous, would be perfectly useless, whereas the additional strength of one dull animal would enable him to proceed with his business, and to avail himself of the power and spirit of the others; nor would he hesitate to pronounce that the person, who would deprive him of this mere beast of burthen, would effectually destroy his team. Such, Sir, is the case of the British Navy. Of those men, who enable our cruisers to plough the Ocean, the number that would expatriate themselves, that would abandon their King and Country, their friends and relatives, and break through every tie that binds man to man, for the sake of a little personal ease, or for the still more despicable object of procuring higher wages would, I trust, be comparatively small. Yet as we have not now even a man to spare, they would be sufficiently numerous to cripple all our naval exertions; if one-fourth part of their present

crews were taken from our ships of war, they could not keep the sea; and even if they should be barely capable of navigating the ocean, they could not contend against the enemies whom they might encounter there. We must then either detain them altogether in our ports, and abandon that element upon which Englishmen have ever been accustomed to triumph, or we must diminish the number of our vessels, and thus be deprived of the means of counteracting the exertions of our implacable and watchful enemy, to gain a naval preponderance. He knows the importance of this object, and to accomplish it, he has endeavoured to grasp the naval resources of Europe from the Baltic to the Euxine. For too long a period we saw the continental powers, tamely submitting to his dictates, and basely promoting his views. So earnestly was he bent on our destruction, that he would not allow a sovereign, who had preserved a greater portion of independence than any other on the continent of Europe, to listen to the earnest supplications of his own subjects, for a partial relaxation of those severe restrictions, which had been imposed upon them for the purpose of injuring us; and it was because the Emperor of the Russias dared, within his own dominions, to exercise an act of sovereignty in this tender point, that that mighty army which has recently experienced the just vengeance of Heaven, carried misery and desolation into the heart of the Russian empire. From this conflict, Sir, he has fled, defeated and disgraced; but, if he has reached his capital in safety, he still participates in the feelings of his prototype, and has carried back with him to that seat of discord and of mischief

“Th’ unconquerable will
And study of revenge, immortal hate—”

And will

“With more successful hope resolve
To wage, by force or guile eternal war.”

Against his fraud or his force, however, we may successfully oppose the wooden walls of old England as long as we preserve them entire. And shall we, while we have this inveterate foe to contend with, quietly permit so dire a breach to be made in this important barrier? And even, Sir, if his cup of iniquity is full, and the avenging arm of Heaven has at length hurled him from that eminence, to which he had been elevated for the punishment of a guilty world, still, as long as we exist as a nation, we shall be exposed to enmity and to warfare, and I will not waste your time nor my own in proving that our navy is the natural defence of the British empire. The insidious attempts of our enemies on both sides of the Atlantic, to undermine what they despair of subduing, proves its importance in their eyes, and should induce us to guard it with increased vigilance.

I have already established the fact, that the loss even of those who are now disposed to quit our service would either render all our ships useless, by reducing the crews of each below the number necessary for their management and defence, or would oblige us to diminish the number of our vessels of war when our safety rather demands an augmentation than a diminution of them.

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But, Sir, the evil would not rest here : the majority of mankind are in their nature mutable and capricious, and there is perhaps no description of persons to whom this observation is more applicable than to seamen. Their roving lives increase that love of change, which prevails in a greater or less degree in every human bosom ; and though many as I before observed, possess a principle of honour and of patriotism, which would effectually counteract this disposition, yet there must also be many who are now contented with their situation, because the difficulty of quitting it is so great that they have never encouraged the desire to do so, but who would insensibly cherish that inclination ; if those obstacles were removed. Let it not be said that I pass a harsh judgment upon these honest fellows, nor that I suppose they perform their duty merely from constraint. I view them as men, and think that they would be actuated by the same motives which influence their fellow subjects on shore. It is the duty of every inhabitant of this colony so serve in the militia, and, if an enemy should invade it, we should all be bound, as the sailor is when attacked on that element where he dwells, to abandon every other pursuit, and devote ourselves to the defence of the province. This, Sir, is what the law compels every man to do ; but doubtless there are numbers whose feelings would dictate the performance of this duty, if no such law existed. There are some, on the contrary, who, regardless both of the duty and of the law which enforces it, would endeavour by every artifice and every subterfuge to evade a compliance with it ; and there are many who, conscious that the law is imperative upon them, would never entertain a thought of evading it, but would join their regiments with alacrity, and would scarcely be sensible themselves, whether they were obeying the impulse of patriotism or the dictates of law. But who is so possessed with the spirit of Quixotism as not to be sensible that, if no such law existed, very many of this latter class would remain quietly by their firesides, and leave the danger and the glory of defending the country, to those only, whose honourable sentiments would induce them to volunteer in the cause.

I am convinced, Sir, that the inhabitants of this province will be satisfied that I have described them fairly. Such they are ; and such are men in general ; and such of course are seamen. And if this extravagant claim of the American government should be admitted, those temporary inconveniences and disappointments to which in every state of life mankind are liable, and to which our resignation is generally in proportion to our conviction that they are inevitable, would gradually foster discontent and restlessness among many of our sailors, when they saw that the American merchantmen afforded them a secure place of refuge ; and the great chance of impunity would cause those, at first to contemplate and afterwards to commit the crime of desertion, who are now deterred, by the great probability of incurring the punishment which awaits it, from harbouring a thought upon the subject. Only reflect, Sir, for one moment upon the change which the admission of this claim would effect. It is true that, if our deserters gain the American shores, we cannot apprehend

them there. But there is no description of people who so uniformly adhere to their profession as seamen ; they cannot endure to live on shore ; and whenever they venture on the seas, they are liable to be retaken and punished for their desertion. Aware of this consequence, the crime is of course more rarely committed. But if the decks of every American vessel afforded them a sanctuary, if they could pursue in safety the only line of life, which their habits will permit them to follow, is it not obvious that the number of the deserters will be increased ? That the number of our seamen will of course be diminished, and that our vital strength will be proportionably impaired ? and shall we, Sir, accede to this claim, and allow them this sanctuary ? Shall we consent that every American fishing schooner shall become a decoy boat for British seamen, and that, when once they have gained her decks, they may laugh their officer to scorn, and insultingly bid him relinquish the pursuit of his enemies, and the protection of his country, and resort to America to seek from an American jury the infliction of a penalty upon their employers to compensate Great Britain for the loss of her seamen.

But besides the negative inducements to desertion, if I may use the expression, which would arise from the prospect of impunity, let us remember the positive temptations, with which American merchants would endeavour to allure our sailors into their service. The great advantage which they derive from the acquisition of British seamen, is the extension of their commerce by the employment of a greater number of vessels, not by employing a greater number of seamen in those vessels than is necessary to navigate them ; and as they are conscious that that part of the crew, which is composed of our men, is liable to be impressed upon the seas, their own interest now dictates to them some degree of discretion as to its number ; they are careful not to allow the British to bear too great a proportion to the American seamen, lest their property might be endangered if the former should be reclaimed by their country, while in the prosecution of the voyage.

The cession of this right then, would render this precaution unnecessary, and would afford an additional incentive to the Americans to entice our seamen into their service, at the same time that it rendered it less hazardous for them to listen to those enticements. But the relinquishment of this right would not only be a death blow to our navy, but to our commerce also. The preference which many of our seamen entertain for our mercantile over our naval service, chiefly arises from their dislike to the necessary restraint of naval discipline. If they were liable to impressment while employed by our merchants, and were exempt from it when in the service of Americans, the majority of these would enter into the ships of the latter, and that nursery of seamen, which we have so long and so carefully cultivated, would be transplanted immediately to the shores of America.

This then is the result of the comparison we have made of those evils, which America may endure in consequence of our practice of

impressment, with those which Great Britain would sustain if she abandoned that practice. On the side of America we have seen, that, of a particular class of American citizens, some are liable to be mistaken for Englishmen, and to be impressed into the British service. The extent of this evil, in point of the numbers affected by it, has never been made known to us, but we cannot suppose it to be very great, as the American government have never thought it worth the exertion of those means of ascertaining it, which they so fully possess. We have, however, admitted the hardship of their case, but have fully established that it has originated in the misconduct of their own countrymen. But on the side of Great Britain we have seen, that, if this right were relinquished, that commerce by which she acquires her wealth, and that naval power, by which she preserves it, would be involved in our common ruin. Nor when reduced to poverty could she remain in peace. She has long been the object of the deadliest hatred of ambitious France; but, while her fleets ride triumphant on the ocean, she may dwell in safety, nor fear that her fields will be bathed with the blood of her brave sons. Nothing, but the thunder of the British navy has preserved her from participating in those horrors which have lately desolated the plains of Russia; and, though I fear not that the Britons, who should receive the ruthless invaders on shore, would make them feel that they were the countrymen of those gallant conquerors, before whom they have so often fled at sea, yet what right has America to require that we should not only resign the sceptre of the ocean, but expose our own countrymen to the miseries of invasion, merely to guard a few of her citizens from an evil, which Americans, not Englishmen, have brought upon them.

Away then, Sir, with this pretext for warfare. Let America remember that nations like individuals, must submit to the lot of humanity. The broils of a small community occasionally disturb the peace of its most orderly and best disposed members, and the contentions of mighty nations, must, in some degree, affect those who are not immediately engaged in them. But she, Sir, should recollect that she has participated much more largely in the sweets than in the bitters of the contest; and, while she does not overlook the few, who may have suffered by our state of war, let her number the thousands who have derived all their opulence and prosperity from the commotions of Europe.

AN ANGLO AMERICAN.

No. IV.

April 10th, 1813.

SIR,

In my preceding letters, I have endeavoured to prove that the impressment of British seamen out of American vessels, affords America no excuse for the commencement, or the continuance of hostilities. I have admitted that it sometimes occasions serious inconvenience to individual Americans, and I have pronounced the regulation, not the abandonment, of the exercise of this right to be a proper subject

for negotiation. I am perfectly convinced that our own government view it in this light ; and they are well aware of the hardships, to which American seamen are sometimes exposed ; and that they have every disposition to make such amicable arrangements upon the subject, as would tend to remedy, if not entirely to prevent the evil. But they have not met with any corresponding disposition on the part of the government of the United States. This is to them too valuable a source of popular clamour to be parted with ; and they have therefore always endeavoured to involve the consideration of it, with points, which they well know Great Britain cannot cede. They first insist upon protecting their seamen by means which would deprive us of our own, and tell us, that the cession of the right of impressment is the *sine qua non* of peace, and, from most abundant caution, they have guarded even against an acceptance of their liberal offer of an equivalent for the relinquishment of this right, by informing us, in the law, which they propose to substitute for it, the provisions and enforcement of which is to remain entirely with themselves, that its penalties will not extend to those who employ British seamen that have been naturalized in America. Now, Sir, I think that they were tolerably sure of retaining the evil which secures to them their influence over the multitude without this precaution.

I trust, that every Englishman feels, that the minister who could dare to place our palladium in the hands of the American congress, should pay with his head the forfeit of his treachery or his folly. But this, Sir, is indeed the key stone of the arch of impudence. Those august personages, who compose the cabinet at Washington, and who conceive that they hold in their hands the destinies of the western world, now tell us, " We will not grant you peace, even if you should give us the strongest guarantee for the security of our native seamen ; we demand the *right* to rob you of your's, whenever we deem it proper to incorporate them with our own subjects ; the terms upon which we may do so, remain entirely with ourselves. We may vary them as we shall think expedient ; and whenever it suits our convenience, we may extend them so as to include every British seaman."

It is difficult, Sir, to discuss this insolent pretension with temper ; but there are some subjects, on which to be cool is to be criminal : and, when the dearest interest of our country are attacked by so contemptible a foe, our indignation is excited not only by the danger of the assault, but by the baseness of the assailant. The stiletto of the assassin, it is true, may prove as fatal as the sword of the soldier ; but we view their approach, and listen to their demands, with very different feeling. When such language is held by that audacious robber, who has subverted empires and prostrated thrones ; when he, whom success has enabled to dictate to so many nations, endeavours to substitute his will for those laws, which have hitherto governed mankind. We almost admire the boldness of the attempt, while we rouse to oppose it ; but, when a country, which, as the able author of the essay on military policy observes " is yet too young to launch forth in the career of glory," when a people who

have never distinguished themselves by any thing but their cupidity, and their cunning; who have neither a naval nor a military force, to render them respectable in the eyes of surrounding nations; when they dare to avail themselves of a moment of embarrassment to impose their will for a law upon a powerful empire, and, at a time when she is contending for existence, aim a blow at her vital interest; it must rouse the strongest feelings of indignation; it must convince us that their enmity is most deeply rooted, and should excite a determination on our parts to pour down upon them the full tide of that hostility, which they have thought proper to provoke. Regardless of the present imbecility of the infant nation, we should crush it, ere manhood has endued it with power to make us feel the effects of its inveterate hatred. America has chosen when to make war; let it remain with us, to choose when to make peace; nor should we listen to the voice of negotiation, while she presumed even to suggest a right to a single native British seaman.

Can any person, Sir, see in this claim any thing but the most decided spirit of hostility? Upon what ground does America dare to retain British subjects from the British service? Upon the ground, forsooth, that they have been naturalized in America. And what, Sir, let us ask, is the effect of naturalization? Simply thus: that as America, following the example of every other civilized nation, confined the privileges of American citizens to those, who are born within her territories, others cannot obtain them without being naturalized. She, it is true, has rendered the terms of naturalization easier than most other nations have done, but still it can only be viewed as a boon granted to the person who obtains it, and while resident in America, and, for some commercial purposes, while absent from it, he is entitled to the privileges of an American citizen. But though America may grant this favour to an Englishman, and he may fairly avail himself of it, she cannot exempt that Englishman from the claims, which his country has upon him, the laws of nations, which prevailed for ages before the American government had an existence, consider the native born subjects of every country as one great family, who cannot by any subsequent connexions dissolve the tie which binds them to their native land, any more than a child of a private family can by a residence in, or connexion with another, dissolve those ties which bind him to his parents. Allegiance to the one, and duty to the other, must accompany us through every stage of life.

It is true that in later years a new school of philosophy has been opened, in which very different principles have been inculcated. Under the specious guise of liberty and philanthropy we have been told, that we must view all mankind with an equal eye—that as citizens of the world, we must consider every country as equally entitled to our protection; every religious creed, whether Pagan or Christian, as equally sound, and equally safe.

But the dire train of evils which were introduced into Europe by a

mere partial and temporary adoption of those principles—evils which still afflict us, and whose extent is yet unknown; have justly brought these novel doctrines into disrepute, and most of the disciples of this new school, abandoning this diffusive scheme, have again united themselves to the serious and steady supporters of those sound principles of allegiance and duty, which are founded in reason, are sanctioned by feeling, and cannot be relinquished without reducing the civilized world to a state of anarchy. Their rigid application, it is true, may be dispensed with for commercial purposes; but no nation can admit, that the personal privileges, which any one of its subjects may obtain from a foreign government, by the indulgence of naturalization, can supersede the claims of his native country, which attached to him at his birth, from which he cannot absolve himself by any act of his own, nor be absolved by the act of others, as the manly declaration of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent against America, states, in energetic language: "There is no right more clearly established, than the right which a sovereign has to the allegiance of his subjects, more especially in time of war. Their allegiance is no optional duty, which they can decline and resume at pleasure. It is a call which they are bound to obey: it began with their birth, and can only terminate with their existence."

Great Britain, I trust, will not be the first of the European powers, to abandon a principle so essential to the preservation of social order: she will not be the first to consign to the grave that virtue, which the poet has delighted to celebrate, and the orator to inspire; which the historian has laboured to perpetuate, and the moralist to instil; that *Amor Patriæ*, which is the parent of those honourable sentiments, that stimulate the wise, the worthy, and the brave, to conquer every selfish feeling, and to devote their talents, their integrity, and their valour, to the service of their country. No, Sir, let America, who is yet unknown to fame, let the progeny of that motley mixture, which she has deemed it wise to introduce into her bosom, be the authors of this code of selfishness and depravity; let them lay the corner stone of the tomb of disinterested virtue, and of genuine patriotism; let it remain for them to obliterate those early impressions, which endear to us even inanimate objects, those pleasing recollections of our infant years, those ardent friendships for the companions of our boyish days, that generous interest in the partners of our youthful joys, and that delightful association of personal and local attachments, which have hitherto bound mankind to the land of their nativity; let it remain for them to banish all those ennobling feelings from the human bosom; to listen solely to the selfish suggestions of interest, and carry themselves to market, to sell their allegiance to whatever government will promise them the most advantageous bargain. Yes, Sir, let Mr. Madison and his associates, if such means of acquiring celebrity are most congenial to their feelings, transmit their names to posterity, as the incendiaries of the temple of patriotism. But let Englishmen, and let us, who participate with Englishmen in their inestimable privileges, ever fondly

cherish these sentiments of enthusiastic attachment to the land of our forefathers, which have animated our long list of patriots, and of heroes, from our Alfred to our Nelson. Let these pretenders to philanthropy and philosophy insinuate into that part of the rising generation, which may come within their baneful influence, those principles of frigid indifference and gloomy scepticism, which will leave mankind without a home here; or an hope hereafter; but let us firmly adhere to those sound doctrines, which have stood the test of experience; let us instruct our children early to know and deeply to revere that sacred volume, which will present to them the most animating prospects of future felicity; which, while it tells them they are pilgrims, will convince them that they are not vagabonds upon the earth, and will teach them to exclaim, when the fond recollection of the land of their nativity arises in their minds—"If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, may my right hand forget her cunning; If I do not remember thee, may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth."

May such, Sir, be the sentiments of every
ANGLO-AMERICAN.

No. 5.

April 24th, 1813.

SIR,

Having closed my examination of the justice of that complaint against Great Britain, which the American Administration now assigns as the chief cause for the continuance of the war, and having endeavoured to place, in its proper light, the insolent, and unprincipled claim for the restitution of native British subjects, as American citizens; I shall now attempt to prove, that these are the mere *pretexts* for hostilities; that they were not actuated by the motives which they avow; and that the real causes, which have induced them to assume the awful responsibility of arming their fellow creatures against each other, are of a very different nature.

This undertaking, I admit, is in many respects dissimilar from that in which I have been hitherto engaged. Whether a professed motive justifies the conduct which has been adopted in consequence of it, is a question which every man, who is capable of comprehending the subject, and who is made acquainted with its attendant circumstances, may decide upon the common principles of justice. But when we attempt to dive into the recesses of the heart, and pronounce an opinion, not upon the actions but upon the motives of men, we require not only correct sentiments of justice, but a knowledge of the human character, to guide us in forming a decision. This, however, is not one of those cases, which require an uncommon depth of penetration, or quickness of apprehension to assist us in its investigation. Notwithstanding the infinite variety of characters, which human nature presents to our observation, there are certain fixed principles of action, which are common to all, and by which mankind in general are actuated, while they retain their reason; and when men assign motives for their conduct, which are manifestly insufficient to account

for, or are directly inconsistent with it, we do not hesitate to pronounce, that they have not revealed the truth.

If we view the situation of the United States of America, and consider the different habits and interests of the separate governments, which form that confederation, the conduct of those who represent them in the American Congress, and to whose care their interests are confided, we must be convinced that the motives assigned, by that portion of the Union, which constituted the majority, for plunging the country into war, are manifestly insufficient to account for their conduct, and quite inconsistent with their situations as the Representatives of those States, which are not injured by the evil of which they complain. It is notorious that the States, who are concerned in Navigation, and whose citizens must of course be almost the only sufferers by the practice of impressment, are unanimous in their opposition to this war. No person, I think, who is in the least acquainted with the situation of America, can entertain a doubt of this fact. When the question of war was carried in the Congress, its main supporters were the representatives from the States not engaged in Navigations, and its opponent were those whose constituents derived their chief support from it.

It is true that some of the members from Massachusetts and New York, two of the most wealthy and populous of the commercial States, voted for the war; but it must be recollected that those members were elected before it was known, that such a question would be proposed for their decision, and the general sentiments of their constituents have been since strongly expressed upon this subject, by the unanimity which prevailed among their Electors for the Presidential Chair. The author of this war was unanimously rejected by New York and Massachusetts, as well as by all the other Commercial States of the Union, and he owes the continuance of his authority to those, who are as little affected by the injury for which they have sought such awful redress, as they will be by the misery and ruin, which this disastrous remedy will bring upon those whose interests they profess to defend. It is in vain that the commercial states exclaim—"Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis," their Southern confederates have substantial reasons for pressing them to the earth by the weight of their protection. It is in vain that they expostulate with the Representatives of those portions of the Union, who do not own a single seaman, upon the inconsistency of their stepping forward as the Champion of the rights of the Ocean:—It is in vain they conjure them to leave the care of their own interests to themselves; that they assure them that the means by which they would secure a few of their seamen from impressment, will condemn the whole of them to imprisonment; that the measures which they have adopted to vindicate the rights of commerce will consign commerce itself to destruction; regardless of arguments, which they cannot answer, and deaf to intreaties to which they were predetermined not to listen, the guardians of American seamen, and of American Commerce, have resolved to expose all the former to captivity, to preserve

a few of them from temporary restraint, and to annihilate the latter to secure it from a partial restriction.

That these men, Sir, have reasons for their conduct, I do not pretend to deny ; but that they are not the reasons which they have assigned, must be evident, I think, to every man of common understanding. Should we not be surprised, if the Tin miners in Cornwall should rise in rebellion to redress a grievance, which only affected the Coal Miners in Newcastle ; or if the men who hew timber in Picton, were up in arms to avenge an injury sustained by those who quarry plaster of Paris in Windsor ? while neither of the parties immediately interested thought the injury of sufficient consequence to excite a tumult. No man of common sense would be so credulous as to believe that these rioters had assigned the real motives for their turbulence—and the case of America is still stronger than that which I have put, for the Commercial States, not only do not consider this grievance as a sufficient cause for war, but they earnestly deprecate having recourse to that measure ; they implore their Southern masters, not to extinguish a partial conflagration from which they do not apprehend any serious consequences by a general deluge, which will overwhelm them with ruin. But their petitions are unheard ; they are not permitted to have a voice in the consideration of evils which are exclusively their own ; and they must degradingly submit to a remedy, which is, indeed, in a tenfold degree worse than the disease.

What the real motives of the prescribers are, I shall attempt to develope in my next letter ; and if I am right in my conjectures respecting them, the Inhabitants of these Colonies are deeply interested in dwelling upon them in serious reflection.

AN ANGLO-AMERICAN.

No. 6.

May 8th, 1813.

SIR,

I think it must be evident to every man of plain sense, that the representatives from the southern states of America, who in conjunction with the cabinet at Washington now rule over the union, could not have been induced to involve themselves in war, for the mere purpose of avenging the wrongs of their northern brethren, where the injured parties did not seek their assistance ; nor for the still less colourable pretext of vindicating the cause of those British subjects who have been naturalized in America. The spirit of chivalry, when it existed in full force, seldom influenced the conduct of governments ; and we shall require very strong testimony to induce us to believe that it now actuates the minds of the American administration, and their adherents in congress, who are neither so disinterested as to expose themselves to evils for the benefit of their political opponents ; nor, low as our opinion of their talents may be, so foolish as to suppose that they could protect commerce by a measure, which it is evident to men of the meanest capacities, can only tend to its destruction. As we cannot therefore believe their own account of their motives, we must endeavour to discover the causes of this *unnatural* war, as it is termed, by an examination of the circum-

stances and situation of the men who have declared it, and of the country which they govern. And, however bold the assertion may appear, I cannot refrain from pronouncing, that this war, which is termed unnatural, has grown very naturally out of the situation of the United States of America, and might have been expected by every intelligent man, who had attended to the affairs of that country; who had watched its general progress, the distinct and clashing interests of the northern and southern portions of the union, and the growth and comparative strength of the political parties in that country.

The majority of the writers in America who are opposed to the government, attribute this war to French influence, to the subserviency of their own cabinet, to the views of the tyrant of Europe, and assert that America has declared war against Great Britain in obedience to the dictates of that usurper. That "the hand of Napoleon" to use the phrase of one of their own orators "is in this thing," I do not entertain the smallest doubt. But the question here presents itself, how came it there? And why is American blood, and American treasure, to be lavished in support of his views? It is more difficult to suppose, that the rulers of America have entered into this war solely in compliance with the orders of Buonaparte, than that they declared it for the motives which they themselves assign. As my wish is to take an impartial and a liberal view of this subject, I will not condescend to consider the baser motives of bribery and corruption, which have been urged, without any proof, against the leading men in America. Until such charges are substantiated, an unprejudiced mind will never admit them for a moment. If they have any foundation in fact, their opponents would delight to detail, and triumph in exposing them; and while they rest upon assertion only, we must attribute them to political animosity.

It is to the distinct and clashing interests of the northern and southern states of America, that we are to look for the real and original causes of this war. But, although we are to consider these as the primary sources, I certainly admit that there are secondary causes, and among these French influence is predominant.

Nothing could be more natural than that confederation, which was formed by the thirteen colonies of Great Britain after their separation from the parent state. They had almost every motive which can influence the minds of men to induce them to unite with each other. Born the subjects of one general government, they had long considered themselves as fellow-countrymen. Engaged in one common cause, they had persevered together in an arduous struggle against a powerful nation, until success had crowned their efforts. Looking to one individual as the leader, who had guided them to independence, they could not but desire to form a government under his auspices, by which those sanguinary contests might be prevented, that have generally prevailed among the small independent states. Thus influenced, both by their reason and feelings, they had formed that confederation which we have long known as the United States

of America. But, although this step was recommended by the wisest men among them, and was certainly the most prudent plan which they could adopt, it could neither remove nor remedy all the evils to which they were exposed in their new situation. It prevented those scenes of bloodshed, which the history of their parent state exhibited to them during the period of the heptarchy, and which, without such an union, would have been repeated among them, until the most powerful government had gained the dominion over the others. But it could not prevent that desire of sovereignty which ever exerts itself in those who embark in political life. It restrained the passions of the men, who, actuated by the thirst of power, would have deluged the fields of America with blood; but it could not preserve that political independence and entire equality among the separate states, which it was designed to establish and perpetuate. Their jarring interests had, until this period, been adjusted by the disinterested decision of the mother country. They were now to be settled by interested delegates from the respective states of the union; and influence and intrigue would not fail to exert themselves in that field from which actual force had been prudently banished, and they might prove equally efficacious in the acquisition of political ascendancy. If the situation of the union had produced a variety of conflicting interests and opposing parties, these, under the guidance of able and upright men, might have been managed in such a manner as to conduce to the general interest of the whole: or at least might have been so balanced as to make the general good preponderate upon all important occasions: and had several parties existed, none of which decidedly overpowered the others, men of talents and integrity would have stood a fair chance of holding the reins of government. But when once the separate interests of the country had divided it into two great parties, the leaders of each must be content to be led; and where their own opinions did not concur with those of their political associates, they must either have abandoned their posts, or have acted in subserviency to their views. Such is the situation of the United States of America. The congress is not divided into a number of parties contending for the various interests of the respective states, which its members represent; but as the interests of the southern and inland states are identified from natural causes, and are distinct from those of the northern and eastern portions of the union, which last are also held together by the same firm and common bond; so it necessarily follows, that the congress is divided into two parties, and that the struggle for ascendancy, which, if they had not entered into the confederation, would have been decided in the field, is now contested between the northern and southern states within the walls of congress. I am aware that men, who do not consider questions of this nature upon general principles, but confine their observations to particular facts, will enquire how it happens then, that many of the members from the northern states have coalesced with those from the south, and uniformly acted with them prior to the declaration of war? But the answer to this question is very obvious. In the first place, the interests of the southern party led them to favour the views of

France, the enemy of Great Britain. To France many of the northern representatives were attached by the recollection of the services she had rendered to them during their revolutionary war, and the political animosity which had subsisted in the minds of others against Great Britain, was too keen to allow them to listen even to the suggestions of interest. It is no answer to my arguments to observe, that they did not universally overcome the influence of prejudice and of prepossession. It is sufficient for my position to establish, that the majority of the commercial states, in defiance of that spirit of hostility against Great Britain which the war had excited, felt that it was their interest to preserve a good understanding with her; and that the majority of the southern states did not feel any such interest, but were disposed to favour the views of France, not from any positive benefits, which they promised to themselves, with a connexion with that country, but because, in their contest for superiority in their own, it was their interest to depress their political opponents, whose enterprising spirit, if it received no check, would acquire a degree of weight and influence, which might perhaps counterbalance the numerical advantages of their more indolent rivals. I cannot suppose it will be disputed that the interests of the northern and southern inhabitants of America are not the same. The former are a hardy, active, enterprising people, whose country is not rich in native productions, and who can only rise to wealth and power by industry and commerce. The latter, though they may be as intelligent, are by no means as active as their neighbours. Nor is it necessary for them to be so, as they possess a country which yields them abundantly all the necessaries of life, and whose surplus produce will always bring purchasers to their shores. The inhabitants of the northern states have hitherto been their carriers, but it is of greater consequence to the southern party, who have obtained the reins of government, to prevent an increase of wealth and power, and its attendant influence, in the hands of their rivals, than to preserve the convenience which the navigation of the northern states has hitherto afforded to them.

Since the recognition of the independence of America by Great Britain, four individuals have successively filled the presidential chair. Washington was called to it by the general voice of the country. But, even during that early period, the northern and southern inhabitants of America began to entertain different ideas of their respective interests: ideas which naturally arose from the difference of their respective situations, and which they must therefore even entertain; Massachusetts produced his successor in office. But, although that powerful state was the origination of that re-istance to the mother country, which success has deprived of its harsher name, and America should therefore have considered her as the parent of the revolution, yet the southern states reluctantly submitted to the sway of Adams, a regular systematic opposition was perfected during his administration, and, at its expiration, the reins of government were placed in the hands of a Virginian, about twelve years ago, and have never since been resumed by the northern

portion of the union ; nor, while the people of the south persist in their present measures, can those of the north ever acquire sufficient power and influence to regain them.

I consider the question then, Sir, in this point of view. If the confederation had never been formed, it is probable that those different portions of it would, long before this time, have contended for the dominion over each other at the point of the sword. As they are already united under one general government, the political contest for superiority, though carried on without bloodshed, is quite as serious and as interesting to those who are engaged in it, as if their forces were encamped against each other in the open field. Each party will look abroad with as much earnestness for support, and will avail itself of the passing scenes in other countries, either to advance its own interests, or to depress those of its opponent ; and nothing could have a greater tendency to depress the northern and eastern states, than a war with the greatest maritime power in the world. This, Sir, I consider as the sole primary cause of the war in which we are now involved, though there are secondary causes, to which I shall turn the attention of my readers in my next letter.

I cannot however close this without observing, that I by no means assert or think, that every individual member of Congress who voted for the war, was induced to give his vote by these considerations. Various are the motives which lead men to the same determination ; intrigue and influence, prejudice and partiality, friendship and hatred, interest and passion, may separately act upon the members of a popular assembly, and induce them to concur in one design. But I am firmly of opinion, that that disposition to remain at peace with Great Britain, which prevails among the majority of the commercial states, and that subserviency to the views of France, which is so evident both among the leading men, and in the great bulk of the inhabitants to the southward, originates in the distinct interests of each, and in the political rivalry which subsists between them ; which, after a long train of hostile conduct against Great Britain on the part of the faction which has possessed itself of the government, has finally terminated in open war. The only difference between the two parties is, that the previous prejudices and animosities of the northern people were in opposition to their interest ; and, therefore, we do not find such decided unanimity among them, as we meet with to the southward, where their prejudices and prepossessions unite with their political views.

I am, Sir, &c.

AN ANGLO AMERICAN.

No. 7.

Sir,

" May 29th, 1813.

In my last letter I stated that that confederation which was designed to establish and preserve the independence and equality of the separate states of America, was not calculated to effect that purpose ; that it only causes those who were desirous of obtaining superiority

to adopt different means of accomplishing their object, and to carry on their plans of conquest in the Congress, instead of arming the northern and southern hosts against each other; and I considered the war with Great Britain into which the southern people have plunged the whole country, as a very natural consequence of the measure which they had adopted to establish their ascendancy over the northern portion of the union, that it is in reality a war of the southern and inland against the northern and eastern states of America, and that the executive government and the majority of Congress intended the act which declared it as an authority to the British cruisers to seize the property, and to destroy the powers of their political rivals.

I am quite aware that many persons will consider these as very extravagant positions, and though they may not be disposed to think very favourable of Mr. Madison and his confederates, they will not believe them so depraved as to act with such determined hostility against their fellow citizens; but it must be remembered that the fellow citizenship of an inhabitant of Boston and of Baltimore is not a very strong tie, and the maxims that "*nemo repente fuit turpissimus*," is as applicable to the progress in political as in any other species of depravity—men who have been long eagerly bent upon one object, whose principles have become habituated to bend to their passions, and whose perceptions of right and wrong have consequently lost their original acuteness, will adopt measures with indifference which at one period they would have shuddered even to contemplate. I have no doubt that Mr. Madison, when he first became jealous of that commerce which was elevating the northern states, could not have believed that he ever would have resorted to so violent a measure to effect its destruction. But when his enmity, and that of his associates, had once been excited against the commercial part of the country, each year would silently increase it, and every succeeding measure which they directed against it, would probably prove stronger than its predecessor. Many of the inhabitants of the commercial states are convinced that the war has originated in the causes which I have assigned, and inveigh with much bitterness against those anti-commercial prejudices which actuate their rulers. But we, Sir, though deeply interested in the subject, may discuss it with less partiality than either of the political parties in America, and if the discussion should convince us that the antipathy which the men of influence in the southern states entertain for commerce, does not originate in mere prejudice, but in a well-grounded apprehension that the wealth and consequent influence which it would introduce into the commercial districts would eventually ensure to them the superiority in the union, we must necessarily conclude that those who are now possessed of power, will persist in the measures by which alone they can preserve their ascendancy, and, consequently, if they should succeed in their attempts upon these colonies, they would have the same motives to oppress us, which now induce them to devote the property of their commercial fellow-citizens to destruction, and their persons to captivity.

In the consideration of this subject it is necessary for us to bear in mind the distinguishing characteristics of the Northern and Southern Inhabitants of the United States of America; both are sagacious and acute, but the former are active and enterprising, the latter indolent and luxurious. Notwithstanding the fertility of their country, the love of ease and pleasure has always rendered the natives of the Southern States more dependent upon those with whom they were accustomed to traffic, than those of the North, whose country afforded them less to give in return for what they received. For a long time prior, and indeed subsequent to the revolution in America, the inhabitants of Virginia, of the Carolinas, and other Southern States, were so deeply indebted to the British merchants, that it might be said that the agriculture of those countries was carried on with British capital.

But when America began to reap the advantage which she derived from the confusion introduced into Europe by the French revolution, when the ships of France and Holland were seen no more on the ocean, and those of America were substituted for them, the consequent influx of wealth, though generally felt throughout America, was peculiarly beneficial to the inhabitants of the northern states, who owned by far the greater part of the vessels so profitably employed, and whose activity and energy were unremittingly exerted to increase the numbers of their shipping, from the mere carriers of the productions of the southern states, an increase of capital very soon enabled many of them to become the purchasers of it; and they then not only derived the benefit of the freight, but the profits upon the sale of the cargo, when carried to its ultimate market; their capital likewise enabled them to purchase such articles as were calculated for the consumption of the southern states, and by supplying them with these they secured a profit upon the return cargo also, the same indolent and luxurious habits which had plunged them into debt to the British merchants, still prevailed among the southern inhabitants of America, and they would very soon have become generally indebted to their more active fellow citizens. It is true that there were many merchants of opulence, enterprise, and activity in the commercial towns to the southward, but these would soon have borne no proportion to the number of those from the north, who were engaged in trade in the manner I have described as the shipping generally, and the American seamen, exclusively belonged to the northern states.

These circumstances early excited much alarm and jealousy on the part of the leading men to the southward, and although they did not think that the commerce in which the country was engaged, was directly injurious to them, but on the contrary was beneficial, as they participated in the wealth which it introduced, they foresaw it would produce a serious effect upon their relative situation with their northern confederates; as it would not only give them a much greater comparative accession of wealth, but would occasion a direct state of dependence upon them in a numerous body of the southern planters and traders.

While the inhabitants of the southern states were indebted to

England or to any other foreign country, although such a state was not desirable, the disadvantages attending it were by no means so great to the men of influence there, as they would have become if they had fallen into debt to those who lived under the same general elective government with themselves. Foreigners would not have the same inducements to exert that influence in their elections, which a creditor ever has with his debtor; indeed, if they interfered at all, they would probably be disposed to forward the views of those who were indebted to them; but if this influence should be transferred from those who had no immediate interest in the event of their elections, to their political rivals, it was highly probable they would exert it most actively and successfully. It was obvious therefore to men of reflection, that commerce not only increased the wealth of the northern states in a greater degree than those of the south, but that it had also a direct tendency to render the latter dependent upon the former.

Some of your readers may not immediately comprehend the political consequences which would have ensued, if the southern states should have become generally indebted to the commercial states, and others may be at a loss to imagine how it could happen, that a fertile country possessing many articles of export should become indebted to the consumers of many of those articles, who had no native productions to give them in return; but I would turn the attention of this class of your readers to a very common case in our own province. We frequently see in the different townships of this young and flourishing colony, and particularly in the new settlements, the sons of some of our farmers commence what is termed a country trader; the father is probably no richer than his neighbours, and the trader therefore commences without a capital, and relies solely for success upon his own activity and prudence; if he bears a fair character, he very easily procures a small supply of goods from a merchant in town; these he retails to his neighbours and receives their produce in payment, which he brings to market, and with the proceeds of it pays for his supply of goods and obtains another. In this manner he continues to traffic for some time, and if he has only a tolerable share of prudence and judgment, he will not fail to amass a fair portion of wealth. If the inhabitants of the township are extravagant, and indulge themselves in articles of luxury or dress beyond their means, which has been the case in some of the settlements, they become generally indebted to the trader, who is then the first man in the township; and need I ask the inhabitants of this country, if they have not often witnessed the effects of the influence which a man thus situated, exerts at an election? Now the same causes will, generally speaking, produce the same effects upon the great scale as upon the small, and the case I have mentioned illustrates the relative situations of the northern and southern states of America.

The southern states yield the articles with which America is to pay for those foreign productions which she consumes, so in the case I have mentioned, the extravagant farmers produce the articles with which the merchant in town is to be paid for the

merchandize which they consume ; but when the trader step in as a middle man between the farmer and the merchant, although he has no capital, and produces nothing himself ; yet by deriving a profit both upon his sale of country produce in town, and upon the articles which he carries into the country, he creates a capital by his industry, and renders his extravagant customers dependent upon him : so the inhabitants of the commercial states, by purchasing the productions of the south from their extravagant owners, and deriving a profit upon the sale of them in Europe, by returning to the southern ports with wine and other articles of luxury of European growth, which suit the taste and habits of the natives of the southern states, create a source of wealth by their superior industry and œconomy, which it is probable would eventually introduce a state of dependence on the part of those they supplied, similar to that experienced by the extravagant farmer on the country trader. The northern states of America, though deficient in native productions, would have become to the southern states, what Holland was to those nations on the Continent of Europe, who were but little engaged in navigation and commerce ; and it is notorious, that the Dutch merchants, although they had no native articles to export, were among the richest in Europe ; nor was there any reasonable prospect of preventing the northern states from deriving this advantage, but by the destruction of that commerce which threatened to bestow it upon them. The original causes were beyond the controul of those men, whose political consequence was thus brought into jeopardy. They originated in those distinguishing characteristics of indolence and extravagance, of activity and enterprise, which climate had introduced, and habit had confirmed. It is true, if we consider the United States of America as one nation, she was materially benefitted by commerce, in the southern, as well as in the northern portion of the Union ; and had she been under a monarchical government, or indeed under any government, where the care of the general interest was the actuating principle, it would have been carefully cherished. But as it would certainly have diminished the political importance of the great landholders and planters, to the southward, they early determined upon its destruction.

We, Sir, have indulged ourselves for years in laughing at what we termed the Chinese schemes, the philosophical reveries, and the Utopian dreams of Mr. Jefferson, and his political associates ; but although they have sacrificed the good of their country to their own selfish and ambitious views, yet I confess it appears evident to me, that they could not have devised better means to secure that personal superiority, and political power, which they are so anxious to retain, than those to which they have had recourse. If commerce had flourished as it would have done, if it had not been assailed by embargoes, non-importation acts, and those other measures, with which the American government pretended to defend, but really meant to destroy it, it is highly probable that the mere agents of the northern merchants would soon have acquired a greater degree of influence in many of the southern states than the greatest landholder and planter. This influence would of course have been exerted in favour of

those candidates for the Presidential chair, and for seats in Congress, who were supported by the northern states, and the dictatorial voice of Virginia would have been heard no more.

It is, then, to preserve the power of the landholder to the southward, by the destruction of American commerce and navigation, that war has been declared against Great Britain. To commerce itself they are not inimical; and if Sweden, Denmark, or any other European nation, should be permitted to withdraw from the great contest in which the world is now involved, and to maintain the character and privileges of a neutral, there are no ports on the borders of the ocean, to which they will be more welcome, than those in the southern states of America, if we do not blockade them strictly. They would then not only accomplish the object of destroying the wealth and power of the northern states, but they would accomplish it without a sacrifice of their own trade; they would much rather encourage the navigation of Sweden, or of any other European power, than that of Massachusetts's Bay, as their own commerce may be carried on quite as conveniently in neutral vessels, as in those of their political rivals who would thus be deprived of the means of acquiring that aggrandizement so much dreaded by the present rulers of America.

We have heard much, Sir, lately, of an embassy from the United States to Russia, to seek her mediation between Great Britain and America; if this mission has any object beyond that of cajoling the American people, it is probably designed to impress upon the mind of the Emperor, the necessity and convenience of allowing one among the Northern nations of Europe to remain neutral. If this point was once carried, it would release the southern people from most of the evils of the war, (except at such times as they should be blockaded) while the navigating States must inevitably sink beneath its pressure.

The impositions which have been practised upon John Bull, have frequently exposed him to ridicule; but if the good folks in America can really be persuaded, that their government have undertaken this war in defence of their commerce, when every school-boy sees that it must inevitably lead to its destruction, or that they are sincere in seeking the good offices of Russia, to induce Great Britain to grant them that peace, which I blush to acknowledge she has been soliciting from the court of Washington; honest John must then cede the palm of credulity to his American offspring; but as the wresting of this trophy from his brow, is not one of their most undutiful acts, it will excite more surprize than anger. Let the act however be their own; for I trust the deception is too gross to impose upon a single

ANGLO-AMERICAN.

No. 8.

SIR,

June 19th, 1813.

I cannot but admit that the assertion which I have ventured to make, "that the war in which we are now engaged with America,

though declared by the government of that country against Great Britain, was really designed by them as a war against their own navigation and commerce," is, at the first blush so extravagant, so repugnant to every sentiment of justice and morality, so base a sacrifice of the general good of the community, to the selfish and ambitious views of a few individuals, and so gross a breach of that confidence reposed by the electors in the elected, that it will be received by some with derision, and by many with doubt. I am, however, of opinion, that the most impartial men who will take the trouble to examine the subject, and to consider the political and commercial situation of the United States, at the time this war was declared, will not only assent to a position, which, at the first view appeared so extravagant, but will also be disposed to think that most men, if placed in the same situation, would pursue the same conduct that has been adopted by the present rulers of America.

It is this consideration Sir, that gives us a peculiar interest in this transaction. I stated in my last letter that "if the American government should succeed in their attempts upon these colonies, they would have the same motives to oppress us, which now induce them to devote the property of their commercial fellow citizens to destruction, and their persons to captivity,"—but if, by acting upon these motives, they had displayed an extraordinary degree of depravity, or had committed an egregious act of folly, we should not be justified in considering the conduct which they have pursued as an indication of the treatment which the commercial part of America is in future to expect from its southern rulers. Instances of extreme depravity and folly are rare, and it is still more unusual to see men, who are notorious either for the one or the other, placed in situations of great power and authority. Whenever, therefore, a concurrence of circumstances may place them there, we cannot infer, from their conduct, the line of policy which would generally be pursued by men of ordinary characters and capacity. But there is nothing in the measures of the present administration in America, which authorises our pronouncing them to be egregious fools, or atrocious villains. In truth, Sir, they are neither; they are men, who having acquired power, felt a very natural disposition to retain it, and saw with jealousy that commerce was introducing a description of people into the country, who would probably obtain more influence than themselves, and, deprive them of that authority, which they were unwilling to resign. Now, although there are doubtless high-minded men to be met with, who would have consulted the general good of the country, and would have carefully considered whether commerce was not more beneficial than injurious to it, before they would have allowed any selfish consideration to induce them to devote it to destruction; yet characters of this description, though we will hope they are not so rare as those of extreme depravity, are not very numerous; and it is much more common to meet with men, who without a total disregard to the interest of the public, allow themselves to be so blinded by self-love, as only to see it in that path

which leads to their own advancement. I am not aware, Sir, that history can produce a single instance, in which a class of men, situated as the American planters and landholders were to the southward, have resigned the power and influence which they possessed to their political rivals without a struggle, solely because the cause of their aggrandizement was also the cause of much benefit to their country. I contend, that the opposition which the men of influence in the southern and agricultural states have made to the commerce of America, was natural and consistent with those motives which actuate the majority of mankind; and that we may therefore expect a continuance of that conduct.

I assert, Sir, that as it respects the contest for political power in that country, the commercial and agricultural interest are necessarily opposed to each other. I do not by this mean to deny that natural connection between agriculture and commerce, which has been so satisfactorily proved by many able writers; and which, indeed, we might suppose it would not require great abilities to render evident to men of ordinary understanding; but it must be recollected that although the general interest of agriculture and commerce are identified in a national point of view, yet, the persons who are concerned in those branches may often be opposed to each other, and though both may admit that the farmer is necessary to the merchant, and the merchant to the farmer, yet, whether the body of merchants, or the body of landholders, shall possess the political power of the country, is a question of a very different nature, in which they will consider themselves opposed to each other as distinct classes of men; and in most cases the mercantile will prevail over the agricultural interest. Even in Great Britain, where we have the stability of a monarchical government, and where the landed interest has the powerful support of an hereditary nobility, we frequently hear complaints of the predominance of the commercial part of the country, in the affairs of the government; nor will it excite surprise that they should acquire much weight, if we consider the tendency of commerce to diffuse the influence of those who are extensively concerned in it. In our little province, how much does the influence of a merchant of eminence exceed that of any other private individual; how numerous and how various are the persons connected with, and in some measure dependent on him. The retail dealer, who, though his credit may be good, oftentimes wishes for indulgence in his payments. The country trader, who frequently exerts the influence he possesses in his township, as the merchant who supplies him directs. The ship-master, the ship-carpenter, the cooper, the carman, and the labourer, all look to him for employment, and frequently rely upon him for support, when business languishes. I appeal to the plain sense of the people of the country, to whom I direct these observations; if I am not correct in stating, that a merchant of fair character possesses more influence in the community in which he lives, than any other private individual resident there, whether at Halifax, at Liverpool, at Picton, at Cumberland, or even at Lunenburg, where the farmers are in general independent, and where it

is rare for any individual to be in debt ; at every place, in short, in the province, where any persons reside, who are extensively engaged in commerce and navigation. If, then, commerce has this tendency to increase the influence of those who pursue it, was it not natural that it should excite the jealousy of the leading men in the agricultural states, who had hitherto been the first men in the union, and who could not but apprehend that they would be soon eclipsed by the commercial characters, who were rising to the northward. Their jealousy would, however, have been useless, and their exertions to suppress the spirit of trade ineffectual, if it had not been for the peculiar situation and government of the United States ; for the landholders had neither a monarch to hold the scales evenly between them and their opponents, an hereditary nobility to preserve their consequence, nor a numerous tenantry to counterbalance the influence the merchants would have derived from the great body of dependents which I have before enumerated. Had the commercial and the agricultural men therefore been intermixed generally throughout the country, the former, though assailed as they were almost in their infancy, would still have prevailed, owing to the influence which they must gradually have obtained. But as the soil, climate, and habits, of the natives of the southern states induced them to devote themselves almost exclusively to agriculture, and the same causes, occasioned the northern people to engage in navigation and commerce, they were not only divided by their professions, but separated by their residence ; and as the leading men among the landholders took the alarm, before the commercial body had secured that influence which they would ultimately have acquired in the agricultural states, they were able to combat them in full force, to retain the numerical advantage which they possessed, and consequently to outvote them in congress. They wish to see no commercial character in America beyond the shopkeeper, who will retail to them such articles as they require, and purchase their produce to sell it again to the foreign ship-owner. While they can confine the mercantile part of the community to the profit they will derive upon the sale of their native produce to the foreign ship-owner, and upon the retail of the goods which they receive in return, they are not apprehensive of their becoming men of greater consequence and influence than themselves ; but if the ship-owner, and the exporting and importing merchant are united in one character resident among themselves, and that character a native of the northern states, as the majority of them would be, they justly fear that their own comparative importance would suffer, and that they could no longer hope to rule the country.—To reduce the mercantile body to this level, to destroy the navigation and external commerce of the United States of America, and thereby dry up the sources of that wealth and influence which threatened to overwhelm them, is the great object of the present rulers of that country ; an object to which they are not led by whim or caprice, not by any mistaken views of their own interest, not to indulge any Utopian dreams ; but from a well-grounded conviction that their own power can alone be preserved by its accomplishment, and that the

prosperity of that part of the Union, in which alone they are interested, will not be materially injured by their measures, as they know that while their country continues productive, foreign ships will resort to them for their produce, whenever the navigation of the northern states is annihilated. True it is, they are not ignorant that by annihilating navigation and external commerce, the northern portion of the Union will be reduced to a state of poverty; but as poverty and power are seldom united, we may be convinced that to this state their southern rulers wish to reduce them, and to effect it they have exercised the power they possess with a degree of despotism, which no minister of any of the regular governments of Europe would have dared to exert.

I may, Sir, have become tedious by devoting a second letter to this part of my subject, and by the repetition and amplification of some of my former arguments; but I am particularly anxious to convince your readers, that this war really originates in the causes which I have assigned; that the situation of the ruling men in America very naturally led them to act upon these motives; and that as these colonies resemble the northern and not the southern parts of America, in their soil, their climate, and the habits of their inhabitants, we can only hope to acquire wealth and prosperity by that commerce, which our parent state will cherish with as much zeal, as the government of America have displayed and will ever display, for its destruction.

AN ANGLO-AMERICAN.

The preceding letters were published at Halifax, in Nova Scotia, in the beginning of the year one thousand eight hundred and thirteen. The principal object of their author was to convince the inhabitants of the British colonies, that the ruling men in America were inimical to commerce, and that the colonists would be equally oppressed by them, if ever they submitted to their sway, as the people of New England now are, because the southern states will ever continue their hostility to trade while the present confederation exists in America. This view of the causes of the war, were deemed by some people to be erroneous and extravagant. The Anglo-American, however, has seen no reason to retract his opinions. Recent events have not only confirmed him in them more strongly, but the answer of the Senate of Massachusetts to the speech of the governor of that state; in the month of January one thousand eight hundred and fourteen, may convince others that that body feel the truth of his assertions. "The chief opposition of the friends of peace" (say they) "has been made to a system of measures directed, only nominally against Great Britain, but really levelled at the vital interest of New England and of all the commercial states. A system of a character such as the globe never witnessed, such as no nation ever before endured; a system beginning with specific non-importation, and terminating in war, after a six years' continuance of embargo, restrictions, general non-importations, land-carriage prohibition, and every form of mercantile embarrassment and oppression."

Such are the ideas of the Senate of one of the first among the

commercial states entertain, relative to the motives which induced the rulers of America to plunge the country into a war; they therefore entirely concur with the opinions of the Anglo-American upon this point, though, perhaps, they would not agree with him in the position, that it is the interest of Great Britain to enter into the views of the American administration, and not to assist the commercial portion of the Union in their resistance to the general government.

This position, it is admitted, is in opposition to the feelings, which the opposite conduct of those two parties in America must naturally excite in the bosoms of British subjects; but let us not be misled by those feelings into a line of conduct, which may prove highly injurious to our country.

The merchants of Nova Scotia have lately presented a petition to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, praying that the citizens of the United States may not be permitted to fish in the close seas in British America; and the Anglo-American has made some observations upon that petition, in which, without any reference to the inclinations of the federalists or the democrats in America, he has attempted to establish that the interests of the former must make them the rivals of Great Britain, and that the views of the latter may lead to the closest alliance and amity between the two countries.

These observations he submits to the judgment of those who may favour them with a perusal.

Halifax, Nova Scotia, March 1st, 1814.

Observations on the Memorial of the Committee of Trade in Nova Scotia.

It is too evident to require the support of argument that the objects at which the petition aims, will, if attained, insure the prosperity of these colonies, and that consideration alone should be sufficient to induce his majesty's ministers to give it a serious consideration.

But although the attention of the committee has been properly turned to the immediate interests of those who have appointed them to superintend their concerns, it is certainly fortunate that their interests so far from clashing with those of the empire at large, are most intimately connected with the preservation of its strength and maritime greatness.

The true delineation which is given in the memorial of the political and commercial character of the American people should awaken the attention of the British ministry, and induce them whenever the period for negotiation may arrive, to disregard the temporary convenience of an immediate market for our manufactures, which the renewal of our commercial intercourse with that country upon its former footing would afford, and to adopt as the basis of the negotiations on our part, those principles of sound policy which embrace remoter objects.

The hostile sentiments entertained by the great bulk of the inhabitants of America towards Great Britain, may owe their origin to

that bitterness and enmity, which the civil war excited; but under the system which has hitherto prevailed, the clashing interests of the two countries, have so strong a tendency to keep such feelings alive, that it is the duty of the British government to avail itself of the opportunities that have fortunately occurred, to counteract a spirit of hostility, which we have already seen, can survive the period of actual war. And although it is not for us to consider what may be the decrees of Providence respecting the ultimate situation of America, yet as far as human prudence and foresight can be exerted, it is our duty to exert them; and as it is evident that America wants not the will to injure us, it is incumbent upon us to deprive her of the power.

The evil effects which these colonies experience from the extension of those commercial privileges to foreigners, which Great Britain should confine to her own subjects, are clearly and ably pointed out in the memorial; they have long been evident to such of the colonists as have turned their attention to the consequences likely to flow from the establishment of an independent government on this side of the Atlantic; but never could the most sanguine of them have anticipated a concurrence of circumstances so favourable as those which now exist for advancing the interests both of the empire and its colonies. Those who were acquainted with the sentiments of the inhabitants of the latter, never entertained any apprehension of their inclination to resist any attack which might be made upon them by the government of France—but in the event of a war with America, a people with whom they were in the habit of continual intercourse, whose manners and language were the same with their own, and whom they saw rising into opulence by commercial speculations, which as colonists, they were precluded from engaging in, it was apprehended, and not without reason, that some would actively assist our enemies, and many others would make but a feeble resistance to their arms, if they turned them against us—but the circumstances under which the present war was declared, have relieved us from all these fears. The extravagance of the claims and the flagrant injustice of the conduct of America towards us, has done much, but the injury which her system of policy has inflicted upon the commercial part of her own citizens, has done more towards securing the inclinations of the colonists. They now reap most of the advantages which the northern and eastern states have lost, and perceive, that if they were under the dominion of the present government of America, their character as a commercial people would render them equally objects of jealousy, and equally sufferers from the restrictions on trade. Thus they are bound to the parent state by the powerful tie of interest. These are the fortunate effects which have been produced in the British colonies by the American declaration of war; but the consequence that may result from it to the two nations, are still more important, and may enable Great Britain to revive that system which was virtually infringed when the treaty of 1783 conferred privileges on America, that have proved so beneficial to her and injurious to us.

That ill-fated article, the third in that treaty which established the independence of the United States, provided them with a nursery for seamen. The subsequent disorders in Europe opened a boundless field for their commerce, and threw the carrying trade of France, of Spain, and of Holland, indeed of the whole continent of Europe, into their hands. And the repeated concessions of the British government to their extravagant claims, gave them every opportunity of availing themselves of these advantages to the utmost extent. The foundation of maritime power was thus laid; and had America been under the sway of a monarch, or been ruled by a government which looked to the general interests of the country, they would not have lost the opportunity thus presented to them of rendering themselves formidable upon the ocean; but, fortunately for Great Britain, the landholders to the southward became jealous of the growing greatness of the commercial states; and more anxious to preserve an ascendancy in the confederation, than to advance the general prosperity; they have assailed with numerous impositions and restrictions, that commerce which would have led America to wealth and power; and have finally involved her in a war with the greatest maritime power in the world, in order to complete its destruction.

Let the British government consider this as the true cause of the war, and not be misled by the idea that it originated in French influence or in antipathy to Great Britain, though beyond all question, the American government availed themselves of both these stimulants to obtain a majority in congress in support of their favourite measure.

It is a truth which the ruling men in America feel, that if the commercial states increase in wealth, they will increase in power, and that the present predominant influence of the southern planters will cease. It is under this conviction that they act, and it is of great consequence that our administration should be convinced that such are their motives—for if they are, is it not the interest of Great Britain to advance, rather than to oppose, the views of the American administration? It is said that the federal part of that country are friendly to Great Britain, because they are opposed to the present war; their opposition does not arise from any partiality to us, but from a desire to preserve that commerce which a war with the rulers of the ocean must destroy.

It is supposed on the contrary, that the government party are solely actuated by sentiments of antipathy to us, and it is true that they have enacted non-intercourse laws, imposed embargoes, encouraged domestic manufactures, and finally have declared war; but, although these measures were ostensibly directed against Great Britain, is it not obvious that they were calculated much more to distress the external commerce of America than to injure us? Their partial and immediate ill effects we may indeed have felt, but their ultimate tendency is highly favourable. The two first measures crippled, the last has crushed, the trade and navigation of America, and has already increased the employment of British seamen in a very considerable degree.

In respect to their domestic manufactories we have nothing to fear from them. America must continue an agricultural country for a long period of time before she can rival us in manufactories, and the southern states will be perfectly satisfied to receive from us, better articles than they can make, and at lower prices than they can furnish them, if we can contrive to provide them without employing the shipping of their political rivals.

If, then, there are two parties in this confederation, of distinct interests and opposite views, as must be evident to every person acquainted with the real situation of the United States of America, should we waste our time in considering what the intentions and sentiments of either may now be towards us? Let us rather inquire how the distinct interests and views of these parties will ultimately affect us.

If those who now rule America continue in power, and can succeed in their plans to destroy external commerce, they will content themselves with selling their native productions to the foreign merchants who may visit them, and receiving in exchange such articles as suit their markets. We shall thus get rid of a most formidable commercial rival, and if we manage a negotiation with such a government judiciously, secure a vent for a large portion of our manufactures, and in a market too where we can obtain a supply of the raw materials in return; we may become the carriers of the cargoes both out and home; and thus nourish the vital interests and strength of the empire, we shall not only increase our own navigation, and with it our naval strength, but we shall see the root of that maritime power, which to say the least, it cannot be our interest to cherish, torn from a bed, where, if it were kindly fostered, it might flourish to our detriment.

If the federalists come into power, they will it is true grant us peace; but upon what terms? They will not, I admit, contend for the extravagant privilege of claiming our native subjects, as their naturalized citizens, they will not deny our right to take our own seamen from their vessels; points which the party now in power know that we cannot cede; and which they contend for, merely to insure a continuance of the war, until they have completely accomplished the destruction of their political rivals. The federalists would, I doubt not, grant us peace without delay, if we consent to assume the "*Status quo ante bellum*" as the basis of the negotiation; and what will be the result? The ultimate loss of these northern colonies, though one of the certain, will not be one of the most important consequences of this measure; their fate, it is true, will be decided by it. The hand which seals the treaty renewing the privileges conferred upon America by the third article of that of 1783, will doom these provinces to poverty during their future dependence upon Great Britain, and will as certainly sow the seeds of final separation. That separation will not be felt by Great Britain solely as a loss to her; she will be chiefly affected by that accession of influence which the commercial states would gain in the American confederation, by acquiring

a population and territory resembling that which the friends of commerce inhabit, for thus strengthened, those states would probably obtain an ascendancy in the Union.*

The spirit of commercial enterprize would revive, and would soon resume redoubled strength under an administration that would fondly cherish it; they would no longer have to seek permission from Great Britain to fish upon her coasts, and to cure their fish when caught, upon the uninhabited parts of her colonies; those colonies would then be identified with the northern states; their fisheries would be carried on with tenfold advantage and would provide at once a nursery for seamen and a source of wealth. We should again see America availing herself of that wise system which a federal administration formerly borrowed from us; we should see the spirit of our navigation acts infused into the laws to cherish American commerce; we should see countervailing duties imposed to discourage British

* It may be asked, that if such consequences would ensue from the junction of these northern colonies to the United States of America, how does it happen that the conquest of them has been a favourite measure with the government of the United States, when their own power would be shaken by their success?

To this question several answers may be given :

- 1st.—It may be that the government of the United States have never been serious in their attempts upon these colonies; but as they could not declare war without doing something to employ the minds of the people, and to manifest their hostility; they may have invaded Canada, without having the wish or intention to subdue it, and the manner in which they have conducted that invasion, would of itself almost warrant this suspicion.
- 2dly.—They may not clearly see the consequences which would result from this success, but may be actuated by the same blind policy which urged Great Britain to the conquest of Canada, by which she relieved the States of America, then her colonies, from all fears of the French, diminished their dependence upon Great Britain, and paved the way to the revolution in America.
- 3dly.—They might have intended, in case they should succeed in their plans of conquest, to retain these colonies as part of the territories of the United States, without admitting them into the Union, by which measure, if they could have succeeded in it, the patronage and with it the power of the government would have been increased.
- 4thly.—They might have intended to transfer Canada to its old masters the French, which would have given great satisfaction to the inhabitants of that colony, and would have served as a check upon any future opposition of the New England states to the general government.

shipping and British trade. And as the navigating states are not ignorant of the important truth, that an extensive trade must be protected by a powerful navy, we should see the revenues which that trade would produce, expended in the support of a navy which would ever be thrown into the scale of our enemies, in every contest for the dominion of the ocean.

It appears evident to me that if the federal party should come into power, and we should make peace with them upon the "*Status quo ante bellum*," these consequences must result from it. I know that there are many individuals in these colonies who would consider a separation from Great Britain under any circumstances as a great calamity: but these form but a small portion, in comparison with the numbers, whose inclinations would be guided by their interest, and if those articles in the treaty of 1783, which were so injurious to these colonies, should be renewed, there can be no doubt, that the inhabitants of the neighbouring states will possess advantages over us, in which our people will feel a strong disposition to participate. And the merchant at Halifax, or at Liverpool, who sees his correspondent at Boston acquiring wealth from a trade in which he is not permitted to engage, will feel a natural wish to relieve himself from those restrictions which deprive him of this advantage—a wish that will, I fear, be too strong for any sentiments of loyalty he may entertain towards a country which he never saw: these consequences are natural, and the anticipation of them cannot be considered as a reproach upon the people who inhabit the colonies: it only supposes that they will be influenced by those motives which actuate the generality of mankind.

It is clearly, then, the interests of Great Britain to encourage the views of the party who now rule America, rather than those of their opponents. If the negotiations for peace should be carried on with the present administration, we shall meet persons more anxious even than ourselves to destroy those sources of commercial greatness from which alone we have any thing to apprehend on the part of America.

As the administrators of a popular and confederate government, they cannot develop the whole of their views to their own people; but a dispassionate examination of their conduct must satisfy us that such are their views, and a little adroitness on our part, might afford them a favourable pretext for their complete accomplishment.

AN ANGLO-AMERICAN.

A Dissuasive from Socinianism, by A LAYMAN.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following pages, which were penned in consequence of an affecting domestic occurrence, have, for nearly five years, been confined to private circulation, for which alone they were intended. Their publication is at length induced by the extraordinary efforts which are

now making for the propagation of the Socinian heresy. Not content with entire freedom of worship, which has lately been secured to them by law, the maintainers of that heresy are become zealously active in endeavouring to make proselytes to their opinions; for which purpose they openly and pointedly attack the doctrines of the Divinity of our blessed Saviour, and the atonement. Conceiving that every true believer is called upon to resist, as far as he may be able, such attacks on the Faith of the Gospel, the author does not think himself at liberty any longer to withhold even this humble attempt to defend the fundamental doctrines of that faith.

January 5, 1814.

A Dissuasive, &c.

"It is well known that the Socinians endeavour to recommend their religious tenets, by boastfully applying to their system of belief, the specious epithet—*rational*. Such pretensions involve a most dangerous fallacy, and lead to a gross perversion of the reasoning powers. The province of reason is to assist us in ascertaining what is really revealed, and not to sit in judgment upon revelation. When, aided by diligent research, sound learning, and correct criticism, it has enabled us to discover the word and will of God, implicit acquiescence becomes an indispensable duty. When God speaks, it is for man to believe and obey.

"But the Socinians are not entitled to the plea of which they thus endeavour to avail themselves. Objectionable as that plea is in point of principle, it is no less destitute of foundation in point of fact. The Socinian creed, far from having any just claim to the term, *rational*, is as much at variance with reason as with Scripture. Is it consistent with reason to believe that a mere man could sustain the character of the Saviour of the world? * a character assigned to Christ by various passages of Scripture, the authenticity of which even Socinian scepticism does not venture to dispute. Consider this, ye who have been prevailed upon, by an appeal to your reasoning faculty, to reject the doctrine of the divinity of Christ. Could a mere man, however excellent, be a propitiation for the sins of his fellow-men? † Or could it be said of a being altogether human, that God was in Christ, reconciling the world to himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them? ‡ Does reason encourage you to trust in a mere man, for the performance of these high functions, so essential to your salvation?

* 1 John, iv. 14. And we have seen and do testify, that the Father sent the Son to be the Saviour of the world. See, also, John, iv. 42. Acts, v. 31. Phil. iii. 20. 2 Tim. i. 10. Tit. i. 4. Tit. ii. 13. Tit. iii. 6. 2 Pet. i. 1. 2 Pet. i. 11. 2 Pet. iii. 18.

† 1 John, ii. 2. And he is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world.

‡ 2 Cor. v. 19.

"But the union of the divine and human nature, in one person, is a mystery which you cannot comprehend, and which, *therefore*, you will not believe. Do you, then, reject from your faith whatever is beyond your comprehension? If so, of what articles is your creed composed? Can you comprehend the infinite perfections of the Deity? Can you conceive how the Almighty exists from eternity? How he fills all space? Can you by searching find out God? Nay, can you comprehend the union of spirit and matter in your own composition? Have you then such confidence in your reasoning powers, of the origin of which, and of the manner of their operation, you can form no idea; as to set up your own conclusions against the express authority of revelation, which informs you—that *the Word was God*—and that *the Word was made flesh*; and which clearly unfolds the twofold nature of Christ, by giving him the twofold appellation of *Son of God*, and *Son of Man*? That in the latter character, he was very man, you yourselves allow. That in the former, he must be very God, it seems impossible to doubt. That the Son of man must be man, and that the Son of God must be God, are truths apparently too obvious to be disputed. And, as if to warn you against a disposition to doubt this great truth, because it is mysterious and incomprehensible, the inspired Scriptures tell you expressly, that "great is the mystery of godliness: God was manifest in the flesh." It were endless, however, to quote the many passages in which those Scriptures assert the divinity of Him, in whom *dwelt all the fullness of the Godhead bodily*; who spake of *the glory which He had with the Father before the world was*; and whom we are required to honour, *even as we honour the Father*.

"But in confirmation of your disbelief of what is so clearly revealed in the oracles of truth, you suffer yourselves to be persuaded that you stand in no need of a Saviour. You are led confidently to rely on the mercies of God; concluding that if you repent and reform your lives, you can have nothing to fear with regard to your future state. But supposing the conclusion to be warranted by Scripture, are you sure that your repentance is so sincere, that your reformation will be so complete and so lasting, as to authorize such confidence? Are you able from this time forth to live in such a manner, as to entitle you to the divine favour and to everlasting life? Blessed effects of Socinianism! All other persons but the members of this sect, even the best, are conscious of numberless imperfections. Should they happily be able, which none of them pretend to be without the divine aid, entirely to avoid sins of commission, their sins of omission afford them cause for deep lamentation. They know that 'in many things we offend all;' they find, even in the performance of their religious duties, and in spite of their best endeavours, such defects, such negligence, such wanderings, so many proofs that they are at best but unprofitable servants, that, instead of presuming on the divine approbation of their services, they rejoice in being authorized to hope, that their humble but sincere endeavours,

will be accepted—*through Christ*. And can it be doubted that these dispositions are more consonant with genuine repentance, and more favourable to a thorough reformation, than that Pharisaical confidence in your own performances, which you seem so prone to indulge? Can it be doubted, after the example of St. Peter, that danger attends presumption, and that safety is to be found only by the side of humility? Can it be doubted that those persons are most likely to escape the snares to which all are exposed, who, sensible of their own frailty and weakness, are unwilling to trust to themselves; who, while they stand, know that it is necessary to take heed lest they fall; who pray fervently that they may not be led into temptation; who remember that they are commanded to work out their salvation *with fear and trembling*; who, like St. Paul, are afraid, lest, after all their exertions, they should be cast away; and who, being aware that, as our church expresses it, ‘they are set in the midst of so many and great dangers, that by reason of the frailty of their nature they cannot always stand upright,’ pray for ‘such strength and protection, as may support them in all dangers, and carry them through all temptations, *through Jesus Christ their Lord*?’ (Collect for the fourth Sunday after the Epiphany.) Surely these are the persons who have the best chance for that repentance which is not to be repented of, and for that amendment of heart and life, without which repentance can be of avail.

“But supposing that henceforth you could promise perfect and sinless obedience, what is to become of the sins of your past life? How is *this* account to be settled? Every sin is a violation of the divine law, and subjects you to the divine wrath, which, we are told, ‘is revealed from Heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men.’ What ground have you for believing that your repentance, however sincere, that your reformation, however complete, can have a retrospect, and absolve you from past guilt? Can they produce a superabundance of merit, so as to compensate for former offences? No, you will say; these are not your grounds of confidence. You rely on the promises of the Gospel, which encourages you to expect pardon and salvation, on the condition of repentance and amendment, that is, such repentance and amendment as you are capable of. Is this, however, the only condition on which such promises are made? It is true, in some parts of Scripture, forgiveness is offered to the repenting sinner, to the returning prodigal, but in others, Faith in the blood of Christ is, in the clearest manner, represented as essential to salvation. How will you get rid of these passages? Can you expunge them from your Bibles? The Scriptures are surely to be interpreted, like any other book, by connecting together the different parts, so as to make a consistent whole. According to this rule, no one to whom the Gospel is preached, is authorized to hope for salvation, unless he have, both *repentance towards God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ*. Each is alike indispensable. So strongly indeed is such Faith insisted upon, as the operative means of salvation—so clearly is it declared that *eternal life is the gift of God through Jesus*

Christ our Lord—so positively is it said, that *no man cometh to the Father but by Him*---and that there is *none other name given among men whereby we must be saved*---that some persons, construing, like you, the sacred books by detached passages only, have fallen into the contrary, but no less dangerous extreme, and have concluded that Faith is *sufficient* for salvation; forgetting that the Faith which the Gospel requires, and on which alone any reliance can be placed, is that which, while it trusts only to the merits of a crucified Saviour, is accompanied with the deepest sorrow for those sins, which were the cause of His exquisite sufferings---with an utter abhorrence of that guilt, which required such a sacrifice; a Faith which does not consist merely in an assent of the mind to the doctrines revealed in the Gospel, nor even in a reliance on the efficacy of those doctrines, but is also an active principle, producing the fruit of good living; a Faith which, co-operating with a regular use of the means of Grace, provided for our benefit in the ordinances of the Christian Church---and especially in that most comfortable and most profitable ordinance, the Sacrament of the Lord's supper---leads continually to higher attainments in holiness: a Faith, in short, which, instead of superseding the necessity of good works, is, itself, *dead without them*; which furnishes the strongest possible motives to virtue; and from which, as from its natural source, pure morality flows, in increasing streams, throughout a Christian's life.

“Such, however, is the scheme of salvation which is unfolded in the Gospel; a scheme widely and essentially differing from that, on which the Socinians build their hopes of eternal life. They indeed rely on the mercies of God, whom they justly represent as a Being of infinite goodness, as long suffering, slow to anger, and ready to forgive. But they seem to forget that he is a God of justice, as well as mercy---that he abhors sin, and is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity. In presuming on his mercy, without any satisfaction to his justice, do they not exalt one of his attributes at the expence of another? Nay, can they be sure that it would be compatible with his justice, to display his mercy by a gratuitous pardon? But, according to the Gospel plan, these attributes are reconciled. Full satisfaction is made to His justice, while His mercy beams forth in a manner, which the term mercy is scarcely adequate to describe. In the redemption of the world by Jesus Christ is displayed---not mercy alone---but love---ineffable love. Here the Sovereign of the universe does not merely pardon offending criminals. If that were all, they would only escape the punishment due to their crimes; they would still be but pardoned criminals. But according to the plan which infinite Goodness has devised, a complete compensation is made for their offences: provided they comply with the terms graciously proposed to them, they are restored to the favour of their offended Sovereign, and are reconciled to God through Jesus Christ: and when their state of probation shall be over, if they but persevere until the end, their guilt will be entirely done away, and *their robes will be washed white in the blood of the Lamb*. It is obvious that this plan

harmonizes with all the moral perfections of the Deity. It accords with His infinite purity, with His irreconcilable hatred of sin, which can never appear in such black colours, as when expiated by *such* an atonement. It represents His justice as fully satisfied; satisfied, by a compensation which His own goodness has provided. It vindicates the honour of His violated laws, and it therefore redounds to His glory. At the same time it is replete with mercy, with grace, with unspeakable love, to sinful man, on whom is bestowed, not pardon alone, but favour---and even reward; an eternal reward---purchased by merits not his own. In a word, this plan is infinitely more honourable to God, and infinitely more beneficial to man, than that of a free pardon, without any satisfaction, supposing that the latter could be shown to be compatible with the divine justice.

“Such are the terms of the Gospel covenant; terms infinitely gracious, but which Socinians venture to reject. These persons, indeed, entertain hopes of salvation: but they will not accept of a Saviour. They spurn at the offer of mercy through Christ. They will rather trust to their own merits than to His. They rely for acceptance with God, not on that ‘precious blood which cleanseth from all sin,’ but on their own imperfect morality: a morality which, independently of the defectiveness inseparably attendant upon every thing human, is destitute of that ‘obedience of faith,’ which is the essence of all Christian virtue; a morality, in which is to be found no trace of that humility, the cultivation of which, after the example of Him who was a pattern of all excellence, is so much insisted on in the Christian code; a morality, too, which is wanting in gratitude for the greatest benefit ever conferred on man---for love so stupendous, that an inspired Apostle describes it as *passing knowledge*. It is impossible not to feel that the situation of such persons is most perilous. For though Christ died for all mankind, and His blood is a sufficient atonement for the sins of the whole world; nay, though it may expiate the guilt of multitudes who never heard of salvation by Him, provided they improve such opportunities as are afforded them; yet with regard to those to whom the Gospel is sent, *the promise is only to them who believe*. Faith with regard to such persons is made the indispensable condition of salvation. To them it is said, *Believe in the Lord Jesus, and ye shall be saved*. It behoves the Socinian seriously to consider whether the state of those who comply with these conditions is not, at all events, the most secure. He will not pretend that Faith in the Son of God, as the propitiation for sin, can endanger the salvation of the true believer. But what will be *his* situation, if the awful denunciation, *he that believeth not shall be damned*, should at last be found applicable to him? What will be *his* situation, if he should be found in the number of those who are described, as denying the Lord who bought them; as enemies of the cross of Christ; who have trodden under foot the Son of God, and counted the blood of the covenant an unholy thing, and done despite to the Spirit of Grace? These awful descriptions seem to be prophetic of the Socinian heresy. May all

persons, to whom they are capable of application; discover, ere it be too late, the danger to which they are exposed! May they, with reverence and humility, consult the unerring Word of God, rather than their own fallible reason! They will there find the doctrine of the redemption of mankind, by the merits, sufferings, and death of Jesus Christ, unfolded in terms so clear and explicit, that for any one, with the Bible in his hand, to be a disbeliever of that doctrine, seems calculated to excite the utmost astonishment. To aid research, in a matter so important, the reader shall be referred to the leading texts of Scripture, which more immediately relate to the above doctrine. Those texts are, as might be supposed, chiefly contained in the New Testament, by which the Gospel dispensation was promulgated. But the doctrine of the atonement is to be found in the Old Testament also. It was prophetically, though obscurely, announced, immediately after that woful fall, the effects which have rendered an atonement necessary. It was 'witnessed by the law and the prophets;' by those holy men who saw the 'promises afar off.' It is to be traced in those Scriptures of which our Saviour said, 'They are they which testify of me;' which he himself expounded, to prove that 'Christ ought to have suffered;' and out of which his inspired Apostle reasoned, 'opening and alledging that Christ must needs have suffered.' But it is disclosed, with wonderful precision, by the prophet Isaiah, to whom, on that account, the term *Evangelical* has been justly and beautifully applied. The remarkable prophecy, here alluded to, once converted a distinguished infidel of this country, who was convinced of the truth of Christianity, by the exact description, he then saw of the sufferings of Christ. But the believer will there also see, with wonder and delight, a no less exact description of that great doctrine, the very corner-stone of the Christian faith, which assures us of the efficacy of those sufferings; by presenting Christ to our view, as a sacrifice for sin.

Citations from Scripture, proving the Doctrine of the Redemption of the World by the Merits, Sufferings, and Death of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Isaiah, liii. 4. Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows.

V. 5. But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and by his stripes we are healed.

V. 6.—The Lord hath laid on him the iniquity of us all.

V. 8.—For the transgressions of my people was he stricken.

V. 10.—When thou shalt make his soul an offering for sin.

V. 12. And he bare the sin of many, and made intercession for the transgressors.

Matthew, i. 21. Thou shalt call his name Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins.

Chap. xviii. 13. For the Son of Man is come to save that which was lost.

· Chap. xx. 28. Even as the Son of Man came to give his life a ransom for many.

· Chap. xxvi. 28. For this is the blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many, for the remission of sins.

· Mark, x. 45. Even the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many.

· Luke, xxii. 20. This cup is the New Testament of my blood which is shed for you.

· Chap. xxiv. 47. And that the repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations—

· John, 1. 29. Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sins of the world.

· Chap. iii. 16. For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him, should not perish, but have everlasting life.

· V. 17. For God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world; but that the world, through him, might be saved.

· V. 36. He that believeth on the Son hath everlasting life; and he that believeth not the Son shall not see life, but the wrath of God abideth in him.

· Chap. vi. 54. Whoso eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath eternal life.

· Chap. x. 15. I lay down my life for the sheep.

· Chap. xx. 31. But these things are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that, believing, ye might have life through his name.

· Acts, iv. 12. Neither is there salvation in any other; for there is none other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved.

· Chap. x. 43. Through his name whosoever believeth in him shall receive remission of sins.

· Chap. xviii. 38. Be it known unto you, therefore, men and brethren, that through this man is preached unto you forgiveness of sins.

· V. 39. And by him all that believe are justified from all things.

· Chap. xx. 28. To feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood.

· Romans, iii. 24. Being justified freely by his grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus.

· V. 25. Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood.

· Chap. v. 6. In due time Christ died for the ungodly.

· V. 8. God commendeth his love towards us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us.

· V. 9. Much more then being now justified by his blood we shall be saved from wrath through him.

· V. 10. If when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God, by the death of his Son.

· V. 11. We have joy in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we have now received the atonement.

Chap. vi. 23. The gift of God is eternal-life, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

1 Corinthians, i. 17.—Lest the cross of Christ be made of none effect.

V. 30. But of him are ye in Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification and redemption.

Chap. iii. 11. For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ.

Chap. v. 7. Even Christ our passover is sacrificed for us.

Chap. vi. 20. For ye are bought with a price.

Chap. xv. 3. For I delivered unto you, first of all, that which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures.

2 Corinthians, v. 18. God who hath reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ.

V. 19. God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself.

Galatians, i. 4. Who gave himself for our sins, that he might deliver us from this present evil world, according to the will of God and our Father.

Chap. ii. 16. Knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ.

Chap. iii. 13. Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law.

Chap. iv. 5. God sent forth his Son to redeem them that were under the law.

Ephesians, i. 7. In whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of his grace.

Chap. ii. 13. Ye who sometimes were far off are made nigh by the blood of Christ.

V. 16. And that he might reconcile both unto God in one body by the cross.

Chap. iv. 32. As God for Christ's sake hath forgiven you.

Chap. v. 2. As Christ also hath loved us and given himself for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God,

Colossians, i. 20. Having made peace through the blood of his cross, by Him to reconcile all things unto himself.

V. 21. And you that were sometimes alienated and enemies in your mind by wicked works, yet now hath He reconciled.

1. Thessalonians, v. 9, 10. For God hath not appointed us to wrath, but to obtain salvation by our Lord Jesus Christ, who died for us.

1 Timothy, i. 15. Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners.

Chap. ii. 6. Who gave himself a ransom for all.

2 Timothy, ii. 10. That they may obtain the salvation which is in Christ Jesus.

Titus, ii. 14. Who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity.

Chap. iii. 4, 5. But after that the kindness and love of God our Saviour toward man appeared, not by works of righteousness which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us.

Hebrews, ii. 17. That he might be a merciful and faithful high priest in things pertaining to God, to make reconciliation for the sins of the people.

Chap. vii. 25. Wherefore he is able also to save them to the uttermost, that come unto God by him.

Chap. ix. 11. But Christ by his own blood having obtained eternal redemption for us.

V. 14. How much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God, purge your conscience from dead works, to serve the living God?

V. 22. And without shedding of blood is no remission.

V. 26. But now once in the end of the world hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself.

V. 28. Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many.

Chap. x. 12. But this man, after he had offered one sacrifice for us for sins for ever, sat down on the right hand of God.

V. 29. Of how much sorer punishment suppose ye shall he be thought worthy, who hath trodden under foot the Son of God, and hath counted the blood of the covenant, wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy thing, and hath done despite unto the Spirit of Grace?

1 Peter, i. 18, 19. Ye were not redeemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold; but with the precious blood of Christ, as of a Lamb without blemish and without spot.

Chap. ii. 24. Who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree—by whose stripes ye were healed.

Chap. iii. 18. Christ hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust.

1 John. i. 7. The blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin.

Chap. iii. 5. And ye know that he was manifested to take away our sins.

V. 16. Hereby perceive we the love of God, because he laid down his life for us.

Chap. iv. 10. Herein is love; not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins.

V. 14. And we have seen and do testify that the Father sent the Son to be the Saviour of the world.

Chap. v. 11. And this is the record, that God hath given us eternal life, and this life is in his Son.

Chap. ii. 2. And He is a propitiation for our sins, and not for our sins only, but for the sins of the whole world.

Revelations, i. 5. Unto Him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood.

Chap. v. 9. Thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood.

INDIA SHIPPING BILL.

Observations on this impolitic and ruinous Measure, extracted from the Morning Post.

Tuesday, 28th June, 1814.

" We are induced from the attention we have uniformly given to the maritime interests of the country, to notice the Bill now before parliament for the permanent encouragement of ships built in India. The Bill gives facilities to obtaining British registers in India, by establishing there, officers to register ships who did not exist before, and gets rid, therefore, of the difficulty which had hitherto rendered the general expression in the Register Acts nugatory, as to India, and protected the British-built shipping. It professes to be restrictive, and is so if the mere words of former acts only were looked to, but in fact practically introduces permanently, a description of shipping which have hitherto been allowed only under temporary regulations.

" It is distinctly proved that the introduction of India shipping will end in the entire and complete destruction of the ship-building establishments in this country for the India trade, and will, therefore, inevitably destroy the manufactory of the large ships, in the building of which the owners of those establishments and their workmen have acquired the means and skill to assist in the constructing as they have done, of a very large part of the existing navy of the country.

" A more complete delusion never came under the consideration of parliament. It professes restriction, and at the same time inevitably transfers the most important sources of military strength from the mother country to her most distant and hazardous possessions.

" It proposes to introduce competition for the purpose of transferring the building of the only large description of vessels employed in the trade from England to India, and of establishing a MONOPOLY in a distant possession, as against a mother country.

" It is boldly avowed by its supporters, that sixty millions of people, the inhabitants of India, cannot be deprived of this right. That India is, and will, and must be the EXPORTING country in the trade between India and England, and is entitled therefore to have its own shipping, which it is avowed and proved, must exclude the British.

" It is contended that this measure is necessary to enable the Indian traders to compete with foreigners resorting to India; and the supporters of this Bill have proved, by the partners and connections of a few Indian houses, that the advantages of India built ships, as contrasted with British, are sufficient to destroy the English building; but have totally failed in proving that they will afford the means of successful competition with foreigners.

" All the ANCIENT MAXIMS of policy under which this country has acquired and preserved its MARITIME ASCENDANCY, that of keeping all the sources of maritime strength *at home*, by restrictions as to ships and navigation, which compel the general merchant, the West-India planter, and every other mercantile and colonial interest, to submit to pay heavier expences, and to trade under higher freights, than if he was at liberty to chuse the vessels of countries which afford them cheapest, are now to be lost sight of in favour of a few Indian houses.

" Advantages which are denied to the British West Indians, and the merchants of England, are to be openly given to those of the East Indies. All this is to be done, through the intervention of the dangerous experiment of transferring to a very distant dependency, the tenure of which, (after what has more than once occurred in India), the most sanguine person must consider as precarious, the best sources of our maritime strength, the building of all the large ships, so nearly connected as they have been and are with the supply of ships to the navy, and of men to the King's yards.

" The apprehensions of some, and the passions and interests of others, have been incessantly attacked in certain publications. The quantity of timber consumed has been exaggerated, even by those who had access to correct information, and the sources of supply depreciated, to excite alarms as to timber. It has been proved, beyond all future controversy, that the alarm has been wholly ill founded; and, now when the LANDED INTEREST have, within the last twenty-five years, given the greatest attention to the improvement of the cultivation of oak timber, they are told by the promoters of the Bill, that they may burn their timber, for teak only is fit for building ships. -

" But the most glaring inconsistency and injustice arises from permitting the use of India ships to the East India Company, even for carrying on the trade in tea from China; an article almost exclusively consumed in this country, of which they preserve the monopoly, and even where the pretence of competition cannot be held out as a ground for permitting the destruction of the English ship-building, by the introduction of the Indian.

" The East India Company availed itself of the size and extent of the ship building establishments in this country, as one of its most important branches of manufacture in the whole of the contest last sessions. And the moment that the contest was decided, and they were fixed for a further period in a most important part of the monopoly, unite from motives of interest with their old opposers, the Private Indian Traders, in endeavouring to effect the ruin of the British ship-builders.

" It is scarcely credible that while silk handkerchiefs and thousands of other articles are protected by prohibitions or duties, that of ship-building alone is by the proposers of the Bill thought unworthy of protection, and is abandoned to destruction.

" The greater part of the monopoly of the East India Company

seems to have been destroyed only for the purpose of introducing ANOTHER MONOPOLY in India, against the mother country, of one of its vital sources of existence, for the purpose of forsaking all our ancient established principles of policy, and trying a desperate and hazardous experiment, by which a few individuals may be benefited at the expence of the most ruinous future consequences to the country.

" All these mischiefs, and many more too long to be detailed within a short compass, must arise from the proposed measure, and yet an experiment so deeply affecting the LANDED INTEREST with reference to timber, and the mercantile interests, connected with the shipping and dependent manufacturers in this country, and with the most important interests of the kingdom as a nation, is passing almost silently through the house.

" It is, however, to be hoped, that such will not be its fate, but that in some stage of its progress attention may be awakened to its consequences, and the subject meet the consideration it deserves."

Monday, 4th July, 1814.

" With an anxiety proportioned to the importance of the subject, we again call the attention of the public to the bill which is *to-night* to be read a second time in the House of Commons for the encouragement of ships built in India; or, to speak more properly, for the removal of the building of large ships from Great Britain to the shores of Asia.

" By an unexampled struggle for the maintenance of ancient notions and established principles, Great Britain has preserved her own safety, and taught the world the difficult lesson of regaining rights which had been destroyed, and re-establishing institutions which had been superseded by successful innovation. Specious reasonings have been recommended by all the force of eloquence, and artful ridicule has been pointed with all the keenness of malignant wit, against the axioms which it was thought expedient to subvert; but the tenacious regard ever felt for those institutions of our ancestors to which we owe our greatness and prosperity, was sufficient to repel the insidious attempts so earnestly made, and to give that stability to our councils, and firmness to our conduct, WHICH HAVE SECURED US, AND RESTORED ALL EUROPE. But in a matter which most essentially regards the interests and welfare of the community, it is at this day to be essayed to throw down those barriers of commercial legislation by which our ancestors have protected the interests and secured the prosperity of the nation; and a *new system* is to be introduced, subversive of all those ancient provisions, and destructive of all the safety and all the confidence which had been derived from them.

" On this occasion, self-interest assumes the tone of liberality, and even of patriotism. For the purpose of rapidly enriching a few mercantile houses in India, a magnificent assertion is made, that the welfare of sixty millions of natives is at stake. Marvellous indeed is this sudden attention, this spontaneous zeal for the comfort of these na-

tives; wonderful the discovery so recently made on this side of the water, that the natives of India will all be starved unless ships built at Bombay and Calcutta are allowed to be registered as British; astonishing the sudden light which has been shewn, that all the country trade which can be carried on in the Indian built shipping extending to a coast of vast extent, and applying to the wants of so many millions of persons, cannot afford adequate encouragement to these Anglo-Asiatic projectors, unless the navigation law of England can be laid prostrate before them, and the British ship-builders given up to immediate and total ruin.

"It has been proved in the select committee of the House of Commons, which has been so long employed on the investigation, that the great ship-building yards, which *IN WAR* furnished the fleets which protected the country, and *IN PEACE* maintained the artificers dismissed from the public dock-yards, are now without employ, and thousands of workmen and their families reduced to implore parochial relief, while new ships are daily arriving from the East Indies; and more are daily expected.—It has been proved, that not the shipwright alone but every artificer connected with the building, repairing, and equipment of ships; the rope-maker, sail-maker, block-maker, copper-smith, and many others must suffer a large share of this great calamity; that the revenue will be affected in proportion; and that even in a private and personal sense, the mischief will be felt through many classes of subjects from the ship-builder, whose art and labour are most immediately engaged, up to the land-owner, on whose estate the timber for building is produced.

"The British ship-builders have proved that all the calumnies so confidently advanced against them, are utterly unfounded, and that the reported scarcity of oak timber is a wicked invention of interested persons, calculated only to terrify and to delude.

"It stands uncontradicted; it is even a part of the case of those who support the Indian cause, that large merchant ships can no longer be built in England for the India trade, if once the teak ships are admitted to registry under the bill now before parliament. Thus while competition is the pretext, monopoly is the aim. Were circumstances equal, the British ship-builder could make his stand effectually against the competition of the whole world; but it is not to be supposed that in a country where every individual, from the proprietor of the forest down to the humblest day-labourer, contributes so largely by direct contribution, and by indirect taxation to the debts and necessities of the state, an effectual struggle can be maintained in point of price, against those who employ workmen, feeble indeed in their persons, and inexperienced in their labours, but free from wants and unincumbered with expenses.

"The system of excluding or at least of subjecting to very high duties all those foreign productions which vie with our domestic manufacturers, has alone enabled Great Britain to sustain the weight of her public burthens, and to keep her ample share of the commerce of the world; but it is now attempted, in this high and most important

instance, to introduce a change, called for by no circumstance of political necessity; and invoked by no considerable body of his Majesty's subjects, either at home or in the foreign dependencies of the state. It is required, that the power and the means of building large ships in private yards shall be given up; and that that resource, so important in peace, and so available in war on great and sudden emergencies, shall no longer be under the eye and open to the requisitions of the government, *but shall be removed to a distance*, which even were it secure would render it often unavailable, but which circumstances, which every sound politician must take more or less into his calculation, may place in the hands of those, who, although not naturally aliens or enemies, may become independent, or even hostile. We, therefore, hope his majesty's government will hesitate, before the bill in its present shape is pressed further on the attention of the legislature, and that full and adequate protection will be afforded the British ship-builders and shipwrights, who have surely equal, if not superior, claims to public consideration with the linen and silk manufactures. Much more might be said on this vital subject. We, however, cannot suppose, that this impolitic and unpopular measure will be persevered in."

Monday, 11th July, 1814.

"We expected, from the general feeling which so universally prevails against the East India shipping bill, and the removal of the building of ships for the India and China trade, from the United Kingdom to Asia, that his majesty's government would either have abandoned it, or have declared their readiness to introduce into the bill such clauses as will afford adequate protection to the ship-building and manufacturing interests of this country, and give them *some chance of participating* in the building of ships for the trade to India and China. This expectation was held out last year by the opposers of the East India company, to the ship-builders of London, and the out-ports; who were likewise told, that the most extensive national advantages were to be generally derived from the opening of the trade to India; yet, notwithstanding these flattering assurances, which were relied on by the trading and manufacturing classes of this country, we are now told by a few Indian houses, that India wants little from England; that India is the *exporting* country: that the exports consist principally of remittances made by the private Indian mercantile houses, of the wealth accumulated by British residents in India; that such remittances can be made upon better terms, and more advantageously in bills of exchange given as the medium of remittance, if this whole trade is carried on in teak ships built in India; and these persons have by some strange and incomprehensible influence so far succeeded in their views, as to have induced the government to bring a bill into parliament, framed by the board of controul, and, of course, most strenuously supported by the Indian interests, which annihilates at once all future hope, and destroys all chance of competition between the British ship-builders and those in Asia; and, for

the purpose of increasing the overgrown wealth of the Indian interests, and throwing the whole trade into the hands of the mercantile houses established in India, the ancient establishments of this country are to be sacrificed, and all the hopes of the nation disappointed, by finding, that the monopoly of the East India company, which, with all its advantages, still kept the trade, and the resources arising out of it, *in this country*, has been put an end to, only for the purpose of *transferring* all the advantages of the trade to *India*.

“ That the discussion of a measure so pregnant with mischief—so subversive of the former and successful policy of the country—so uncongenial to the feelings, sentiments, and interests of the nation at large, should be postponed from day to day until a very large proportion of the members of the legislature are from necessity obliged to leave town, is as unusual as it is reprehensible; and then that the *second* reading of the bill should be fixed for a time, *to-morrow*, when many of the remaining members are obliged to attend the neighbouring Quarter-Sessions.

“ The surprise excited by so tenacious an adherence to this impolitic and unpopular measure is naturally great, and is increased by the recollection of what has hitherto been the uniform course of feeling and sentiment of the majority of the members of his Majesty's present government on subjects of this nature, ‘ who, not swayed by inconsiderate attachment to general principles,’ and recollecting that the naval and military power, the wealth, and the preponderating influence of the empire, have all arisen out of, and been preserved by, the wholesome and beneficial restrictions under which the trade and navigation of the country have been for centuries carried on; should, at the present moment, when further restrictive measures are necessary to preserve at home the strength and resources arising from commerce, allow this bill to proceed, because the mistaken opinions of some, and the prejudice of other individuals, are still cherished, notwithstanding a body of evidence more clear, satisfactory, and convincing, than has ever been offered to Parliament, upon any similar question, has unequivocally shewn, that this bill if passed into a law, will create a mischievous monopoly in favour of the India ship-builders, to the total exclusion and ultimate destruction of those in Great Britain. His Majesty's ministers should themselves, in justice to the country, peruse the whole of the evidence given before the select Committee, before they give their *farther* sanction to a measure so pregnant with injury to the general interests of the country; for a subject of more universal interest, whether as affecting the country with reference to its naval superiority, or the interests of the landholders, merchants, or manufacturers, has never been before Parliament. It has been recently asked, who are the persons opposing this bill? It was answered, the members for the maritime counties and the outports—the great landholders—the manufacturers of articles used in the building and equipment of Ships—and various other classes of society—that it was in fact a **BRITISH QUESTION** supported by **BRITISH INTERESTS**! With such a feeling existing, is it not astonishing

ing that the bill, in its present shape, should be still pressed on the attention of Parliament? It must be painful to those who exult in the success of the present administration from a conviction that the general views, feelings, and conduct of the members of it, are in unison with the best interests of the country, to see them permit a few individuals to persevere in a measure which cannot fail to produce extensive injury, and great dissatisfaction, and which must, if not abandoned, throw a shade over their other measures, and weaken that confidence in their judgement and firmness, which has hitherto united so large a body of the country in their support.

"It is admitted by all practical men, that when by the peace, a free commercial intercourse shall have been established between Europe, and the remote parts of the trading world, that England must expect, from various well known causes to be excluded from a considerable part of the carrying trade, especially from those countries where the cost of building and equipping ships is so much cheaper than in Great Britain. This inconvenience, arising from the immense sacrifices made by the people of this country, to retain its freedom and recover the independence of Europe, is only to be counteracted by an adherence to the general policy and salutary restrictions which the legislature at different times has made for maintaining and carrying on British commerce in British-built shipping. This adherence to practical experience, admitted by all who have candidly considered the subject (with reference to practical experience, as contrasted with theory and speculative principles), to be essentially necessary for the protection of the trade, the navigation, and the NAVAL ASCENDANCY of the country; will secure a continuation of prosperity in every pursuit, whether of home manufactures or foreign commerce, in which we may be engaged. An abandonment of this policy may appear to be productive of temporary advantage, and may be attempted to be defended on theoretical principles, but will in the end be found to be productive of the evil consequences which always follow a departure from maxims established by experience, and which have been productive of results so gratifying to the interests and pride of this country.

"The British community has unquestionably arrived at a state of luxurious refinement in living unequalled by any other nation. Its wants are more artificial, its modes are more costly, and its general habits of expence so far surpass those of neighbouring states as to defy comparison. The labouring classes should enjoy proportionably the blessings and comforts of life with all the other members of the community. The wealth of the nation is derived from *their* toil, and its security is on *their* arm: our seamen can no longer be served with black bread and stock fish, and our mechanics will not be satisfied with rice or caravancers; all ranks in society have advanced a step above their contemporaries in other quarters of the globe; and the existing spirit of enterprize will continue to ensure to this country all the advantages which have hitherto been enjoyed by all ranks of society, notwithstanding any trifling excess of freight which must of course be borne by the public at large, in return for the safety and many benefits they have enjoyed, and which will always result from the

employment of British-built ships and British seamen: but the fact must not be stifled, that the price for freight has not been in the least degree diminished, by the use of *teak built ships*, and the whole cost of freight from India upon *coarse* articles does not amount to *twopence for a pound weight*, and the utmost diminution of freight that the most sanguine advocates for the New SYSTEM sailing with two-thirds British seamen and *one third Lascars*, (a strange association for our gallant tars!) can venture to hope for, will not amount to *one farthing in the pound weight*, on the coarser articles, and not *one-tenth part of a farthing per yard* upon cloths and muslins; and for this insignificant saving, which cannot be even known, and much less felt by the consumer, the whole system of ship-building, and with it, of course, this proportion of the carrying trade of Great Britain is to be transferred to Asia, to the positive diminution of the employment of British seamen, mechanics, and others, and the absolute loss to this country of the intrinsic value of every ship *not built within it*; for every ship built in Great Britain being mostly the produce of the soil, and of native industry, adds to the British capital without any deduction for the cost; whilst every ship *built in Asia* purchased by British capital, deducts from the public or national stock, a sum equal to its amount.

“ For the present we shall conclude our remarks on this vital question with the following quotation from the appeal of the unfortunate shipwrights, caulkers, and others, who not having the means to employ counsel to support their case in Parliament, have been obliged to resort to a printed address on this occasion.

“ That a measure of this importance should be attempted to be passed without adequate qualification or restriction in favour of the home interests, in the absence of so many individuals, who, as land owners and otherwise, are so deeply interested in it, is astonishing. It is to be lamented; that while such generous feeling and sympathy is shewn, and justly shewn for the injured sons of Africa—for the inhabitants of Germany and other countries, who have been ruined by the desolations of war, some consideration is not evinced by the advocates of this bill, for the thousands of useful and meritorious British artisans, mechanics, and manufacturers, who will be injured and ruined by it. It surely is not consistent with sound policy, in a maritime country, to drive these inestimable classes of its population out of it from the want of employment. It is not the way to secure cheap ships or cheap repairs, but on the contrary, to use the moral of the fable, to dry up the resources of our strength, and to render it difficult to rear and maintain those men, to whom in the hour of peril, the country has hitherto resorted for assistance and aid, which has always been rendered with promptitude and success.

“ The shipwrights, caulkers, sawyers, and others, who have hitherto been employed in the building and repairing yards on the Thames, but who for many, many months, have been totally destitute of, and with no prospect of employment, *not having the means of employing counsel* in support of their case before Parliament, are obliged to

make this simple, but true and honest appeal, to the generosity, sympathy, and justice of their country. They are convinced, as must be every disinterested and impartial man, indeed it is admitted by its promoters, that if this bill passes into a law, not another ship will be built in Great Britain for the India and China trade; and as no rational person can expect any general building for the merchants' service for some years, until the transports discharged from the King's service are worn out, the industrious individuals making this appeal must emigrate, as they have no means whatever of maintaining themselves and families in this country. To other trades they cannot with any prospect of success resort from the competition for employment created by the discharge of men from the navy, army, and militia. Under all these circumstances of misery and hardship, with no gleam of hope before them, but driven by despair to other regions, they will be, from dire necessity, obliged to submit to an involuntary banishment from the highly-favoured land of their ancestors, to seek from strangers the relief they cannot obtain at home.

"At a moment like the present—at the zenith of the glory of the country—when her character stands pre-eminent in the circle of nations for heroism, generosity, and kindness, shall its splendour be overshadowed by the ruinous consequences of a measure, the only result of which can be to enrich a few, whilst extensive individual misery will be created by it, and probably at no distant period, serious public disaster? To this glorious character of the nation, the objects of this address have probably in some degree contributed.

"It has been emphatically and truly said, 'That if this bill passes into a law, it will remove the corner-stone of the maritime power of the country.' Let any man, not prejudiced by interest or influenced by power, or swayed by inconsiderate attachment to general principles, without recollecting they require in practice many limitations and restrictions, say, how this country can again venture upon an extensive naval war, if the large ship-building establishments are suffered, from the want of building, to moulder to decay and ruin.

"The political horizon is at this time calm and serene, but how long it may continue so, the wisest, best, and ablest cannot tell. Jealousies between states, like the jealousies of individuals, rise into action from the most trivial causes; and when it is known that great difficulties exist in the commercial arrangements to be made with foreign powers, the duration of the present peace may not perhaps be one third of the period contemplated by the great personages who made it.

"The unfortunate persons interested in this appeal, humbly hope it will not be made in vain, and that some kind and generous heart will become their advocate and friend on this important occasion, and not let it be said, that though for strangers their countrymen can feel, themselves are neglected and deserted.

"*Rotherhithe, 4th July, 1814.*"

Tuesday, 12th July, 1814.

"On the motion of Lord Viscount Castlereagh the bill was put off until the next session of Parliament."

ORIGINAL POETRY.

Henry and Mary ; or the Soldier's Return. By A. Kyna.

The quarrels of Europe now mercy had ended,
And Henry with glory had quitted the field,
In view of the village his love that befriended,
His inborn sensations thus warmly revealed.

" O ! dear is the cottage that stands near yon wild wood,
And dear to my bosom it ever will be ;
'Tis the home of my Mary, the scenes of my childhood,
Where love and affection first panted for me.

" Could those who conjecture that time has estrang'd me,
Partake of the feelings that blend in my breast,
The mode of their thinking sincerely would chang'd be,
They'd own my attachments are deeply imprest.

" For home has endearments that memory treasures,
Who just like a miser the treasure esteems ;
While manhood denies her, in substance, youth's pleasures,
She basks in their shadow in reverie's dreams.

" Thus dear is the cottage, and dear is the wild wood,
Which nature, with beauties, has plenteously crown'd,
There friendship my sorrows hath sooth'd to a mild mood ;
There love in my bosom a residence found.

" I come, lovely Mary, once more to behold you,
I come to your dwelling conducted by peace ;
With soul-thrilling rapture mine arms shall enfold you,
I'll bid, for my safety, your anxiousness cease !"

He flew to the cottage, but lo ! 'twas a ruin,
Poor Mary had suffer'd frail nature's sure doom ;
The hand of misfortune no lenity shewing,
Pursued her with vigour, yea, down to the tomb.

Thus Fate wings her arrows when least we suspect her,
Thus high-rated pleasures we seldom enjoy,
Thus Hope, at the moment it seems our protector,
Will cheat our reliance—each prospect destroy.

No charms had the cottage ! no charms had the wild wood
For Henry, whose bosom by sorrow was fir'd ;
Though sooth'd by his kindred, and friends of his childhood,
The tomb of his Mary he press'd—and expir'd.

July, 1814.

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TO THE

REMARKABLE PASSAGES

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